



# THE ARGVMENT OF THE FRONT AND OF THE VVORKE.

**A**lthough the C R E A T O R and Disposer of all things hath left all Particulars and Individualls, under the circle of the *Moone*, to the stroake of *Time* and *Death*; yet by His powerfull Hand He holdeth backe the Sythe of *Time* from destroying or impayring the Vniverse: Though the same Hand shall at last destroy the Whole by *Fire*.

In the meane time, he hath so ordained, that the Elements, of which all sub-lunary bodies are composed, doe so beget one the other, and are againe so begotten, each from other; that while they seeme to dye, they become immortall. For as *Earth* is resolved into *Water*, the *Water* rarefied into *Ayre*, and the *Ayre* into *Fire*, in the way of their ascension; So in their descending down-ward, by a mutuall Compensation, the *Fire* becommeth *Ayre*, the *Ayre* thickneth into *Water*, and the *Water* againe into *Earth*.

And as a *Ship* which rideth at Anchor is tossed to and fro by the Windes and Waves, and yet cannot move beyond the length of his Cable, but is caried about in a Round, still mooving yet never remooved.

Or as a *Whee*le, at every turne, bringeth about all his Spoakes to the same places, observing a constancy even in turning.

So though there be many changes and variations in the World, yet all things come about one time or another to the same points againe.

And there is nothing new under the *Sunne*.





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AN  
APOLOGIE  
or Declaration  
OF  
THE POWER AND  
PROVIDENCE  
OF GOD

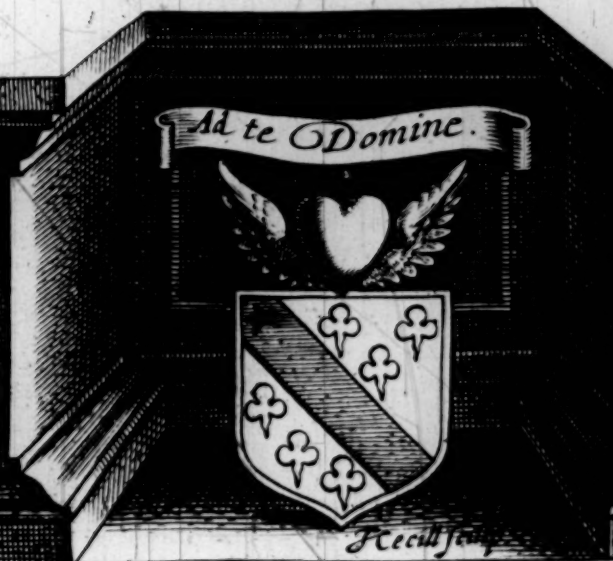
In the Govern-  
ment of  
the WORLD

*The 3<sup>d</sup> Edition much  
Enlarged.*

By George Hakewill D<sup>r</sup>  
of Divinitie & Arch Deacon  
of Surrey.



LONDON  
Printed for Robert Allott, at the  
Beare in Paules Churchyard. 1635.



H. m.



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AN  
APOLOGIE  
OR  
DECLARATION  
OF THE POWER AND  
PROVIDENCE OF GOD IN THE  
GOVERNMENT OF THE WORLD.

CONSISTING IN  
AN EXAMINATION AND  
CENSURE OF THE COMMON  
ERROVR TOUCHING NATVRES PER-  
PETUALL AND UNIVERSALL DECAY,  
DIVIDED INTO SIX BOOKES.

WHERE OF

*The first treates of this pretended decay in generall, together with some preparatives thereunto.  
The second of the pretended decay of the Heavens and Elements, together with that of the  
Elementary bodies, man onely excepted.  
The third of the pretended decay of mankind in regard of age and duration, of strength and  
stature, of arts and wits.  
The fourth of this pretended decay in matter of manners, together with a large prooffe of the  
future consummation of the World from the testimonie of the Gentiles, and the use which we  
are to draw from the consideration thereof.  
The fifth and sixth are spent in answering Objections made since the second impression.*

---

By GEORGE HAKEWILL Doctour of  
Divinitie and Archdeacon of Surrey.

*H. Meen.*

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*The third Edition revised, and in sundry passages and whole Sections augmented by  
the Author; besides the addition of two entire bookes not formerly published.*

*Ecclesiastes 7. 10.*

Say not thou what is the cause that the former dayes are better then these, for  
thou dost not enquire wisely concerning this.

OXFORD,

Printed by WILLIAM TURNER Printer to the  
famous Vniversitie. Anno Dom. 1635.









TO MY VENERABLE  
MOTHER THE FAMOUS  
AND FLOURISHING UNI-  
VERSITIE OF OXFORD.



ERE I destitute of all other arguments to demonstrate the providence of God in the preservation of the world, and to prove that it doth not universally & perpetually decline, this one might fully suffice for all, that thou, my *Venerable Mother*, though thou waxe old in regard of yeares, yet in this latter age in regard of strength and beauty, waxest young again. Within the compasse of this last *Centenarie* and lesse, thou hast brought forth such a number of worthy *Sons* for piety, for learning, for wisdom, & for *buildings* hast bin so enlarged and enriched, that hee who shall compare thee with thy selfe, will easily find, that though thou be truly accounted one of the most ancient *Universities* in the World, yet so farre art thou from withering and wrinkles, that thou art rather become fairer and fresher, and in thine issue no lesse happy then heretofore.

The three last *Cardinals* that this Nation had were thine, if that can adde any thing to thine honour. Those thine unnatural *Sons*, who of late dayes forsooke thee, and fled to thine Enemies campe, *Harding, Stapleton, Saunders, Raynolds, Martyn, Bristow, Campian, Parsons*, even in their fighting against thee, shewed the fruitfulnessse of thy wombe, and the



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## The Epistle Dedicatory.

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efficacie of that milke which they drew from thy breasts. What one Colledge ever yeelded at one time and from one Country three such *Divines* as *Jewell*, *Raynolds*, & *Hooker*, or two such great wits & *Heroicall* spirits as Sir *Thomas Bodley*, and Sir *Henry Savill*. How renowned in forraine parts are thy *Moore*, thy *Sidney*, thy *Cambden*? What rare lights in the Church were *Humphryes*, *Foxe*, *Bilson*, *Field*, *Abbot*? What pillars those five Sons of thine who at one time lately possessed the five principall Sees in the Kingdome? So as if I should in this point, touching the *Worlds pretended decay*, be cast by the votes of others, yet my hope is, that by reflecting upon thy selfe, I shall be cleared and acquitted by thine.

And in confidence hereof I have to thy *censure* submitted this ensuing *Apologie*, which perchance to the *Vulgar* may seeme somewhat strange, because their eares have beene so long inured unto, and consequently their fancies fore-stalled with the contrary opinion. But to thee, I trust, who judgest not upō report, but upon tryall, neither art swayed by number and loudnesse of voyces, but by weight of argument, it will appeare not onely just and reasonable in that it vindicates the glory of the Creator, and a truth as large and wide as the world it selfe, but profitable and usefull for the raising up of mens mindes to an endeavour of equalling, yea & surpassing their noble and worthy *Predecessours* in knowledge and vertue; it being certaine that the best *Patternes* which we have in them both, either extant at this present, or recorded in monuments of ancienter times, had never beene, had they conceived that there was alwayes an inevitable declination as well in the *Arts*, as matter of *Manners*, and that it was impossible to surmount those that went before them.

I do not beleeeve that all Regions of the World, or all ages in the same Region affoord wits alwayes alike: but this I thinke, neither is it my opinion alone, but of *Scaliger*, *Vives*, *Budaus*, *Bodine*, and other great *Clearks*, that the wits of these latter ages being manured by industry, directed by precepts, regulated by method, tempered by diet, refreshed by exercise, and encouraged by rewards, may be as capable of deepe speculations; and produce as *masculine*, and lasting birthes, as  
any



## The Epistle Dedicatory.

any of the ancienter times have done. But if wee conceive them to be *Gyants*, and our selves *Dwarfses*, if we imagine all Sciences already to have received their utmost perfection, so as wee need not but translate & comment upon that which they have done, if we so admire and dote upon Antiquity as wee emulate and envy, nay scorne and trample under foot whatsoever the present age affords, if we spend our best time and thoughts in clyming to honour, in gathering of riches, in following our pleasures, and in turning the edge of our wits one against another, surely there is little hope that we should ever come neere them, much lesse match them: The first step to inable a man to the atchieving of great designs is to bee perswaded that by endeavour hee is able to atchieve it, the next not to be perswaded that whatsoever hath not yet bin done, cannot therefore be done. Not any one man, or nation, or age, but rather *mankinde* is it which in latitude of capacity answeres to the universality of things to bee knowne, And truly had our Fathers thought so reverently of their predecessors, & withall of themselves so basely, that neither any thing of moment was left for them to bee done, nor in case there had beene, were they qualified for the doing thereof; wee had wanted many helpes in learning, which by their travell wee now injoy. By meanes whereof I see not but we might also advance, improve and inlarge our patrimony, as they left it enlarged to us: and thereunto the Arts of *Printing* and *Navigation*, the frequencie of goodly *Libraries*, and liberality of *Benefactors*, are such inducements & furtherances, that if wee excell not all ages that have gone before us, it is onely because we are wanting to our selves.

And as our helpes are more and greater for *knowledge* & *learning*, so likewise for *goodnesse* & *vertue*, I meane, since the beames of *Christian Religion* displayed themselves to the World, which for the rooting out of vice & planting of vertue, no *Christian*, I hope, will deny to be incomparably more effectuell then any other Religion that ever yet was heard of in the World: or if others should chance to make a doubt of the certainty of this truth, yet cannot you who preach it, & publish it to others. Doubtlesse being rightly applyed with-



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out a pish *superstition* on the one side, or peevish *singularity* on the other, it workes upon the Conscience more forceably, and consequently hath a greater power of making men not outwardly and formally, but really and inwardly virtuous. And if we should looke backe into *Histories*, and compare time with time, wee shall easily finde that where this Profession spread it selfe, men have generally beene more accomplished in all kinde of morall and civill vertues then before it tooke place.

It is true indeed that in proceffe of time, thorow the *ambition*, *covetousnesse*, *luxury*, *idlenesse*, and *ignorance* of them who should have beene lights in the Church, it too much degenerated from its *Originall* purity, and thereupon manners (being formed by it) were generally tainted, this corruption like a leprosie diffusing it selfe from the head into all the body: But together with the reviving of the *Arts* and *Languages*, which for sundry ages lay buried in barbarisme, the rust of *superstition* was likewise in many places scowred off from Religion, which by degrees had crept upon it, and fretted deepe into the face of it, and the *Arts* being thus refined, and Religion restored to its primitive brightnesse, manners were likewise reformed even among them, at least in part and in shew, who as yet admit not a full reformation in matter of Religion. A foule shame then it were for us who professe a thorow reformation in matter of *Doctrine*, to bee thought to grow worse in matter of *manners*, God forbid it should be so, I hope it is not so, I am sure it should not bee so: That grace of God which hath appeared more clearely to us then to our fore-fathers, teaching us to adorne our profession with a gracious and virtuous conversation, to deny ungodlinesse and worldly lusts, and to live soberly, & righteously, and godly in this present world: soberly in regard of our selves, righteously in regard of others, and godly in regard of religious exercises.

If then we come short of our *Ancestours* in knowledge, let us not cast it upon the deficiencie of our wits in regard of the *Worlds* decay, but upon our owne sloth; if wee come short of them in vertue, let us not impute it to the *declination* of the *World*, but to the malice and faintnes of our owne wills; if we feelee



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feeble the scourges of God upon our Land by mortality, famine, unseasonable weather, or the like, let us not teach the people that they are occasioned by the *Worlds old age*, and thereby call into question the *providence, or power, or wisdom, or justice, or goodnesse* of the Maker thereof; but by their and our *sinnes*, which is doubtlesse both the truer and more profitable doctrine, and withall more consonant to the Sermons of *Christ* and his *Apostles*, & the *Prophets of God* in like cases. And withall let us freely acknowledge that *Almighty God* hath bestowed many blessings upon these latter ages, which to the former he denied, as in sending us vertuous & gracious Princes, and by them the maintenance of piety, and peace, and plenty, and the like. Lest thorow our ingratitude he withdraw them from us, & make us know their worth by wanting them, which by injoying them wee understood not.

But I will not presume to advise where I should learne, only I will unfainedly wish and heartily pray, that at leastwise your *practise* may still make good mine *opinion*, maintained in this Booke, and refute the contrary and common error opposed therein, that you may still grow in *knowledge and grace*, and that your vertues may alwayes rise and increase together with your buildings. These latter without the former, being but as a *body without a soule*.

*Spectemur agendo.*

*Yours to do you service to the utmost  
of his poore abilitie*

GEORGE HAKEWILL.









## THE PREFACE.



Ruth it is, that this ensuing Treatise was long since in my younger yeares begunne by me for mine owne private exercise and satisfaction, but afterward considering not onely the rarity of the subject, and variety of the matter, but withall that it made for the *redeeming of a captivated truth*, the *vindicating of Gods glory*, the *advancement of learning*, & the *honour of the Christian & reformed Religion*, by the advise and with the approbation and incouragement of such speciall friends, whose piety, learning, and wisdom I well know, and much reverence, I resolved (*permissu superiorum* and none otherwise) to make it publique for the publique good, and the encountering of a publique error, which may in some sort be equalled, if not preferred before the quelling of some great monster. Neither doe I take it to lie out of my *profession*, the principall marke which I ayme at throughout the whole body of the Discourse being an *Apologeticall defence of the power and providence of God*, his *wisdom*, his *truth*, his *justice*, his *goodnesse & mercy*, and besides, a great part of the booke it selfe is spent in pressing *Theologicall reasons*, in clearing doubts arising from thence, in producing frequent testimonies from *Scriptures*, *Fathers*, *Schoolemen*, and *moderne Divines*, in proving that *Antichrist* is already come, from the writings of the *Romanists* themselves, in confirming the article of our faith touching the Worlds future and totall conlumination by fire, and a day of finall judgement from discourse of reason and the writings of the *Gentiles*, and lastly by concluding the whole worke with a pious *meditation* touching the uses which we may and should make of the consideration thereof, serving for a terrour to some, for comfort to others, for admonition to all. And how other men may stand affected in reading, I know not, sure I am that in writing, it often lifted up my soule in admiring and praying the infinite *wisdom* and *bonny* of the *Creator*, in maintaining and managing his owne worke, in the government and preservation of the *Universe*, which in truth is nothing else but (as the Schooles speake) *continuata productio*, a continued production: and often did it call to my mind those holy raptures of the *Psalmist*; O Lord our governour, how excellent is thy Name in  
all



## The Preface.

*all the world: Thou Lord hast made me glad through thy workes, and I will re-  
joyce in giving praise for the operations of thy hands, O Lord, how glorious are  
thy workes, and thy thoughts are very deepe. An unwise man doth not well consi-  
der this, and a foole doth not well understand it. And againe, The workes of the  
Lord are great, sought out of all them that have pleasure therein, His worke is  
worthy to be prayesed and had in honour, and his righteousness endureth for ever.*

*Psal. 8. 1.*

*Psal. 92. 4, 5, 6.*

*111. 3. 3.*

He that shall narrowly observe the prints of the *Almighties* foot step-  
pes, traced throughout this ensuing discourse, may not unjustly from  
thence collect, both comfort and assurance, that as the Heavens remaine  
unchangeable, so doth the Church triumphant in Heaven, and as all  
things under the cope of heaven vary and change, so doth the militant  
heere on earth; it hath its times and turnes, sometimes flowing & againe  
ebbing with the *sea*, sometimes waxing, and againe waning with the  
*Moone*, which great light, it seemes, the *Almighty* therefore set the low-  
est in the heavens, and nearest the Earth, that it might dayly put us in  
minde of the constancy of the one, and inconstancy of the other, her  
selfe in some sort partaking of both, though in a different manner; of  
the one in her substance, of the other in the copie of her visage.

And if the *Moone* thus change, and all things under the *Moone*, why  
should we wonder at the change of *Monarchies* and *Kingdomes*? much  
lesse petty states and private families: they rise, and fall, and rise againe,  
and fall againe, that no man might either too confidently presume, be-  
cause they are subject to continuall alteration; or cast away all hope, &  
fall to despaire, because they have their seasons and appointed times of  
returning againe.

*Nemo confidat nimium secundis,  
Nemo desperet meliora, lapsus:  
Miscet hac illis, prohibetque Clotha  
Stare fortunam.*

*Sen.*

Let him that stands take heed lest that he fall,  
Let him that's false hope he may rise againe;  
The providence divine that mixeth all,  
Chaines joy to grieve by turnes, and losse to gaine.

I must confesse that sometimes looking stedfastly upon the present  
face of things, both at home and abroad, I have often beene put to a  
stand, and staggered in mine opinion, whether I were in the right or  
no: and perchance the state of my body, and present condition, in re-  
gard of those faire hopes I sometimes had, served as false perspective  
glassees to looke through, but when againe I abstracted and rayfed my  
thoughts to an higher pitch, and as from a vantage ground tooke a  
larger view, comparing time with time, and thing with thing,  
and place with place, and considered my selfe as a member of  
the *Universe*, and a *Citizen of the World*, I found that what was  
lost to one part, was gained to another; and what was lost in one  
time, was to the same part recovered in an other; and so the ballance  
by



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by the divine providence over-ruling all, kept upright. But commonly it fares with men in this case, as with one who looks onely upon some libbet, or end of a peece of *Arras*, hee happily conceives an hand or head which he sees, to bee very unartificially made: but unfolding the whole, soone findes that it carries a due and just proportion to the body; so, *qui ad pauca respicit, de facili pronunciat* (saith *Aristotle*) hee that is so narrow eyed as he looks onely to his owne person or family, to his owne corporation or nation, or the age wherein himselfe lives, will peradventure quickly conceive, and as soone pronounce, that all things decay and goe backwards, which makes men murmur and repine against *God*, under the name of *Fortune* and *Destinie*; whereas hee that as a part of mankind in generall, takes a view of the *universall*, compares person with person, family with family, corporation with corporation, nation with nation, age with age; suspends his judgement, and upon examination clearly findes, *that all things worke together for the best to them that love God*: and that though some members suffer, yet the whole is no way thereby indammaged at any time; and at other times those same members are againe relieved, as the Sunne when it sets to us, it rises to our *Antipodes*, and when it remooves from the *Northerne* parts of the world, it cherishes the *Southerne*, yet staves not there, but returnes againe with his comfortable beames to those very parts which for a time it seemed to have forsaken: *O that men would therefore praise the Lord for his goodnesse, and declare the wonders that he hath done for the children of men!* or at leastwise cry out in admiration with the *Apostle*, *O the depth of the riches both of the wisdom and knowledge of our God, how unsearchable are his pathes, and his wayes past finding out!*

Rom. 8. 28.

Rom. 11. 33.

Yet the next way, in some measure to finde them out, (so farre as is possible for us poore wormes heere crawling in a mist upon the face of the Earth) is, next the sacred Oracles of supernaturall and revealed Truth, to study the great Volume of the *Creature*, and the *Histories* not onely of our owne, but of forraigne Countreyes, and those not onely of the present, but more auncient times. *Enquire I pray thee of the former age, and prepare thy selfe to the search of their Fathers, for wee are but of yesterday, and know nothing, because our dayes upon earth are but a shadow.* If then, to make my party good, and to waite upon Divinity. I have called in subsidiary aydes, from *Philosophers*, *Historiographers*, *Mathematicians*, *Grammarians*, *Logicians*, *Poets*, *Oratours*, *Souldiers*, *Travellers*, *Lawyers*, *Physicians*, and if I have in imitation of *Tertullian*, *Cyprian*, *Eusebius*, *Augustine*, *Lactantius*, *Arnobius*, *Minutius*, endeavoured to cut the throates of the *Paynims* with their owne swords, and pierce them with their owne quills, I hope no learned man, or lover of Learning will censure me for this. *Philosophie* and the *Arts* I must account a part of mine owne profession; and for *Physicke* and the *Lawes*, I have therein consulted the chiefe, as well in this *University*, as out of it, of mine owne acquaintance; nay in *History*, the *Mathematiques* and *Divinity* it selfe, I have not onely had the approbation of the publique professors therein, for the maine points in my booke, which concerne their severall professions; but some peeces I must acknowledge as received from



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them, which I have made bold to insert into the body of my discourse; let no man thinke then that I maintaine a paradoxe for ostentation of wit, or have written out of spleene, to gall any man in particular, nor yet to humour the present times; the times themselves, mine indisposition that way, and resolution to sit downe content with my present fortunes; if they serve not to give others satisfaction therein, yet doe they fully to cleare me to my selfe, from any such aspersion: yet thus much, I hope, I safely may say without suspition of flattery, that by the goodnesse of God, and our gracious Sovereigne under God, we yet enjoy many great blessings which former ages did not, and were wee thankfull for these as wee ought, and truly penitent for our excesse in all kinde of monstrous sinnes (which above all, threatens our ruine) I nothing doubt but upon our returne to our God by humiliation and newnesse of life; hee would soone dissolue the cloud which hangs over us, and returne unto us with the comfortable beames of his favour, and make us to returne each to other with mutuall imbracements of affection and duety, and our Armies and Fleets to returne with spoyle and victory, and reduce againe as golden and happy times, as ever wee or our fore-fathers saw: but if wee still goe on with an high hand, and a stiffe necke in our prophanesse, our pride, our luxury, our uncharitableness, our unnaturall divisions in Church and Common wealth, there needs no propheticall spirit to divine what will shortly become of us; *Turne us; O turne us againe O Lord God of hostes, shew the light of thy Countenance and wee shall be whole; shew the light of thy Countenance and wee shall be provident in counsell, successefull in warre, sober in peace, a terrour to our enemies, and a comfort to our allyes and confederates. Turne thee againe thou God of hostes, looke downe from heaven, behold and visite this vine, and the place of the vineyard that thy right hand hath planted: & the branch that thou madest so strong for thy selfe.*

Wee need goe no farther then the nation of the *Iewes* for a notable instance in this kinde, who at times more zealous then they in the worship of God and the exercise of Religion: and who againe at other times more rebellious? It is said of them in the *Psalme*, *then beleev'd they his words*; but presently it followes in the very next verse, *they soone forgot his oracles*: and according to their obedience or rebellion, so were they either prosperous or unfortunate in the course of their affaires, during their faith and fidelity towards God, every man of them was in warre as a thousand strong; and as much as a great Senate for counsell in peaceable deliberations; contrariwise, if they swerved (as often they did) their wonted courage, and magnanimity forsooke them utterly; their souldiers and military men trembled at the sight of the naked sword; when they entred into mutuall conference, and sat in counsell for their owne good, that which children might have seene, their gravest Senatours could not discern, their *Prophets* saw darkenesse in steed of visions, and the wise and prudent were as men betwitcht.

If then we come short of that courage and valour which made our Auncestours so renowned by sea and land, not onely in *France*, and *Spain*,



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*Spaine*, and the *Netherlands*, but in *Palastina* it selfe; sure it is not, because the *World declines*, but because our *luxury* increaseth, the most evident *symptome* of a declining state; for as all *Empires* have risen to their greatness by *vertue*, and specially by *sobriety* and *frugality*; so is it cleare that by vice, and specially by *luxury*, ( which of necessity drawes on softnes and cowardise ) they have all againe declined and come to nothing; and out of their ashes have others sprung up, which likewise within a while ( such a *circulation* there is in all things ) have beene turned into ashes againe.

As when the winde the angry Ocean moves,  
Wave hunteth wave, and billow billow shoves:  
So doe all Nations justle each the other,  
And so one people doth pursue another,  
And scarce a second hath the first unhoused,  
Before a third him thence againe hath rowled.

*B. in his Colonies.*

----*Sic Medus ademit*

*Assyrio*, Medo que tulit moderamina *Perfes*,  
*Subjecit Persen Macedo*, cessurus & Ipse  
*Romanis*.

*Claudian. l. 3. in laudes Stiliconis*

Thus did the *Medes* root out th' *Assyrian* race,  
The *Persian* quickly foyl'd the *Medes*, in place  
Of him subdu'd, up starts the *Macedo*,  
Who eftsloones yeeldes unto the *Roman* toe.

And lastly the *Romans* themselves as by vertue and piety, in their superstitious way they wanne, and mightily enlarged their Empire, so being come to the toppes, they lost it againe by vice and irreligion: so true is that of the *Comickall Poet*,

*Hac nisi urbe aberunt, centuplex*  
*Murus rebus servandis parum est.*  
Unlesse these vices banisht bee.

*Plautus in Persa.*

What ever forts you have,  
An hundred walls together put,  
Will not have power to save.

With whom accords the *Tragicall*.

----*Vbi non est pudor,*

*Nec cura juris, sanctitas, pietas, fides;*  
*Instabile regnum est.*

Where is no modestie, nor equitie,  
Nor sanctitie, nor pietie,  
No nor fidelitie,  
In such a Kingdome certainly  
There can be noe stability.

Who so is wise then will ponder these things, & they shall understand the loving kindenesse of the Lord.

Again, for matter of learning and knowledge if we come short of the *Ancients*; wee need not impute it to *natures decay*; our owne riot, our idlenesse and negligence in regard of them, will sufficiently discharge nature, and justly cast back the blame upon our selves. *Falsa*



## The Preface.

them, which I have made bold to insert into the body of my discourse; let no man thinke then that I maintaine a paradoxe for ostentation of wit, or have written out of spleene, to gall any man in particular, nor yet to humour the present times; the times themselves, mine indisposition that way, and resolution to sit downe content with my present fortunes; if they serve not to give others satisfaction therein, yet doe they fully to cleare me to my selfe, from any such asperision: yet thus much, I hope, I safely may say without suspition of flattery, that by the goodnesse of God, and our gracious Sovereigne under God, we yet enjoy many great blessings which former ages did not, and were wee thankfull for these as wee ought, and truly penitent for our excesse in all kinde of monstrous sinnes (which above all, threatens our ruine) I nothing doubt but upon our returne to our God by humiliation and newnesse of life; hee would soone dissolue the cloud which hangs over us, and returne unto us with the comfortable beames of his favour, and make us to returne each to other with mutuall imbracements of affection and duety, and our Armies and Fleets to returne with spoyle and victory, and reduce againe as golden and happy times, as ever wee or our fore-fathers saw: but if wee still goe on with an high hand, and a stiffe necke in our prophanesse, our pride, our luxury, our uncharitableness, our unnaturall divisions in Church and Common wealth, there needs no *propheticall* spirit to divine what will shortly become of us; *Turne us; O turne us againe O Lord God of hostes, shew the light of thy Countenance and wee shall be whole; shew the light of thy Countenance and wee shall be provident in counsell, successefull in warre, sober in peace, a terror to our enemies, and a comfort to our allyes and confederates. Turne thee againe thou God of hostes, looke downe from heaven, behold and visite this vine, and the place of the vineyard that thy right hand hath planted: & the branch that thou madest so strong for thy selfe.*

Wee need goe no farther then the nation of the *Jewes* for a notable instance in this kinde, who at times more zealous then they in the worship of God and the exercise of Religion: and who againe at other times more rebellious: It is said of them in the *Psalme*, *then beleev'd they his words*; but presently it followes in the very next verse, *they soone forgot his orkes*; and according to their obedience or rebellion, sower they either prosperous or unfortunate in the course of their affaires, during their faith and fidelity towards God, every man of them was in warre as a thousand strong; and as much as a great Senate for counsell in peaceable deliberations; contrariwise, if they swerved (as often they did) their wonted courage, and magnanimity forsooke them utterly; their souldiers and military men trembled at the sight of the naked sword; when they entred into mutuall conference, and sate in counsell for their owne good; that which children might have seene, their gravest Senatours could not discern, their *Prophets* saw darkenesse in steed of visions, and the wise and prudent were as men bewitcht.

If then we come short of that courage and valour which made our Auncestours so renowned by sea and land, not onely in *France*, and  
*Spaine*,



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*Spaine*, and the *Netherlands*, but in *Palastina* it selfe; sure it is not, because the *World declines*, but because our *luxury* increaseth, the most evident *symptome* of a declining state; for as all *Empires* have risen to their greatness by *vertue*, and specially by *sobriety* and *frugality*; so is it cleare that by vice, and specially by *luxury*, ( which of necessity drawes on softnes and cowardise ) they have all againe declined and come to nothing; and out of their ashes have others sprung up, which likewise within a while ( such a *circulation* there is in all things ) have beene turned into ashes againe.

As when the winde the angry Ocean moves,  
Wave hunteth wave, and billow billow shoves:  
So doe all Nations jostle each the other,  
And so one people doth pursue another,  
And scarce a second hath the first unhoused,  
Before a third him thence againe hath rowled.

*Strabo* in his  
Colonies.

----*Sic Medus ademit*

*Assyrio*, Medo que tulit moderamina *Perses*,  
Subjecit *Perses* Macedo, cessurus & Ipse  
*Romanis*.

*Claudian* l. 3. in  
*laudes Stiliconis*

Thus did the *Medes* root out th' *Assyrian* race;  
The *Persian* quickly foyl'd the *Medes*, in place  
Of him subdu'd, up starts the *Macedo*,  
Who eftssoones yeeldes unto the *Roman* toe.

And lastly the *Romans* themselves as by vertue and piety, in their superstitious way they wanne, and mightily enlarged their Empire, so being come to the toppe, they lost it againe by vice and irreligion: so true is that of the *Comickall Poet*,

*Hac nisi urbe aberunt, centuplex*  
*Murus rebus servandis parum est.*  
Unlesse these vices banisht bee.

*Plautus* in  
*Persa*.

What ever forts you have,  
An hundred walls together put;  
Will not have power to save.

With whom accords the *Tragicall*.

----*Vbi non est pudor,*

*Nec cura juris, sanctitas, pietas, fides;*  
*Instabile regnum est.*

Where is no modestie, nor equitie;  
Nor sanctitie, nor pietie,  
No nor fidelitie,  
In such a Kingdome certainly  
There can be noe stability.

Who so is wise then will ponder these things, & they shall understand the loving kindenesse of the Lord.

Again, for matter of learning and knowledge if we come short of the *Ancients*; wee need not impute it to *natures decay*; our owne riot, our idlenesse and negligence in regard of them, will sufficiently discharge nature, and justly cast back the blame upon our selves. *Falsa*



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L. P. de  
caus. corrupt.  
artium lib. 1.

est enim atque inepta illa quorundam similitudo, quam multi tanquam acutissimam atque appositissimam excipiunt, nos ad priores collatos, esse ut nanos in humeris gigantum: non est ita, nec nos sumus nani, nec illi, homines gigantes, sed omnes ejusdem statura, & quidem nos altius erecti eorum beneficio: maneat modo in nobis, quod in illis, studium, attentio animi, vigilantia, & amor veri: quæ si absint, jam non nani sumus, nec in gigantum humeris sedemus, sed homines juxta magnitudinis huius prostrati. For a false and fond similitude it is of some, which they take up as a most witty and proper one, that wee being compared to the Ancients, are as Dwarfes upon the shoulders of Gyants: it is not so, neither are we Dwarfes nor they Gyants, but we are all of one stature, save that we are lifted up somewhat higher by their meanes, conditionally there bee found in us the same studiousnesse, watchfulnesse, and love of truth, as was in them: which if they be wanting, then are wee not Dwarfes, nor set on the shoulders of Gyants, but men of a competent stature groveling on the earth.

Epist. 108.

We wonder (as well we may) at *Aristotles* wit expressed in his voluminous workes, but his indefatigable paines in study, wee consider not, holding in his hand when hee layde him downe to rest, a ball of brasse, which as soone as sleepe overtooke him, fell into a basin of brasse, purposely set under, that so being awakened with the noyse thereof, he might againe returne to his booke: and though he were, as witnesseth *Censorinus*, of so crasie a body (that it is more strange hee should live to his *Climactericall* yeare, then that he then died) yet by the invincible strength of his minde, did hee wade thorow a world of difficulties, and hath thereby left such fruites thereof to the world, as hath deservedly wonne him immortall honour. *Seneca* a man of an admirable vivacity of spirit, writes of himselfe, that one day he heard *Attalus* the Philosopher in his publique Lectures, commend a bed which yeelded not to the body, and thereupon addes, *tali ut or etiam senex, in qua vestigium apparere non possit*; such a one doe I now use, though well stricken in yeares, in which my body leaves no print behinde it: hee likewise by the perswasion of the same *Attalus* abstained from Oysters, from wine, from bathings, he fed sometimes upon a crust of drie bread, sometimes upon wilde fruit, taken from the hedge, and quenched his thirst with faire running water, and this hee did for love of knowledge, in a most luxurious age, living in the court it selfe, abounding in riches and honour, and having all kindes of pleasures at command. The like doth *Plinius Cacilius* in his Epistle to *Marcus*, write of his unkle Turour to the Emperour *Vespasian*, as was *Seneca* to *Nero*: to his rare naturall endowments, hee added incessant watchfulnesse, and labour in reading and writing, his diet was sparing and thinne, his sleepe short and little, in so much that his Nephew *Cacilius* freely confesseth of himselfe: *soleo ridere cum me quidam studiosum vocant, qui, si comparer illi, sum desidiosissimus*: I am wont to smile when they tearme me a hard student, who being compared with him, am in truth a very truant: But to come nearer home, King *Alfred* thought to be founder or restorer of the Vniversity of *Oxford* is reported to have cast the naturall day, consisting of 24. houres, into three parts, whereof the one he spent in affaires of



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of state, a second in the service of his body, and the residue in prayer, study, and writing, which spaces of time, having then none other engine for that purpose, hee measured by a great waxe light divided into so many parts, receiving notice by the keeper thereof, as the severall houres passed in burning.

Such examples as these of the *Auncient* wee admire, wee commend, wee willingly reade and recite, but follow the fashion of our owne times.

*Laudamus veteres sed nostris utimur annis.*

The common complaint is, that we want time, but the truth is, *Non parum habemus temporis, sed multum perdimus*, wee doe not so much want as wast it, either *malè agendo*, or *nihil agendo*, or *aliud agendo*, either in doing naughtines, or nothing, or impertinencies, wee doe *bonas horas malè collocare*, trifle out our pretious houres in eating & drinking, & sleeping; and sporting, and gaming, and dressing our bodies, and then give out & perswade our selves, that *Nature* forsooth is decayed, that our bodies cannot endure that study which our Predecessours did: and truly I thinke many justly complaine of weake and crasie bodies, but withall that more have made them so, by intemperance then study, or found them so by nature, let us then lay the fault where it is, and accuse our selves, not *Nature*, or rather God under that name. And yet what the bodies of men even in these latter ages being thoroughly put to it, are able to endure, the extant workes of *Tostatus*, *Erasmus*, *Gesner*, *Calvin*, *Luther*, *Baronius*, *Bellarmino*, and others sufficiently testifie; it is to this effect a true speech of *Arnoldus Clapmarus* in his *nobile triennium*, *incredible est quantum brevissimo tempore humana possit assequi industria*, it is incredible what the industrie of mā in a very short time may attaine unto. Master *Foxe* in his Latine Epistle to the Reader, prefixed before his *Acts and Monuments*, reports of himselfe, that having but a sickly body, in lesse then eightene *moneths* space he read authours, conferred copies, searched records, gathered matters, digested it into order, revised it, &c. for that great worke, and this to bee true faith hee, *noverunt ij qui testes adfuerunt, & temporis conscij, & laboris socij*, they know full well who were present as witnesses, being both privie to my tyme, and companions of my labour; And *Ioseph Scaliger* in the life of his father *Julius* tels us likewise of himselfe, that when hee began first with the *Greeke* tongue, in *one and twenty* dayes he learned over all *Homer* with the *comment*, and within *four* *moneths* (to use his owne words) *he devoured all the rest of the Greeke Poets*. They were doubtlesse great matters which *Peter Ramus* went through in short time, as appeares in his life; yet not so much by the quickenesse and strength of wit (though therein hee excelled) as by his assiduity and temperance, which was such, that hee would drinke no wine, till by his Physitians hee was injoynd so to do; and from his youth to his dying day never used by his good will any other bedding then straw; and in his study so watchfull hee was, that if he heard in the morning the smiths or carpenters, or other artificers at worke before he were stirring, he would blame himselfe of negligence and sloathfulnesse, that they should prevent him, and be more diligent



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in their mechanicall trades, then hee in the studie of the liberall sciences: And (to adde one more) of our rare Jewell, Doctour *Humphryes* testifies, that hee was & *studioforum calcar*, & *studiorum norma*, & *indefessa diligentia singulare specimen*, a spurre to students, a rule of studies, and a singular president of unwearied studiousnesse; and againe, *victus nimis scholasticus & simplex fuit, corpus macilentum & perimbecillum, ut mireris tot laboribus exhauriendis potuisse sufficere*: his diet was very sparing, and somewhat too scholler-like, his body thinne and very weake, so as a man might justly wonder, how it could indure and bring about such and so many labours.

And certaine it is (what ever our wits pretend to the contrary) that never any became excellent in any profession, or was famous for any notable worke, who was not *abstemious* and *industrious*.

*Multa tulit fecitque puer, sudavit & alsit.*

Hee did both doe and suffer many things.  
Both heat and cold, &c.

And I verily thinke, did the students in our Universities, carefully and constantly observe those houres for prayer (especially in the morning) which our wise and godly founders by their locall statutes require in our severall Colledges, we should soone by Gods blessing find a change both in manners and learning; and thereby stop the mouthes of such both at home and abroad, as cry out that wee have lost our ancient reputation, and that the *Iesuites* by the strictnesse of their discipline have gotten the start of us, and wonne the spurres from us. *Antiquitus strictissime fuit observatum ut exceptis graduatis, nemo animi, vel etiam negotij cuiusquam sui causa è Collegio suo sine superioris petita & obtenta licentia, (socio etiam assignato) egredi posset; ingredi civium domos, prandium aut cœnam apud eos sumere, non nisi maxima urgente causa, & quasi ex speciali indulto, cuiquam licuit: popinas autem intrare, & in hospitij publicis convivari, vel in adibus alicujus civis pernoctare piaculum erat, nam in his si quis deliquisset, ex Academia nisi magna aliqua ratio subfuisse cum dedecore ejiciebatur.* I neede not English it, but wish it practised. And conclude this point with that of *Quintilian*, which cannot too often be remembred; *Non enim nos tarditatis natura damnavit, sed ultra nobis quam oportebat indulgimus, ita non tam ingenio vos illi superârunt, quam proposito.* Nature hath not made us more uncapable then our Ancestours, but wee have beene too indulgent to our selves, by which meanes it comes to passe that they surmount us not so much by the goodnesse of wits, as studiousnesse and endeavour.

Now for the worke it selfe I am well assured (as all other Bookes and actions) it will be diversly censured, as men stand diversly affected: if but three guests meet at a feast, they will hardly accord in one dish; & truly I thinke that as mens fancies (could they bee seene) would bee found to differ more then their faces; so are their judgements more different then their tastes: but this common courtesie (due by the Lawes of civility and humanity) I shall crave (which I hope no ingenuous minde

*Pitfeus Relat.  
Hist. tom 1. c. 9.  
de Acad. Oxon.*

*Orat. 2. 5.*



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minde will deny mee ) that I bee not condemned before I bee understood.

*Ne mea dona tibi studio dispōsta fideli,  
Intellecta prius quam sint, contempta relinquant.*

*Lucret. lib. 1.*

Doe not cast off with surly scorne  
What heere I offer thee,  
Before thou understand aright  
What heere is said by mee,

*Legant & postea despiciant, ne videantur non ex iudicio, sed ex odij praesumptiane ignorata damnare:* first reade, and then despise lest thou seeme to condemne that which thou knowest not, rather out of malicious prejudice, then advised judgement, and if upon a serious perusall and ballancing of mine arguments any shall yet vary from mee, I quarrell him not, but hope wee may both injoy our opinions without any breach of *faith* or *charity*; onely I say that the question is surely noble, and worthy to be discussed by a more noble pen, as being a disquisition touching the shippe wherein we all sayle, whether it bee staunch or no, and herein will be the tryall, *Opinionum commenta dies delet, natura iudicia confirmat*; time weares out dreames of fancie, but strengthens the dictates of Nature and Truth; as the Sun-beames being imprisoned, as it were, for a time, worke through a thicke mist, though with some difficulty, but being once broken through, and the mist dispelled, they shine out and continue cleare.

I have walked ( I confesse ) in an untroden path, neither can I trace the prints of any footsteppes that have gone before mee, but onely as it led them to some other way, thwarting, and upon the by, not directly: some parts belonging to this discourse, some have slightly handled, none thoroughly considered of the whole: which I speake not to derogate from their worth ( it being *puerilis iactantiae accusando illustres viros suo nomini famam querere*; a childlike kinde of bragging to hunt after applause by contradicting famous men ) but onely to shew that whiles they intended another thing, they might happily in this be carried away with the common streame: for surely such a sweet harmony there is betweene all the members of this body, such a coherence and mutuall dependance betwixt all the links of this chaine, that hee who takes a view of the whole, will easily grant that hee might be deceived by looking upon some parts thereof.

Yet some perchance will conceive, I might have delivered my minde with lesse expence of words and time, and truly I must acknowledge that *in multiloquio non deerit peccatum*; it cannot bee but in speaking so much somewhat should be spoken amisse. Yet withall it must be remembred, that being to grapple with such a Gyant-like monster, I could not thinke him dead till I had his head off: and that which to some may seeme superfluous or impertinent, will happily by others be thought not unprofitable or unpleasant, the paines is mine, and if it be over-done, done I am sure it is; if I have said more then enough, enough is said to serve the turne.

And



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Lib. 1. de tri.  
cap. 3.

And if any shall have a minde to publish any thing against that I have written, I shall desire it may be done fairely, not by sucking of the soares, and flying over the sound parts, nor by nibbling upon the twigges, and utmost branches, but by striking at the roote or body of the tree, or at leastwise some of the principall limbes thereof; and in the meane season, I say with Saint *Augustine*, *Quisquis hac legit, ubi pariter certus est, pergat mecum; ubi pariter hesitat, quærat mecum; ubi errorem suum cognoscit, redeat ad me; ubi meum, revocet me*: whosoever thou art that reads this discourse, where thou art assured, goe on with me; where thou art in doubt, search with me; where thou dost acknowledge thine errour, returne to me; where thou findest mine, recall me; and conclude with *Lactantius*: *Etiam si nulli alij, nobis certè proderit, delectabit se conscientia, gaudetque mens in veritatis se luce versari, quod est anima pabulum incredibili quâdam jucunditate perfusum*: If this Treatise profit none else, yet shall it me, my conscience shall comfort it selfe, and my minde bee refreshed in the light of Truth, which is the foode of the soule, mixed with delight incredible.

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*Rode caper vites, tamen hic, cum stabis ad aras,  
In tua quod fundi cornua possit, erit.*

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An

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## *An Advertisement to the Reader*

*occasioned by this third impression.*

**S**ince the second impression of my booke some occurrences have falne out which I could not well passe over in silence.

About two yeares since there came to mine hands a little booke, intituled *De Natura constantia, seu Diatribe in qua per posteriorum temporum cum prioribus collationem, mundum nec ratione suipsius, nec ratione partium, universaliter & perpetuò in pejus ruere ostenditur*. The authour of it calls himselfe *Iohannes Ionstonus* a *Polonian*. This booke after the receipt thereof I soone perused, and found it to be upon the matter little else but a translation of mine contracted into a narrower compassse, the methode is mine, the arguments are mine, the authorities mine, the instances mine, but by mangling and gelding of it, hee hath neither retained the force of my reasons, nor the face of my discourse: so as I may in this case justly take up that of the *Epigrammatist*,

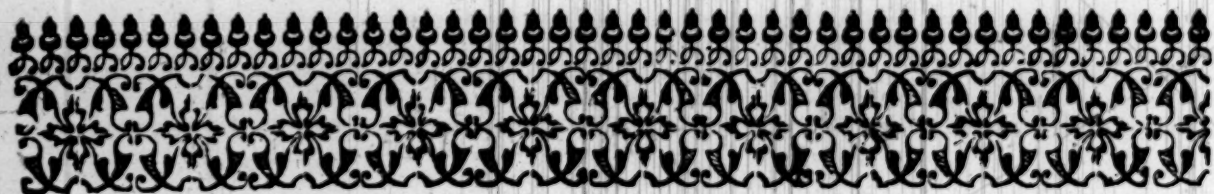
*Quem recitas meus est ô Fidentine libellus;  
Sed male dum recitas, incipit esse tuus.*

True indeed it is, that in two or three places he hath named me, yet so as he not only mistakes my name, but would not seeme to have borrowed from me so much as it is apparent he hath, yet thus I will say for him, that his stile is not to be discommended, and in some other workes of his hee hath shewed himselfe not unlearned.

Since my second impression likewise many papers and letters have passed between a Reverend *Prelate* of this Kingdom and my selfe, as well touching the generall subject; as sundry peeces of my *Apologie*, which hath occasioned the fifth booke, and in a good part the sixth, now added to the other foure. The motive that drew on these papers and letters betwixt us will in part appeare, both by his Lordships Epistle to the Reader, and my answer thereunto, prefixed to the fifth booke.

*These*





**T**Hese ensuing testimonies which some Reverend Prelates, and other grave Divines, and learned Professours have beene pleased under their hands to impart unto mee concerning my booke, and the subject thereof, more ample then I can acknowledge, or deserve, I should not have published, had I not found mine endeavours sleighted by some, and by others in the maine point opposed, professing themselves still unsatisfied, as if I maintained a paradoxe for ostentation of wit, or affectation of singularity, rather then a sound position for love of truth, and the advancement of Gods glory.

Worthy Sir,

**I**t lyeth not in my power to make any sufficient requitall unto you for the many courtesies which I received from you at Oxford; but specially for your last remembrance of mee with that noble monument of your learning and industrie, which you were pleased to send unto mee. Other bookes I seldome reade but once, and that cursorily too, for the most part: but here, *juvat usque morari*; the things contained therein being so artificially mixed with such variety of learning and matter of delight, that they cannot but decies repetita placere, &c.

Your faithfull friend and brother  
*Ia. Armachanus.*

**G**ood Mr Doctour, give me leave I pray you, with many hartty salutations and much desire of your acquaintance, to thanke you for the great pleasure and contentment I have received in reading againe and againe, your learned and excellent discourse touching the power and providence of God in the government of the world: Wherein as I could wish not any thing to be defalked, so me thought I wanted now and then the expressing of the Roman & Greeke summes in our moneyes currant now a dayes &c.

Your loving friend and hartty well-  
willer, *Fr. Hereford.*

**F**or your booke as you treat on a subject wherein much learning may bee shewed, so truly you have shewed it abundantly, and I thinke there is no ingenuous scholler but doth worthily esteeme and commend it. &c.

Your loving friend and brother to be  
commanded, *Godfr. Gloucester.*

These



These testimonies following I have the rather added, partly for that in my *Preface* to the Reader I had affirmed, that for the maine points of my booke, I had the approbation of the *publique Professours* therein, and partly to shew their concurrence in opinion with me, to whose censure I had in mine *Epistle Dedicatory* submitted both my selfe & my booke.

Reverend Sir.

**W**Hen you first proposed unto mee the probleme which is the subject of your learned discourse, I was then your adversary in the point, but now am your convert. I have learned from you, that our many defects argue not a successive decay and consumption in Nature: for if from the beginning, the being of the Creature, had beene attended with daily losse of entitie and perfections, how hath it escaped not being or annihilation? The age wherein you live oweth unto you the restitution to her proper inheritance, together with an assured hope, that her posterity shall not perish; till that finall dissolution by the power of God. You adde life to the endeavours of both, seeing they cannot longer doubt that they may equall (if not transcend) the Acts and vertues of their Predecessours.

Samuel Fell Professour for the Lady Margaret  
Countesse of Richmond.

**S**ir, as reason perswades judgement, so report credulity. A popular tradition is soone prevalent: but sounder learning as soone destroyes it. So hath your accurate industrie confounded that vulgar error of deficient nature. My owne profession must subscribe to it. Never did the Orientall languages finde such perfection as in this last Century.

John Morris S. T. D. King's Pro-  
fessour of the Hebrew tongue in  
the Univerfitie of Oxon.

Reverend Sir.

**I** Am informed by Religion and Reason, that there is an infinite Power, Providence, propagation, and Protection. Had I but doubted of this, I might easily have beene taught it by your learned labours. And the World can never winne me to beleieve an universall decay, while there lives so strong a penne to maintaine the perpetuall flourishing of it, till it shall be no more.

Ed. Lapworth. M. D. & Natur. Philosoph.  
Professor Sedlianus.

Reverend Learned Sir,

**Y**our Booke of the Providence of God, &c. I hold to be a worke of good Iudgement, truth, and use. We finde in Physicke, Simples in Nature for medicines, and our constitutions to bee the same they were of old, for the  
c generall,



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generall, though particulars may be accidentally weaker : and so ascending to their higher causes, the Elements and Heavens, Sunne, Moone, &c. are (I am perswaded) the same as they were created. The universe is (I thinke) and shall continue the same, by God his power and goodnesse, till it be dissolved by the same breath which made it.

Tho. Clayton. Med. Prof. Regius.

Reverend Sir.

**Y**our learned and elegant Apologie doth so clearely demonstrate a permanent vigour of Nature, both celestiall and sublunarie, and so strongly convince all pretended reasons for a perpetuall and generall decay, that the Reader (not obstinately resolute to maintaine his owne Hypothesis) cannot but see and reject the common error, and from you receive and embrace the Truth, to which I most willingly subscribe.

Io. Bainbridge Med. D. & Astronomiæ  
Professor Savilianus.

This testimonie following was sent me since my second impression, but long before the death of the worthy Authour thereof.

Reverend Sir,

**M**y opinion hath alwayes inclined to beleeve, that the world ever since the flood, hath by the infinite wisdom and power of the Almighty Creatour, beene preserved in that strength and beauty which it then enjoyed. And since I have perused your very excellent learned discourse upon this argument, I am wholly confirmed in the same : your great varietie of excellent proofes out of all antiquitie, assuring me, that neither the Heavens nor the Earth, neither the mindes nor the bodies of men have suffered any generall decay. And that God hath granted the knowledge of many strange and excellent things to this age, which in times past were altogether unknowne.

Henricus Briggs  
Geometriæ professor Savilianus.

Reverend Sir.

**I** must confesse before the reading of your booke, I was of that opinion (touching the universall decay of the world.) which you justly tearme a popular error : but through the strength of your arguments, the weight of your authorities, and pregnancie of instances alleadged, am I now otherwise perswaded : nor have I in my slender reading observed, or doe I thinke that History either ancient or moderne, can afford reasons and instances, of equall number and weight to disprove your assertion.

Degoreus Whear Hist. Præl.  
Camdenianus.

Good



**G**ood Doctour Hakewill, I have ever beene of your opinion, that the generall decay which is pretended to be in Nature, and in bodies naturall, both celeſtiall and elementarie, is but a meere conceit: as alſo that the perpetuall declination, which is ſuppoſed to attend mankind, in regard of age, ſtrength, wit and manners, through naturall cauſes, is but a common errour: which you haue fully proved in your learned and copious diſcourſe: and now at foureſcore and ten yeares of age I ſhall not eaſily be otherwiſe perſwaded.

Thom. Allen  
of Gloceſter Hall.

**I**ngere aliquid aut comminiſci quod longiuſculæ taciturnitati meæ prætexerem, nihil videtur opus (clariffime Hakewille:) teipſum enim haudquaquam later, quibus occupationibus ſtudijsvè ego plerunque diſtineri ſoleam; ſic ut intermittenti officio, vel etiam aliquando ceſſanti, paratiſſimam apud te veniam eſſe nullus dubitem: ſed nec tuorum in me meritorum oblivionem ſubreperè poſſe facilis ſuſpicio erit, quoties memineris, quibus me jampridem amoris tui pignoribus obſtrinxeris, & nuper etiam imprimis, ubi Apologiam illam à te recens ſcriptam mihi donare peramanter dignatus es: quo munere cave mihi quicquam abs te maioris pretij gratiusve acceſſiſſe putes. Effabor hoc animo, uno cum illo libro, nihil eruditius, nihil elegantius ſub noſtro hoc cœlo natum meo quidem iudicio viſum eſt. Miſſa enim ut faciam quæſtionis ſubjectæ gravitatem, narrationum perſpicuitatem, argumentorum vim, teſtium denique quos citas & authorum dignitatem ſimul & numerum: Deus bone! totius methodi *ἀκριβεια* qualis, & concinnitas? rerum, materiarumque quanta ſeges? doctrinarum quæ varietas? atque inde, quam ſalutaris & opportuna voluptas? expertus loquor, utpote qui poſtquam à munere publico vacare paullulum licuerit, crebrò huc me contuli, ſine tædio & fatigatione omni hîc ſæpiùs quaſi inambulavi, neq; facilè unquam pedem retuli niſi cum fructu, & ſpico aliquo melioris literaturæ è cultiſſimo uberrimoque hoc agro tuo decerpto. Maſte eſto (vir venerande) & perge tu de repub. literariâ deque eccleſia Dei ulterius mereri.

Verè Tuus

Deg. Whear.

Reverendiſſimo viro, & de optimis optime merito  
Georgio Hakewillo S.T.D. *εὐχαρίστων.*

**E**Cce laborabat varijs erroribus orbis,  
Quem ſuus oppreſſit (nulla ruina) metus.  
Telluris merſæ, jam jamq; cadentis Olympi,  
Aeris exhausti, deficientis aquæ:  
Jamque valeſcebat minitantis opinio morbi,  
Cœperuntque ſuas quique dolere vices.  
Nullos honos medici, jam nulla remedia morbi,



Et sibi nemo suam præstitit ipse fidem.  
Omnia languebant, coelumque solumque putabant  
Nec retinere suas nunc elementa vices.  
Me quoque cum reliquis epidemicus abstulit error,  
Et peream si non & periisse putem.  
Hei mihi quam vanos hominum vesania somnos  
Somniat, & falsos fingit adesse metus.  
Quin etiam horrificant sapientum effata priorum,  
Terrificisque necant pectora cæca minis.  
Haud secus Eumenidum quam viderat agmina Pentheus,  
Orbem cum visus sol geminare suum.  
Atque Mycenarum iuriis vexatus Orestes,  
Ultrici tæda quem sua mater agit.  
Tales quisque sua sibi pingit imagine formas,  
Et timet augurio deteriora suo.

Aspicit Hakewillus tantis erroribus actos,  
Advenit, & medicas admovet ipse manus.  
Fertur ut æthereum clepsisse Prometheus ignem  
Humanas augens invidiosus opes :  
Hic quoque divina feliciter usus opella,  
Luminis indignos erigit arte viros.  
Ergo ubi delusis collyria præstat ocellis,  
Protinus admissâ nox fugit atra die.  
O qualem quantumque virum quo pectore & ore,  
Quo genio ingenio, qua pietate potens.  
Si modo cum tota periisset Apollo caterva,  
Et mundum antiquus destituisset honos,  
Si simul & scioli simul ipsa sciencia, quondam  
Mersa sub obscura dilituisset humo,  
Si Cicerone carens Romæ facundia desit,  
Jactabunda suis Græcia tota scholis,  
Scilicet hoc uno sperem elucescere Phœbo,  
Rursus & è tenebris surgere posse suis.  
Ille opus aggreditur, feliciter ille medetur,  
Quoque laboratur sustulit ille malum.  
Diffugiunt umbræ, morbusque metusque recedunt,  
Redditur & rebus vita vigorque suis  
Auspicijs Hakewille tuis nunc vivitur ergo,  
Gratia Diis, vestra jamque valemus ope.  
Quanta tibi tali debetur gloria facto,  
Auxiliatrici gratia quanta stylo ?  
Quales elapsus victricibus hostis ab armis,  
Cui modo de certa est certa salute fides ;  
Vel quantas medico memori de pectore cæcus  
Lumine post multos jam redeunte dies,  
Vel quales quantasque à morte reductus acerba,  
Solverit in gratos ora redempta sonos.



Quare age debemus, quicquid sumus, atque libenter,  
Solvimus in titulos nostraque nosque tuos.

Eia age vicisti, neque enim pugnabimus ultra,  
Tendimus en victas in tua verba manus.

καλίστως

*Eruditionis, gravitatis, pietatis  
sue observantissimus*

Rogerus Gosteyk S.T.B.  
Cantabrigiensis.

One more testimonie I will adde, but that one in steed of many, sent mee from a deare friend, and neare neighbour of mine, whose station in the Church of God had it beene answerable to his gifts, hee should doubtlesse have moved and shined in an higher & larger spheare then hee did.

*In eruditissimam D. Hakewilli  
Apologiam Elogium.*

**S**UO creare numini Mundum parem,  
Carentem origine, nescientem termini.  
Non potuit ille cuncta qui potest Deus.  
Hinc æviternum condidit, similem sibi,  
Rei creatæ sola quæ Perfectio  
Ab Architecto potuit optimo dari.  
Perire namque causâ ab exterâ nefas  
Cui nil sit usquam quod repugnet exterum:  
Contrâ duello quicquid interno cadit  
Successione mutuâ rependitur.  
Ergo labore nec fatiscit perpete,  
Quiete vires nec redintegrat novas:  
Non tæbe languet, non senectâ deficit,  
Non letho ab hoste, morte non obit suâ.

Hoc omne magnum, terra, cærum, polus,  
Sol, astra, luna, quicquid humanum genus  
Ambit, regitque sustinetque, sexies  
Bis quina sæcla plus minusve substitit.  
Ætas, statura, ingenia, mores interim,  
Quæ sunt tuere, quæque sunt futura sunt.  
Ténorem eundem cuncta servant: omnia  
Tuetur idem qui creavit artifex.  
Tuebiturque facta recta quatenus  
Ipsi placebit: solus ævum cum volet  
Finiri poterit illi qui potuit dare.  
Dabitque finem, non aquarum molibus,  
Prisca ut Gigantum cum piaret sæcula:  
Sed ignium undis, Christiana quod docet,



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Subesse falsum cui nihil potest, Fides.  
Nam cum supremus arduo Judex throno  
Jus mortuisque dicet & viventibus:  
Torrens ab imo flammeus solio Dei  
Fragore acuto, vasto & impetu fluens  
Involver, obruetque cuncta, & omnis hæc  
Reddetur ingens quam videmus machina  
Levis favilla, tenuis & cinisculus,  
Cinis, favilla? non sat est, imò Nihil.

Hæc, hisque plura Hackwillianus suggerit  
Docti catique doctus & carus liber,  
Volvendus ille mente seriâ, & manu  
Crebrâ terendus: Rem putas? nil dignius,  
Rerum lacertos & toros? nil fortius:  
Formam ordinemque? Pulchrius nihil: Stilum,  
Phrasinque? nil est uspiam elegantius.  
Sic usquequaque dulce miscet utili,  
Tulisse punctum ut omne nullus ambigas.  
Sacerque vatum me nisi fallat tripos,  
Vivet, vigebit: quippe cui Genius inest.  
Nec interibit usque dum novissimo  
Natura rerum & ipsa solvitur die,  
Cremante cuncta publico Mundi rogo.

*Io. Damaus S. T. B.*

*Cantabrigiensis.*

Diverse other faire and rich testimonies (farre beyond my expectation and merit) I have received at severall times, and upon severall occasions from other worthy men, but these I conceived would suffice to make it appeare, and to let such as beleeve otherwise to know, that I stand not single, nor maintaine a paradoxe.

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THE

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Not long after the first edition of my booke, it pleased the right Reverend and learned Prelate the Lord Bishop of *Hereford*, now with God, to doe mee so much favour as freely to impart mee his minde touching the computation of the *Roman Sesterce*, by letters; the effect whereof was, that he valued the *Sesterce* at somewhat an higher rate then I had done, grounding himselfe upon the decrease in the weight of coynes since the time of *Budeus*, who wrote his booke *de asse*, (as appeareth by the date of the Epistle Dedicatory, in the yeare 1514) somewhat above one hundred yeares agoe, and the greatest part of the best Authours following him since therein, those who live in this present age might happily be somewhat mistaken in their reckoning by reason of the distance betwixt our times and his. The difference betwixt his Lordships computation and mine is not great, he valuing twenty *Sesterces* at 3<sup>l</sup> 2<sup>d</sup> of our coyne, and my selfe at 3<sup>l</sup> 1<sup>d</sup> ob, which in small summes is scarce sensible, though in great summes I must confesse it appeare somewhat wider, which upon the matter serves my turne better, in as much as it serves to make the excesse of the *Roman* luxury appeare the greater: yet to bolt out the truth, and withall to satisfie my selfe in this businesse, I sent to a friend of mine in *London* to take information from the Mint-masters what was the present value of an ounce of silver with us, because the *denarius* being by generall consent the eighth part of an ounce, and the *Sesterce* the fourth part of the *denarius*; it consequently followes, that as the ounce rises or falls in value, so doth the valuation of the *Sesterce*: Answer was returned mee, that the Kings price of the mint for silver brought thither is five shillings, but betweene man and man, five shillings and three pence; The former of which I have followed, as likewise doth Sir *Henry Savill* in his Annotations on *Tacitus*, and our last Translatours in their marginall notes; but my L. of *Hereford* seemes to draw nearer to the latter, which to speake truly and properly is accounted the sterling price: and therefore to mine owne calculation I have now made bold to annexe his Lordships, leaving the Reader to his owne choyce to have recourse unto, and make use of which he please. I was likewise about to have set downe in the margine of my booke (which many have desired) the value of the *Sesterces* mentioned therein answerable to our *English* coynes, but the difference being so great betweene *Sestertij* and *Sestertia*, when I found the summe to be expressed by *Sestertijs*, it being common to both, I could fixe upon neither but upon conjecture, and casting of it up, by the one I found the summe sometimes to fall so low under expectation, and by the other to rise so high above beleife, and besides the margin in many places to be so prepossed with quotations, that in the end I resolved to leave all to the use of the calculated Tables & the direction of the Reader, it being certaine that when wee finde out a thing by a concurrence and cooperation of our owne diligence, it both rellissheth the sweeter and stickes the faster.

THE



# THE TABLE OF THE VALUE OF THE ROMAN SESTERCE, *compared with our English coyne now in use.*

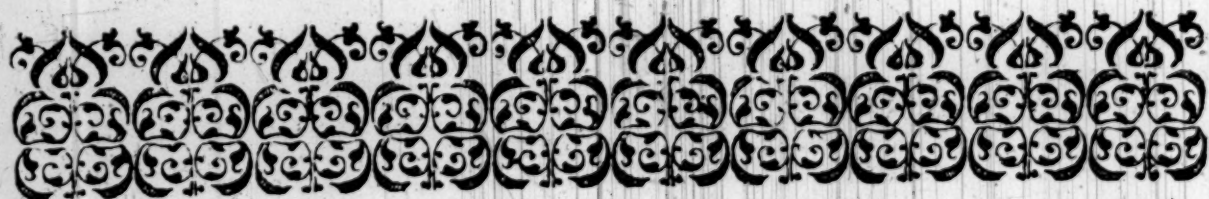
**B**Ecause in the fourth and last booke of this ensuing treatise in discoursing of the *Roman* *luxury*, frequent mention is made of their excessive expences, and the ordinary computation of their Authors, whose testimonies I use, is by *Sesterces*: I held it requisite for the better understanding of those summes by such who are not acquainted with the *Roman* coynes, in this table to expresse the value of the *Sesterce*, and withall to reduce some of their most noted summes to our *sterling*, that so the Reader desirous to know any particular summe, may either find it expressed in this Table, or easily finde it out by the proportioning the summe which he desires to know, with the nearest to it above or under.

The *Sestertius* was among the *Romans* a coyne so common, that *nummus* and *Sestertius* came at length to be used promiscuously the one for the other, so called it was *quasi Semisestertius*, because of three *asses* is wanted halfe a one, and is thus commonly expressed *HS*, or thus *H-S*, by which is understood two *asses* and an halfe. For the value of it, ten *asses* make a *denarius* or *Roman* pennie, so tearmed, because it contained *dena ara*, which were the same with their *asses*; so as the *Sesterce* containing two *asses* and an halfe, must of necessity be found in the *denarius* foure times; now the *denarius* being the eight part of an ounce, and an ounce of silver being now with us valued at five shillings; it followes from thence that the value of the *denarius* is seven pence halfe penny; and consequently of the *Sesterces*; being the fourth part thereof, penny halfe penny farthing halfe farthing. Touching the manner of counting by *Sesterces*, a controversie there is betwixt *Budaeus* & *Agricola*, whither *Sestertius* in the masculine & *Sestertium* in the neuter, be to be valued alike, which *Agricola* affirmes, *Budaeus* upon better reason in my judgement denies, and to him I incline, holding with him that *Sestertium* in the neuter contains a thousand *Sestertios*: But here two things are specially to be noted; first, that if the *numerall*, or word that denoteth the number being an *adjective*, and of a different case, be joyned with *Sestertium* (by an abbreviation put for *Sestertiorum*) in the genitive case plurall, then doth it note so many thousand *Sestertij*; for example, *decem Sestertium* signifieth *decem millia*, ten thousand *Sesterces*: Secondly, if the *numerall* joyned with *Sestertium* be an *adverb*, then it designeth so many hundred thousand, ex: *gr*a: *decies Sestertium* signifies *decies centena millia*, ten hundred thousand, or a million of *Sesterces*; and sometimes the substantive *Sestertium* is omitted, but necessarily understood; the adjective then or adverb set alone being of the same value as if the substantive were expressed, as thus, *decem* standing by it selfe is as much as *decem Sestertium*, and *decies* in like case, as if it were *decies Sestertium*, which I have premised that the reason of my rendring the *Latine* summes might the better be conceived, now to the table.

Sesterces	are worth	In English monies.	Sesterces	are worth	In English monies.
Twenty		0-3-1-ob.	A Million		7812-10-0-0.
A hundred		15-7-ob.	Five Millions		39062-10-0-0.
Five hundred		3-18-1-ob.	Ten Millions		78125-0-0-0.
A thousand		7-16-3-0.	Twenty Millions		156250-0-0-0.
Five thousand		39-1-3-0.	Fiftie Millions		390625-0-0-0.
Ten thousand		78-2-6-0.	A hundred Millions		781250-0-0-0.
Twenty thousand		156-5-0-0.	Two hundred Millions		1562500-0-0-0.
Fiftie thousand		390-12-6-0.	Five hundred Millions		3906250-0-0-0.
A hundred thousand		781-5-0-0.	A thousand Millions.		7812500-0-0-0.
Five hundred thousand		3906-5-0-0.			

*A Talent is 750 ounces of silver, which after five shillings the ounce, is 187 pounds.*





# MY LORD OF HEREFORD'S TABLES OF CALCVLATION WITH

the reformation of such mistakes as were  
found in that Copie which it pleased his  
Lordship to send mee.

Unus Sestertius in masculino ge- nere, five unus nummus, valebat nostræ monetæ Anglicanæ fe- re	50 60 70 80 90	395-16-8 475-0-0 554-3-4 633-6-8 712-10-0
Nimirum ut 10 valeant <i>Sestertij.</i> Viceni sestertij	19 <sup>d</sup> 0 3 2 <sup>d</sup> 0-4-9 0-6-4 0-7-11 0-9-6 0-11-1 0-12-8 0-14-3	Centum millia vel C. vel 100 Sestertia valebant Ducenta 300 400 500 600 700 800 900
100 Sestertij vel 100 nummi (quod idem sonat) valebant	0-15-10 1-11-8 2-7-6 3-3-4 3-19-2 4-15-0 5-10-10 6-6-8 7-2-6 7-18-4	Jam deinceps numerantur per adver- bia, ut non dicamus mille millia, vel mille sestertia, sed decies, id est, decies millena millia. Decies continet nostræ monetæ suppu- tatione paulò accuratiori
Duceni 300 400 500 600 700 800 900		7914-13-4 15829-6-8 23744-0-0 31658-13-4 39573-6-8 47488-0-0 55402-13-4 63317-6-8 71232-0-0 79146-13-4 158293-6-8 237440-0-0 316586-13-4 395733-6-8 474880-0-0 554026-13-4 633173-6-8 712320-0-0 791466-13-4 1582933-6-8 2374400-0-0
Mille nummi valebant <i>Sestertia.</i> Bina H.S. vel bina Sestertia in neutro genere valebant	15-16-8	
3 H.S. five sestertia, five 3 millia num- morum valebant	23-15-0	
4 H.S.	31-13-4	
5	39-11-8	
6	47-10-0	
7	55-8-4	
8	63-6-8	
9	71-5-0	
Dena H.S. five Sestertia, vel 10000 nummum.	79-3-4	
Vicena Sestertia vel XX, vel 20 millia nummum	158-6-8	
30 H.S. vel &c.	237-10-0	
40	316-13-4	
		Quater

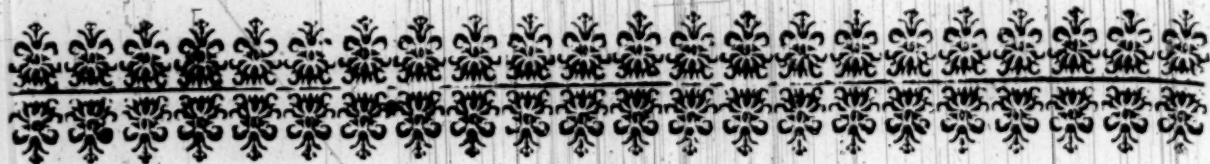


Quater millies	3165866-13-4	Octies millies	6331733-6-8
Quinquies millies	3957333-6-8	Novies millies	7123200-0-0
Sexies millies	4748800-0-0	Decies millies	7914666-13-4
Septies millies	5540266-13-4	Vicies millies	15829333-6-8

*Talentorum apud Antiquos multa fuere genera, Atticum, Euboicum, Aeginense, Hebraicum, Babylonicum, & alia. Sed hoc observandum est, Scriptores ubi Talenti mentionem faciunt absque ulla adiectione, vix unquam aliud intelligere quam Atticum, quod valebat nostra moneta Anglicana libras 190<sup>l</sup>.*

Talentum Atticum	190 <sup>l</sup>	Talenta 2000	380000
Talenta duo	380	3000	570000
3	570	4000	760000
4	760	5000	950000
5	950	6000	1140000
6	1140	7000	1330000
7	1330	8000	1520000
8	1520	9000	1710000
9	1710	10000	1900000
10	1900		
Talenta 20	3800	Talenta 20000	3800000
30	5700	30000	5700000
40	7600	40000	7600000
50	9500	50000	9500000
60	11400	60000	11400000
70	13300	70000	13300000
80	15200	80000	15200000
90	17100	90000	17100000
100	19000	100000	19000000
Talenta 200	38000	200 Millia	38000000
300	57000	300	57000000
400	76000	400	76000000
500	95000	500	95000000
600	114000	600	114000000
700	133000	700	133000000
800	152000	800	152000000
900	171000	900	171000000
1000	190000	Mille millia Talentorum	190000000





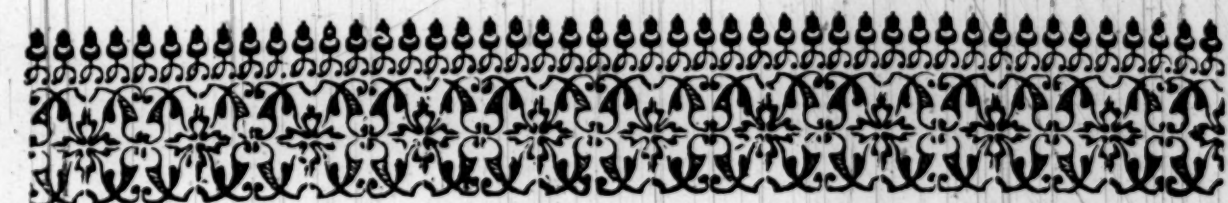
Boethius lib. 3. metro 9.

*O Qui perpetua mundum ratione gubernas,  
Terrarum Cælique Sator! qui tempus ab ævo  
Ire jubes: stabilisque manens das cuncta moveri,  
Da pater augustam menti conscendere sedem,  
Da fontem lustrare boni, da luce reperta  
In te conspicuos animæ defigere visus.  
Disjice terrena nebulas & pondera molis,  
Atque tuo splendore mica. Tu namque serenum,  
Tu requies tranquilla p̄s, Te cernere, finis,  
Principium, vector, dux, semita, terminus, idem.*

Thou that mad'st heaven and earth, whose wisdom still doth guide  
The world, by whose command time evermore doth slide:  
Thou that unmov'd thy selfe, causest all things to move:  
Grant Father, I may climbe those sacred seates above,  
Grant, I of good may view the spring, that finding light,  
My minde perpetually on thee may fixe her sight.  
Dispell these cloudes, discharge this load of lumpish clay,  
And spread thy beames: for thou to Saints the clearest day,  
The calmest quiet art, and thee to contemplate  
Port, passage, leader, way, beginning is and date.

AN





AN  
INDEX OF THE TABLES  
ADDED IN THE END OF THE  
Booke, besides that of the severall Chapters  
and Sections set in the beginning thereof.

*First, of the principall things and matters contained therein.*

*Second, of the computation and calculation of the Roman Se-  
sterce, as well by mine owne way as my L. of Herefords.*

*Third, of the names of the severall Authours alleadged in this  
discourse, for the greatest part whereof I must acknowledge my  
selfe beholding to the publique Librarie at Oxford, where hee  
that desires it may freely consult them.*

*Fourth, of the passages of holy Scripture, specially those which are  
some way illustrated.*

*Fifth, of the Errata which have passed in some Coppies, which I  
shall desire the Reader to correct.*

---

AN









AN  
APOLOGIE OF THE  
POWER AND PROVIDENCE  
OF GOD IN THE GOVERNMENT  
OF THE WORLD:

OR  
An Examination and Censure of the com-  
mon errour touching Natures perpetuall  
and universall decay.

LIB. I.

*Which treats of this pretended Decay in generall, together  
with some preparatives thereunto.*

CAP. I.

Of diverse other opinions justly suspected if not rejected, though  
commonly received.

SECT. I. *In Divinitie.*



THE opinion of the Worlds Decay is so  
generally received, not onely among the  
Vulgar, but of the Learned, both Divines  
and others, that the very commonnesse of  
it makes it currant with many, without any  
further examination: That which is held,  
not onely by the multitude, but by the  
Learned, passing smoothly for the most  
part without any checke or controll. *Nec  
alius pronior fidei lapsus, quam ubi rei falsa  
gravis author extitit,* saith *Pliny*: Men do not  
any where more easily erre, then where they follow a guide, whom  
they presume they may safely trust: They cannot quickly be perswa-  
ded, that hee who is in reputation for knowledge and wisdom, and  
whose doctrine is admired in weighty matters, should mistake in points  
of lesser consequence, and the greatest part of the World, is rather led  
A with



with the names of their Masters, and with the reverend respect they beare their persons or memories, then with the soundnesse and truth of the things they teach. Wherein that of *Vadianus* in his Epistle of *Paradice*, is, and ever will be verified. *Magnos errores magnorum virorum autoritate persuasi transmittimus*: Wee deliver over as it were by tradition from hand to hand great errors, being thereunto induced by the authority of great men. Whiles wee are yong, our judgement is raw and greene, and when wee are old, it is forestalled, by which meanes it comes often to passe that, *inter juvenile iudicium, & senile praeiudicium, veritas corrumpitur*; betweene the precipitancie and rashnesse of youth to take whatsoever is offered, and the obstinate stiffnesse of age in refusing what it hath not formerly beene acquainted with, truth is lost. The evidencing of which assertion, is the proper subject of this Chapter, wherein I hope I shall make it appeare, that many opinions are commonly received, both in ordinary speech, and in the writings of learned men, which notwithstanding are by others either manifestly convinced, or at leastwise justly suspected of falsehood and errour, and this as well in *Divinitie*, as in *Philosophie* and *Historie*.

First then in *Divinitie* (not to meddle with doctrinall points in controversie at this day) it is commonly received, and beleevd, that *Iudas* among the other Apostles, received the blessed Sacrament at our Lords hands; of which notwithstanding, saith the learned *Zanchius*, *Etsi multi magni viri hoc docuerint & scripserint, ego tamen nullo modo concedo, aut concedere possum, quia aperte pugnat cum historia Iohannis Euangelista*: Though many great Clarkes have taught and written it, yet my selfe neither do nor can by any meanes grant it, inasmuch as it plainly contradicts the History of *Iohn* the Euangelist.

That the Sea was in a miraculous manner restrained from overflowing the earth, as also that the terrestriall *Paradise* was yet existent in perfection, and that both *Enoch* and *Elias* were translated thither and there lived, was commonly held by the generall streame of antiquitie; both which opinions are now contradicted and cried downe by the *Jesuites* and namely by *Pererius* upon *Genesis*.

That the foure *Monarchies* alluded unto by *Nabuchadnezzars* image, were to endure to the end of the World; of which *Iunius* observes, *hanc quidem sententiam Patres ferè omnes sequuti sunt*: this opinion well nigh all the Fathers followed, yet doth himselfe maintaine, that they reach onely to the first comming of Christ, and publication of the Gospell.

That *Melchizedeck* spoken of in the Epistle to the *Hebrewes*, was *Sem* the sonne of *Noah*: Yet *Pererius* in his commentarie on the 14 of *Genesis*, endeavours to overthrow it by many weightie reasons drawne from the Text.

That it was before the Flood unlawfull for men to feed upon flesh, whereas *Cajetan* holds the contrary opinion, and is therein followed by *Franciscus de Victoria* in his relection of temperance, and *Dominicus Soto* in his fift booke de *Iustitia & Iure*, first question, and first article.

That our first Parents stood but one day in *Paradice*, of which opini-

on

In quantum  
praeceptum.

Cap. 13 30.

In quantum  
Gen.



on *Pererius* likewise affirms, *Pervulgata est, eademque ut multorum, sic imprimis nobilium & illustrium Authorum firmata consensu*; it is commonly received and strengthened by the consent of many worthy and famous authors: yet labours he to disprove it, in as much as so many, and so different acts are by *Moses* recorded to have passed betweene their Creation and Ejection, as could not well be dispatched within the compasse of one day. And *Tostatus*, though he were first of the common opinion, yet afterward upon better advice he changed it.

That the Prophecie of old *Iacob*, *The Scepter shall not depart from Iudab untill Shilo come*, was fulfilled in *Herods* raigne at the birth of *CHRIST*, by the continuance of the government in the Tribe of *Iudab*, till the raigne of *Herod*, reputed the first stranger that tooke upon him the Kingly office among the *Jewes*: but *Casaubon* in his Exercitations, proves that neither the kingly government was continued in that Tribe, in as much as it was often interrupted, and at length ended in *Zedechiah*, nor that *Herod* was a stranger, in as much as himselfe, his father, and his grandfather were all circumcised, and yet he confesses of the common opinion, *hac sententia ab insignibus pietate & doctrina viris profecta, ubi semel est admissa, sine ulla controversia aut examine apud omnium aetatum eruditos prater admodum paucos semper deinceps obtinuit*; this opinion first set on foot by men of singular pietie and learning, and being once generally embraced without any question or examination of it, afterward prevailed with the Learned of all ages, some few onely excepted.

That there passed but foure *Passeovers* betweene the Baptisme and Passion of our Saviour: yet the same *Casaubon* in his Exercitations upon *Baronius*, tells us; *primus quod sciam nostra memoria assertor quinti Paschatis extitit Gerardus Mercator, insignis Mathematicus, cujus sententiam viri summi & amplexi sunt, & novis argumentis ex Hebraici Kalendarii ratione precipue desumptis confirmarunt*: the first (to my knowledge) who stood for a fifth *Passeover*, was *Gerardus Mercator*, a famous Mathematician, whose opinion the most learned have both embraced, and confirmed by arguments drawne chiefly from the computation of the *Hebrew Kalendar*.

That *Iephthah* slew his daughter, and sacrificed her to the Lord: but *Iunius* in his annotations on that place thinks hee onely consecrated her by vowing her virginie, which may well stand with the nature of the originall word, and the contrary cannot well stand, either with *Iephthahs* faith, or Gods acceptance.

That by the river *Phison*, mentioned in the second of *Genesis*, the *Indian Ganges* is to be understood, *Sententia est omnium fere interpretum ac Theologorum probata consensu*; is an opinion allowed by the consent of almost all Interpreters and Divines, saith *Pererius*; yet for himselfe hee professeth, *Mihi diligenter omnia consideranti ac perpendenti nunquam visum est probabile Phison esse Gangem*: when I had exactly weighed all circumstances, it never seemed to mee so much as probable, that *Phison* should be *Ganges*.

That by the river *Gehon Nilus* is to be understood, *Nullus est fere omnium interpretum ( tanta in hoc est omnium consensio ) qui non pro certo*  
A 2
habeat

Comment. in  
Gen. cap. 3.

Gen. 49. 10.

Exercit. 1. ad  
apparat. Annal.  
cap. 2.

Exercit. 16. an  
no. 34. num. 1.



*habeat hoc nomine Gehon significatum esse à Mose, Nilum* : there is hardly any one Expositour (so great is the consent in this) who doth not hold it for certaine, that under *Gehon*, the river *Nilus* is by *Moses* signified, saith the same *Pererius* : yet afterwards hee addes, *Sed Gehon non esse Nilum, multa & clara sunt indicia*; yet that *Gehon* is not *Nilus*, there are many and cleare evidences.

History of the  
World, part 1.  
lib. 1. cap. 7.

That the Arke rested upon the hils of *Armenia*; whereas Sir *Walter Rawleigh* is confident, that therein most Writers were utterly mistaken. Neither was he led so to thinke (as he professeth) out of humour or singularity, but therein groundeth himselfe upon the originall, and first truth, which is the word of God, and after upon reason and the most probable circumstances thereupon depending. And in truth he that shall consider that the sons of *Noah* comming out of the Arke, travelled from the East into the land of *Shinar* (where they built the towre of *Babel*) and that *Armenia* lies to the Northwest of that plaine, will easily conceive that it could not well be, that the Arke should rest upon those hils; but the chiefe occasion of the mistake seemes to be in the vulgar translation, which hath rendred *Armenia* instead of *Ararat*.

That of the three sonnes of *Noah*, *Sem*, *Cham*, and *Japhet*; *Sem* was the eldest, *Cham* the second, and *Japhet* the yongest; whereas *Iunius* is of opinion that *Japhet* was the eldest, grounding himselfe upon the text, *Genesis* 10. 21. *Cham* the yongest, which he proves from *Genesis* 9. 24. and that *Japhet* was the eldest is not his opinion alone, but of *Lyrannus*, *Tostatus*, *Genebrard*, and the Hebrew Doctors.

Gen. 3. 6.

That the fruit of the tree of knowledge of good and evill, was an apple: whereas the text specifies no such matter; and it should seeme by the circumstances thereof, that it was rather some other kind of fruit more pleasant, both to the taste and sight.

Vide Agathar-  
chidem de rubro  
mari.  
Dec. 2. lib. 8.  
cap. 1.

That the waters of the Red Sea were of colour red, whereas travelers into those parts by sight find the contrary: it rather borrowing that name from the red bankes and cliffs about it, as both *Castro* and *Barros* are of opinion, or from the coasts of *Idumæa*, by which it passeth, as *Scaliger* first observed, and after him *Fuller*.

Exod. 34. 29.

To these may be added, that it is commonly beleaved, that *Moses* had hornes when hee came downe from the mountaine, because they read in the vulgar Latine, *Ignorabat quod cornuta esset facies sua*: Hee knew not that his face was horned; whereas the sense is, he knew not that his face shined, the same word in the Hebrew signifying both an horne, and a shining beame.

Mat. 2. 23.

That our Saviour wore his haire long, because we read he was a *Nazarite*; whereas the truth is, that he was a *NaZarite*, or rather a *NaZarene*, as with *Beza* our last Translatours read it, by education not by profession and institution, in regard of the place in which hee was nursed, and conversed, not any vow whereunto hee was bound.

2. Sam. 18. 9.  
Camden. in  
Hampshire.

And lastly, that *Absolon* was hung by the haire of the head, whereas the text saies in plaine termes, *his head caught hold on the Oke*: in like manner (it seemes) as *Henry*, Grand-child to the Conquerour is said to have ended his daies in the new Forrest.

SECT.



## SECT. 2. In Philosophie.

**S**Econdly, in Philosophy it is commonly received, that the heart is the seat and shop of the principall faculties of the soule: nay, divine Scripture applying it selfe to the ordinary opinion therein, in many places attributes wisdom and understanding to the heart: whereas that noble paire of Physicians, *Hippocrates* and *Galen* have made it evident by experimentall proofes, that those divine powers of reasoning and discourse are seated in the braine, in as much as they are not hindered in the distemper of the heart, but of the braine, nor recovered being lost, by medicaments applyed to the heart, but to the braine.

That the three principall faculties of the soule, the Understanding, Imagination, and Memory; are distinguished by three severall Cells or Ventricles in the braine; the Imagination (as is conceived) being confined to the fore-part, the Memory to the hinder part, and Judgment or Understanding to the middle part thereof; which opinion *Laurentius* confutes, and *Fernelius* derides, making them all to be dispersed thorough all the receptacles of the braine, in as much as sometimes when the whole braine is disaffected, the operation but of one of those faculties is hurt; and sometimes againe when but one ventricle is hurt, the operation of all the three faculties are hindred. Neither ought it to seem more strange, that the same ventricle in the braine should be capable of all these three functions, then that the same bone or sinew, and every part and particle thereof should have in it (in regard of the nourishment it receives, and the excrement it drives forth,) an attractive, a retentive, an assimilative, and an expulsive vertue.

*Hist. Anat. lib.  
10. 9. 2.*

That one hand by nature is more usefull, and more properly made for action then the other: whereas wee find no such difference betwixt the two eyes, the two eares, the two nostrils; and if men were left to themselves, as many, I thinke, if not more, would use the left hand, as now by education and custome doe the right: And in truth I am of opinion that God and Nature hath given us two hands, that wee should use both indifferently, that if need required, the one might supply the losse or defect of the other. Such would *Plato* have the Cittizens of his Common-wealth to be, and such do I take those seaven hundred *Benjamites* to have beene, mentioned in the 20<sup>th</sup> of *Judges*; and if either hand should in nature be preferred before other, mee-thinkes in reason it should be that which is nearest the heart, the fountaine of life and activitie.

That in nature there is an East and a West; which (as to mee it seemes) cannot be, since that which to us is East, is West to our *Antipodes*; and that which is East to them, is West to us.

That the radicall moisture, and primigeniall heat, naturally ingrafted in us, wastes alwaies by degrees from the time of our conception, as oyle in a lampe, or waxe in a taper: whereas notwithstanding till wee come to the age of consistence, wee still grow in bulke, in strength and stature:



stature: which for mine owne part I cannot conceive how it should be: if from our infancie our naturall heat and moisture still decreased.

Herodotus lib. 2.

That a man hath a naturall speech of his owne as he is a man, (some thinke *Hebrew*) which language he would speake by nature, if hee were not taught some other: but this is a dreame, and hath beene twice confuted by a double experiment. The first was *Psammeticus* a King of *Egypt*, who desiring to understand which was mans most ancient and naturall language, caused two children to be sequestred from all society of men, and to be nourished of two she goates, forbidding all speech unto them: which children continuing for a long time dumbe, at last uttered *Bec Bec*: the King being informed, that in the *Phrygian* language *Bec* signified *Bread*, imagined that the children called then for Bread, & from thence collected, that because they spake that language which no man had taught them, therefore the *Phrygian* language was the naturall speech of man. A weake prooffe and silly conceit. For the childrens *Bec*, (as is probably collected) was onely that language which they learned of their Goat-nurces, when they came to suck their tetts, who receiving from them some ease by their sucking, saluted them with *Bec*, the best language they had, from whom the children learned it, and so much as they heard, so much just they uttered, and no more: and if they had not heard it, they could never have pronounced it, as we may evidently see in men that are borne deafe. And by another experiment tryed upon other infants, (which is our second instance) by *Melabdim* *Echebar*; whom they call the *Great Magore* or *Mogul*. Hee likewise upon the fore-named errour, that man hath a certaine proper language by nature, caused thirty children to be brought up in dumbe silence, to finde out the experience, whether all of them would speake one and the same language, having inwardly a purpose to frame his Religion conformable to that Nation whose language should be spoken, as being that Religion which is purely naturall unto man. But the children proved all dumbe, though they were so many of them, and therefore they could not speake, because they were not taught: whereby it appeareth, that the speaking of any language is not in man by nature; The first man had it by divine *Infusion*, but all his posterity onely by *Imitation*.

Purchas Pil. l. 1.  
cap. 8.

### SECT. 3. In History Ecclesiasticall.

Epist. 86. Casu-  
lano.

Mist. Natur. lib.  
8 cap. 22.

**T**Hirdly, in History; which is *Ecclesiasticall*, *Civill*, or *Naturall*. In History *Ecclesiasticall* it is commonly received, that *Simon Peter* encountred with *Simon Magnus*, and that the *Magitian* undertaking to flie up into the aire, the *Apostle* so wrought by prayer and fasting, that he came tumbling downe and brake his necke. but of this story saith *St Augustine*, *Est quidem & hac opinio plurimorum, quamvis eam perhibeant esse falsam plerique Romani*: many are of this opinion, yet most of the *Roman* Writers hold it but as a tale. And in another place he calls it *Gracæ fabulam*, an invention of the *Gracians*, who were so fruitfull in these kind of fables, that *Pliny* himselfe could say of them, *Mirum est quò procedat Gracæ*



*Græca credulitas, nullum tam impudens mendacium est ut teste careat;* it is a wonder to see whither the credulity of the Greekes carry them, there being no lye so shamefull, but it findes a patron among them: Nay, the very Latine Poet took notice of their immoderate liberty this way:

--- *Et quicquid Græcia mendax*

*Audet in historia?*

*Juven. Sat. 10.*

What dares not lying Greece

Insert in histories?

And so did the Roman Oratour, *tribuo illis literas; do multarum artium disciplinam, testimoniorum autem fidem & veritatem nunquam isti coluere:* Learning I grant them, and the knowledge of many Arts, but for the religious credit of testimonies they never regarded it. *In Orat. pro Flacco.*

That our ordinary Computation of the yeere of the Lord is exact, yet *Kepler* in the fourth Chapter of his discourse touching that yeere, speaking of the ordinary computation, *ista annorum summa, (saith hee) licet receptissima & publico usu stabilita, brevior tamen est quam ut à Nativitate Christi descendat:* that number of yeeres though it be most commonly received and settled by publique use, yet falls it short of the time passed since Christs Nativitie; and againe, *error iste tacito vulgi consensu sensim invaluit,* that error by a tacite consent of the vulgar hath unawares prevailed.

That the World was created in the Spring: *Opinio est non Astrologis modo & Poetis accepta, sed omnium etiam Ecclesiasticorum Scriptorum atque Theologorum firmata consensu* saith *Pererius*, is an opinion not intertaind onely of Astrologers and Poets, but ratified by the consent of all Ecclesiasticall Writers and Divines; yet doth himselfe professedly maintaine the Creation to have beene in *Autumne*.

That *S<sup>t</sup> Hierome* was a Cardinall, and apparrelled in Scarlet Robes, many Writers have fained, and the Painters following them have thereby deceived more; yet *Baronius* howbeit it might perchance serve to advance the honour of his owne order, rejects it as a fiction, and as contrary both to the manner of life and writings of that great, but severe Doctor. *Tom. 4. Anno. 377.*

That *S<sup>t</sup> James* the elder came into *Spaine*, and converted that Nation to the Christian faith, is an opinion deeply rooted in the breasts of all men saith *Mariana*, yet in the same place doth himselfe acknowledge that learned and grave men have endeavoured to confute it, and as witnesseth *Baronius*, they have so farre assaulted it, that they held it as a matter altogether impossible. *De Advent. l. 1. c. 5. in Hisp. cap. 5. Martyrolog. Jul. 25.*

That Christ suffered in the 33<sup>d</sup> yeare of his age; yet *Ioseph Scaliger* takes upon him to demonstrate from the number of the Passeovers passing betwixt his Baptisme and Passion, that he suffered in the 35 yeere current of his age, or in the 34 compleat. *De emend. temp. lib. 6.*

That those seventie Interpreters, who by the command of *Ptolomey*, translated the Law of the Jewes out of *Hebrew* into *Greeke*; performed that worke single and apart in severall cells; as also that they translated all the Old Testament intirely: whereas *S<sup>t</sup> Ierome* in his Preface to the *Pentateuch* refutes both these.



Exer. 1. ad ap.  
 annal. cap. 10.  
 Ephes. 3. 9.  
 Coloss. 1. 26.  
 Rom. 16. 25.

That the *Sybils* clearly fore-told many things touching the name, the fore-runner, the birth and death of *Christ*, the coming of *Antichrist*, the over-throw of *Rome*, and the consummation of the World, which notwithstanding, (as *Causabon* hath learnedly observed) seemes to bee contrary to the Word of God, that so profound mysteries should be revealed to the *Gentiles*, so long before the Incarnation of *Christ*; specially since they write more plainly and particularly of those matters, then the Prophets of God themselves among the *Iewes*; and the greatest Clarkes among the *Gentiles*, *Plato*, *Aristotle*, *Theophrastus*, and others, curious searchers into all kindes of learning, never so much as once mention either their names, or their Writings; nor any of these mysteries. While the Church of *Christ* was yet in her infancy, many such kinde of bookes were forged, thereby to make the doctrine of the Gospel more passable among the *Gentiles*; and no marvell then that these of the *Sybils* passed for current among the rest.

That the Wise men which came out of the *East* to worship our Saviour, were *Kings*, and from thence (their bodies being translated to *Cullen*,) they are at this day commonly called the three Kings of *Cullen*, and the day consecrated to their memory, is by the French termed *Le jour de trois Rois*, the day of the three Kings, Yet *Mantuan* a Monke, feares not to declare his opinion to the contrary, and gives his reasons for it.

*Nec reges ut opinor erant, neque enim tacuissent  
 Historia sacra Authores genus illud honoris,  
 Inter mortales quo non sublimius ullum;  
 Adde quod Herodes, ut magnificentia Regum  
 Postulat, Hospitibus tantis regale dedisset  
 Hospitium, secumque lares duxisset in amplos.*

Had they beene Kings, nor holy History  
 Would have conceal'd their so great Majesty,  
 Higher then which on Earth none can be named;  
*Herods* magnificence would eke have framed  
 Some entertainment fitting their estates,  
 And harbour'd them within his Royall gates.

#### SECT. 4. In History Civill.

**I**N History Civill or Nationall; it is commonly received, that there were foure, and but foure *Monarchies*, succeeding one the other; the *Affyrian*, the *Persian*, the *Grecian*, and the *Roman*; Yet *John Bodin*, a man of singular learning, specially in matters of History, dares thus to begin the seventh Chapter of his *Method*: *Inveteratus error de quatuor Imperijs, ac magnorum Virorum opinione pervulgatus, tam alte radices egit, ut vix evelli posse videatur*; that inveterate error of foure Empires, made famous thorow the opinion of great men, hath now taken such deepe rootes, as it seemes it can hardly be pluckt up; and thorow a great part of that Chapter labours hee the Confutation of those who maintaine that opinion,

That



That *Mona-insula* so often mentioned by the Ancients, was the Ile of *Map*, whereas *Humphry Lloyd* in his epistle to *Ortelius* against *Polydor Virgill*, and the common opinion hath proved it by invincible arguments to be that Iland which we now call *Anglesea*, a part of *Wales*.

That *Nilus* doth emptie it selfe into the Sea by 7 mouths, was and is the current opinion, yet *Gulielmus Tyrius*, a man worthy to be beleev'd in this case, for that he was an eye-witnesse and diligent searcher out of the truth of the same, affirmeth that onely by 4 mouthes and no more, it disburdeneth it selfe into the Sea.

That the *Saxons* called the Remainder of the *Brittaines*, *Welch*, as being *strangers* unto them: whereas that word signifies not a *stranger* either in the high or low Dutch, as *Verstegan*, a man skilfull in those Languages hath observed; & that the *Saxons* gave them the name of *Welch*, after themselves came into *Brittaine*, is altogether unlikely. For that inhabiting so neare them as they did, to wit, but over against them on the other side of the Sea, they could not want a more particular and proper name for them, then to call them strangers. It seemes then more likely, that the *Brittaines* being originally descended from the *Gaules*, the *Saxons* according to their manner of speech, by turning the *G* into *W*, instead of *Gallish*, termed them *Wallish*; & by abbreviation *Walch* or *Welch*, as the *French* at this day call the *Prince of Wales*, *Prince de Galles*. Cap. 5.

That *Brute* a *Trojan* by Nation, and great grand-child to *Aeneas* arrived in this Iland, gave it the name of *Brittaine* from himselfe, heere reigned, and left the government thereof divided among his three sonnes, *England* to *Loegrinus*, *Scotland* to *Albanak*, and *Wales* to *Camber*: Yet our great *Antiquary* beating (as he professeth) his braines, & bending the force of his wits to maintaine that opinion, hee found no warrantable ground for it. Nay by forcible arguments (produced as in the person of others disputing against himself) he strongly proves it (in my judgement) altogether unsound & unwarrantable. *Boccace*, *Vives*, *Adrianus Iunius*, *Polydorus*, *Buchanan*, *Vignier*, *Genebrard*, *Molinaus*, *Bodin*, and other Writers of great account, are all of opinion, there was no such man as this supposed *Brute*: And among our own ancient Chroniclers, *John of Wethamsted*, *Abbot of S. Albon*, holdeth the whole narration of *Brute* to have been rather Poeticall, then Historicall, which me thinks is agreeable to reason, since *Cesar*, *Tacitus*, *Gildas*, *Ninius*, *Bede*, *William of Malmesbery*, and as many others as have written any thing touching our Countrey, before the yeare 1160, made no mention at all of him, nor seeme ever so much as to have heard of him. The first that ever broached it, was *Geffrey of Monmouth*, about foure hundred yeares agoe, during the raigne of *Henry the second*, who publishing the *Brittish* story in Latine, pretended to have taken it out of ancient monuments written in the *Brittish* tongue: but this Booke as soone as it peeped forth into the light, was sharply censured both by *Giraldus Cambrensis*, and *William of Newbery*, who lived at the same time; the former terming it no better, then *Fabulosam historiam*, a fabulous history; and the latter, *ridicula figmenta*, ridiculous fictions, and it now stands branded with a black coale among the bookes prohibited by the Church of *Rome*. Camden: Britan: de primis incolis.  
In granario Anno 1440.

That



That the *Pigmies* are a Nation of people not above two or three foot high, or as *Juvenal* but one :

Sat. 13

*Vbi tota cohors pede non altior uno.*

and that they solemnely set themselves in battle array to fight against the *Cranes* their greatest enemies: and that being griped fast in their talons, they are by them carried through the aire.

Ibidem.

*----raptusque per aera curvis*

*Vnguibus, a seua fertur Grue. ----*

De Gigantibus  
Cap. ultimo.

Cap. 4.

9. 4.

4. 3.

De Civit. Dei.

Of these notwithstanding witnesseth *Cassanion*, *Fabulosa illa omnia sunt qua de illis vel Poeta, vel alij Scriptores tradiderunt*: all those things are fabulous, which touching them either the Poets or other Writers have delivered. And with him fully accordeth *Cardan* in his eight Booke *De rerum varietate*: *Apparet ergo Pigmeiorum historiam esse fabulosam, quod & Strabo sentit, & nostra aetas, cum omnia nunc firmè orbis mirabilia innotuerint, declarat.* It appeares then that the History of the *Pigmies* is but a fiction, as both *Strabo* thought, and our age, which hath now discovered all the wonders of the world, fully declares. *Gellius* also, and *Rhodogin*, referre those *Pigmies* (if any such there bee) to a kinde of Apes: and so doth *S. Augustine lib. 16. cap. 8.* and though the vulgar Edition translate those words of the Prophet *Ezekiel, cap. 27. vers. 11. Pigmai erant in turribus tuis*, yet *Iunius* upon better reason renders them *Gammadai in turribus tuis erant*, the originall word (as in his Annotations he observeth) signifying a cubit, being there used, not because the men there spoken of, were of that stature as the vulgar Translatour seemes to imagine; but because their Countrey was cast into that figure, as witnesseth *Pliny. lib. 2. cap. 91.*

#### SECT. 5. In History Naturall.

Nat. hist. 10. 2.

Lib. 6. Annal.  
cap. 7.

**I**N *Naturall History*, it is commonly received, that the *Phoenix* lives five hundred or sixe hundred yeares, that there is of that kinde but one at a time in the World, that being to dye, hee makes his nest of sweet spices, and by the clapping of his wings sets it on fire, and so burnes himselfe: and lastly, that out of the ashes arises a worme; and from that worme another new *Phoenix*: Neither am I ignorant that sundry of the Fathers have brought this narration to confirme the doctrine of the Resurrection: but rather, as I beleieve, to fight against the *Gentiles* with their owne weapons, and to pierce them with their owne quils, or from them to borrow an illustration; then as giving credite to the truth of the story, which was originally coyned in *Egypt*, as fruitfull in fables, as *Africa* in monsters, and from thence derived to the *Grecians* and *Romans*: one of them is said to have beene brought to *Rome* by the command of *Claudius Caesar*, and exposed to publique view, as appeareth upon record, *Sed quem falsum esse nemo dubitaret*, saith *Pliny*, no man need make any doubt of it, but that he was counterfeited; and in the same Chapter, *haud scio an fabulosè, unum in toto orbe, nec visum magnoperè*, I doubt it is but a fiction, that there is but one of the kinde in the whole World, and that so seldome seene. With whom accord *Tacitus*, & *Cardan*,



dan, and Scaliger, and reason it selfe drawne both from Divinity and Philosophy: in Divinity, in as much as two at least of every kinde came into the Arke, male and female, as they at first were created: from Philosophy, in as much as without more individuals then one, the whole kinde by a thousand casualties, must needs be in danger of utter extinguishment, and therefore where we finde but one of a kinde, as the Sunne and the Moone, God and Nature have set them out of gun-shot, farre enough from any reach of malice, or feare of danger.

Lib 10. de sub.  
Exercit. 233.

That the whelpes of Beares are at first littering, without all forme or fashion, and nothing but a little congealed bloud, or lumpe of flesh, which afterward the dame shapeth by licking, yet is the truth most evidently otherwise, as by the eye-witnesse of *Ioachim Rheticus*, & others it hath beene proved. And herein as in many other fabulous narrations of this nature, (in which experience checkes report) may we justly take up that of *Lucretius*,

Gesnerus.

---- *Quid nobis certius ipsis*

*Sensibus esse potest, quo vera & falsa notemus?*

What can more certaine be then sence,

Discerning truth from false pretence?

That the *Bever* being hunted, & in danger to be taken, biteth off his stones, knowing that for them onely his life is sought, and so often escapeth: hence some have derived his name, *Castor à castrando seipsum*, from gelding himselfe, and upon this supposition, the *Egyptians* in their Hieroglyphickes, when they will signifie a man that hurteth himselfe, they picture a *Bever* biting off his owne stones, though *Alciat* in his *Emblemes*, turne it to a contrary purpose, teaching us by that example, to give away our purse to theeves rather then our lives, and by our wealth to redeeme our danger: but this relation touching the *Bever* is undoubtedly false, as both by sence and experience, and the testimony of *Dioscorides* it is manifested. First, because their stones are very small, and so placed in their body as are a *Bores*, and therefore impossible for the *Bever* himselfe to touch or come by them: and secondly, they cleave so fast unto their backe, that they cannot bee taken away, but the beast must of necessity lose his life: and consequently most ridiculous is their narration, who likewise affirme, that when he is hunted, having formerly bitten off his stones, he standeth upright, and sheweth the hunters that hee hath none for them, and therefore his death cannot profit them, by meanes whereof they are averted, and seeke for another.

Lib. 3. cap. 22.

That *Swans* a little before their death, sing most sweetly; of which notwithstanding, *Pliny* thus speakes, *Olorum morte narratur flebilis cantus, falso ut arbitror aliquot experimentis*: *Swans* are said to sing sweetly before their death, but falsely, as I take it, being led so to thinke by some experiments. And *Scaliger* to like purpose, *de Cigni verò cantu suavissimo, quem cum mendaciorum parente Gracia jactare ausus es, ad Luciani tribunal, apud quem aliquid novi dicas, statuo te*. Touching the sweet singing of the *Swan*, which with *Greece* the mother of lyes, you dare to publish, I cite you to *Lucians* tribunal, there to set abroad some new stufte. And *Aelian*, *cantandi studiosos esse jam communi sermone pervulgatum est: ego verò Cignum*

Natur. hist. 20.  
23.

Exercit. 23.



*Cignum nunquam audiui canere, fortasse neque alius:* that Swans are skilfull in singing, is now rife in every mans mouth; but for my selfe I never heard them sing, and perchance no man else.

*De Temp. lib. 3.*

*Lib. 2. cap. 56.*

*De erroribus Po-  
pularibus.*

*In comment. in  
Dioscoridem.*

That the *Salamander* lives in the fire, yet both *Galen* and *Dioscorides* refute this opinion. And *Mathiolus* in his commentaries upon *Dioscorides* affirms, that by casting many *Salamanders* into the fire for tryall, hee found it false. The same experiment is likewise avouched by *Ioubertus*.

That the *Mandrakes* represent the shape and parts of a man; yet the same *Mathiolus*, a very famous Physitian affirms of them, *Radices porro Mandragoræ humanam effigiem representare, ut vulgo creditur, fabulosum est:* that the rootes of the *Mandrake* represent the shape of a man, as it is commonly beleevd, is fabulous, calling them cheating knaves and quack-salvers that carry them about to be solde, therewith to deceive barren women.

That *Bees* in stinging, lose their stings, and so become drones; whereas *Virgil* tells us, that together with their stings they lose their life. *Animamque in vulnere ponunt.* And Mr *Butler* a great Bee-master in his *Familiare Monarchie* hath observed, that the drones are such by kinde, not by accident.

*Exercit. 20. 1.*

*Vide Angelum  
Abbatum de  
Viperæ natura  
& Bustamen-  
tium de an-  
tibus S. S.*

That *Vipers* in their birth, kill their mother of whom they are bred: *Scaliger* out of his owne experience assures us the contrary, *Viperæ* saith he, *ab impatientibus moræ fœtibus numerosissimis, atque idcirco erumpentibus rumpi atque interire, falsum esse scimus, qui in Vincentij Camerini lignea theca vidimus enatas Viperillas parente salvâ:* that *Vipers* are rent and slaine by the number of their young ones, impatient of delay, and striving to get forth, we know to be false, who in a wooden boxe belonging to *Vincentius Camerinus*, have seene the young newly brought forth, together with the old one, safe & sound. True indeed it is, that the *Viper* bringing sometime twenty or more, and being delivered but of one a day, the hindermost impatient of so long delay, sometimes gnawes thorow the tunicle or shell of the egge in which they are inclosed, & so come forth with a part of it upon them; which *Aristotle* truly affirming, thereupon it seemes hath growne the mistake, that they gnaw thorow the belly of the damme, which is undoubtedly false. The derivation then of the word *Viperæ* quasi *vi pariens*, is but a trick of wit, grounded upon an erroneous supposition, it being rather (as I conceive) from *vivum pariens*; there being no other kinde of Serpent which bringeth forth her young hatched out of the egge, but onely the *Viper*.

*Lib. 7. quæst. 8.*

That *Women* so borne, have afterward changed their sex, & become men: *Hoc credidit antiquitas, & hodie Medici fere omnes idem sentiunt*, saith *Laurentius*: thus antiquity beleevd, and almost all Physitians are at this day of the same opinion, yet doth he profess himselfe to be of another minde.

That the *Hare* is one yeare a male, and another a female: whereas *Rondeletius* affirms, that they are not stones which are commonly taken to be so in the female, but certaine little bladders filled with matter, such as are upon the belly of the *Bever*, wherein also the vulgar is deceived, taking those bunches for stones, as they doe these Bladders. Now the





AN  
APOLOGIE OF THE  
POWER AND PROVIDENCE  
OF GOD IN THE GOVERNMENT  
OF THE WORLD:

OR  
An Examination and Censure of the com-  
mon errour touching Natures perpetuall  
and universall decay.

LIB. I.

*Which treats of this pretended Decay in generall, together  
with some preparatives thereunto.*

CAP. I.

Of diverse other opinions justly suspected if not rejected, though  
commonly received.

SECT. I. *In Divinitie.*



THE opinion of the Worlds Decay is so generally received, not onely among the Vulgar, but of the Learned, both Divines and others, that the very commonnesse of it makes it currant with many, without any further examination: That which is held, not onely by the multitude, but by the Learned, passing smoothly for the most part without any checke or controll. *Nec alius promior fidei lapsus, quam ubi rei falsæ gravis author extitit*, saith *Pliny*: Men do not any where more easily erre, then where they follow a guide, whom they presume they may safely trust: They cannot quickly be perswaded, that hee who is in reputation for knowledge and wisdom, and whose doctrine is admired in weighty matters, should mistake in points of lesser consequence, and the greatest part of the World, is rather led  
A with



with the names of their Masters, and with the reverend respect they beare their persons or memories, then with the soundnesse and truth of the things they teach. Wherein that of *Vadianus* in his Epistle of *Paradice*, is, and ever will be verified. *Magnos errores magnorum virorum autoritate persuasi transmittimus*: Wee deliver over as it were by tradition from hand to hand great errors, being thereunto induced by the authority of great men. Whiles wee are yong, our judgement is raw and greene, and when wee are old, it is forestalled, by which meanes it comes often to passe that, *inter juvenile iudicium, & senile praeiudicium, veritas corrumpitur*; betweene the precipitancie and rashnesse of youth to take whatsoever is offered, and the obstinate stiffnesse of age in refusing what it hath not formerly beene acquainted with, truth is lost. The evidencing of which assertion, is the proper subject of this Chapter, wherein I hope I shall make it appeare, that many opinions are commonly received, both in ordinary speech, and in the writings of learned men, which notwithstanding are by others either manifestly convinced, or at leastwise justly suspected of falsehood and error, and this as well in *Divinitie*, as in *Philosophie* and *Historie*.

In quartum  
praeceptum.

Cap. 13. 30.

First then in *Divinitie* (not to meddle with doctrinall points in controversie at this day) it is commonly received, and beleevd, that *Iudas* among the other Apostles, received the blessed Sacrament at our Lords hands; of which notwithstanding, saith the learned *Zanchius*, *Etsi multi magni viri hoc docuerint & scripserint, ego tamen nullo modo concedo, aut concedere possum, quia aperte pugnat cum historia Iohannis Evangelistae*: Though many great Clarkes have taught and written it, yet my selfe neither do nor can by any meanes grant it, inasmuch as it plainly contradicts the History of *Iohn* the Euangelist.

That the Sea was in a miraculous manner restrained from overflowing the earth, as also that the terrestriall *Paradise* was yet existent in perfection, and that both *Enoch* and *Elias* were translated thither and there lived, was commonly held by the generall streame of antiquitie; both which opinions are now contradicted and cried downe by the *Jesuites* and namely by *Pererius* upon *Genesis*.

That the foure *Monarchies* alluded unto by *Nabuchadnezzars* image, were to endure to the end of the World; of which *Iunius* observes, *hanc quidem sententiam Patres ferè omnes sequuti sunt*: this opinion well nigh all the Fathers followed, yet doth himselfe maintaine, that they reach onely to the first comming of Christ, and publication of the Gospell.

That *Melchizedeck* spoken of in the Epistle to the *Hebrewes*, was *Sem* the sonne of *Noah*: Yet *Pererius* in his commentarie on the 14 of *Genesis*, endeavours to overthrow it by many weightie reasons drawne from the Text.

In quartum  
Gen.

That it was before the Flood unlawfull for men to feed upon flesh, whereas *Cajetan* holds the contrary opinion, and is therein followed by *Franciscus de Victoria* in his relection of temperance, and *Dominicus Soto* in his fift booke de *Iustitia & Iure*, first question, and first article.

That our first Parents stood but one day in *Paradice*, of which opini-  
on



on Pererius likewise affirms, *Pervulgata est, eademque ut multorum, sic imprimis nobilium & illustrium Authorum firmata consensu*; it is commonly received and strengthened by the consent of many worthy and famous authors: yet labours he to disprove it, in as much as so many, and so different acts are by *Moses* recorded to have passed betweene their Creation and Ejection, as could not well be dispatched within the compasse of one day. And *Tostatus*, though he were first of the common opinion, yet afterward upon better advice he changed it.

That the Prophecie of old *Iacob*, *The Scepter shall not depart from Iudab untill Shilo come*, was fulfilled in *Herods* raigne at the birth of *CHRIST*, by the continuance of the government in the Tribe of *Iudab*, till the raigne of *Herod*, reputed the first stranger that tooke upon him the Kingly office among the *Jewes*: but *Casaubon* in his Exercitations, proves that neither the kingly government was continued in that Tribe, in as much as it was often interrupted, and at length ended in *Zedechiah*, nor that *Herod* was a stranger, in as much as himselfe, his father, and his grandfather were all circumcised, and yet he confesses of the common opinion, *hac sententia ab insignibus pietate & doctrina viris profecta, ubi semel est admissa, sine ulla controversia aut examine apud omnium etatum eruditos præter admodum paucos semper deinceps obtinuit*; this opinion first set on foot by men of singular pietie and learning; and being once generally embraced without any question or examination of it, afterward prevailed with the Learned of all ages, some few onely excepted.

That there passed but foure *Passeovers* betweene the Baptisme and Passion of our Saviour: yet the same *Casaubon* in his Exercitations upon *Baronius*, tells us; *primus quod sciam nostra memoria assertor quinti Paschatis extitit Gerardus Mercator, insignis Mathematicus, cujus sententiam viri summi & amplexi sunt, & novis argumentis ex Hebraici Kalendarii ratione præcipuè desumptis confirmarunt*: the first (to my knowledge) who stood for a fifth *Passeover*, was *Gerardus Mercator*, a famous Mathematician, whose opinion the most learned have both embraced, and confirmed by arguments drawne chiefly from the computation of the *Hebrew Kalender*.

That *Iephtah* slew his daughter, and sacrificed her to the Lord: but *Iunius* in his annotations on that place thinks hee onely consecrated her by vowing her virginie, which may well stand with the nature of the originall word, and the contrary cannot well stand, either with *Iephtahs* faith, or Gods acceptance.

That by the river *Phison*, mentioned in the second of *Genesis*, the *Indian Ganges* is to be understood, *Sententia est omnium ferè interpretum ac Theologorum probata consensu*; is an opinion allowed by the consent of almost all Interpreters and Divines, saith *Pererius*; yet for himselfe hee professeth, *Mihi diligenter omnia consideranti ac perpendenti nunquam visum est probabile Phison esse Gangem*: when I had exactly weighed all circumstances, it never seemed to mee so much as probable, that *Phison* should be *Ganges*.

That by the river *Gehon Nilus* is to be understood, *Nullus est ferè omnium interpretum ( tanta in hoc est omnium consensio ) qui non pro certo*



*habeat hoc nomine Gehon significatum esse à Mose, Nilum* : there is hardly any one Expositour (so great is the consent in this) who doth not hold it for certaine, that under *Gehon*, the river *Nilus* is by *Moses* signified, saith the same *Pererius* : yet afterwards hee addes, *Sed Gehon non esse Nilum, multa & clara sunt indicia*; yet that *Gehon* is not *Nilus*, there are many and cleare evidences.

History of the  
World, part. 1.  
lib. 1. cap. 7.

Gen. 11.

That the *Arke* rested upon the hills of *Armenia*; whereas Sir *Walter Rawleigh* is confident, that therein most Writers were utterly mistaken. Neither was he led so to thinke (as he professeth) out of humour or singularity, but therein groundeth himselfe upon the originall, and first truth, which is the word of God, and after upon reason and the most probable circumstances thereupon depending. And in truth he that shall consider that the sons of *Noah* coming out of the *Arke*, travelled from the *East* into the land of *Shinar* (where they built the towre of *Babel*) and that *Armenia* lies to the Northwest of that plaine, will easily conceive that it could not well be, that the *Arke* should rest upon those hills; but the chiefe occasion of the mistake seemes to be in the vulgar translation, which hath rendred *Armenia* instead of *Ararat*.

That of the three sonnes of *Noah*, *Sem*, *Cham*, and *Japhet*; *Sem* was the eldest, *Cham* the second, and *Japhet* the yongest; whereas *Iunius* is of opinion that *Japhet* was the eldest, grounding himselfe upon the text, *Genesis* 10. 21. *Cham* the yongest, which he proves from *Genesis* 9. 24. and that *Japhet* was the eldest is not his opinion alone, but of *Lyrannus*, *Tostatus*, *Genebrard*, and the Hebrew Doctors.

Gen. 3. 6.

That the fruit of the tree of knowledge of good and evill, was an apple: whereas the text specifies no such matter; and it should seeme by the circumstances thereof, that it was rather some other kind of fruit more pleasant, both to the taste and sight.

Vide Agathar-  
chidem de rubro  
mar. Dec. 2. lib. 8.  
cap. 1.

That the waters of the Red Sea were of colour red, whereas travellers into those parts by sight find the contrary: it rather borrowing that name from the red bankes and cliffs about it, as both *Castro* and *Barros* are of opinion; or from the coasts of *Idumaea*, by which it passeth, as *Scaliger* first observed, and after him *Fuller*.

Exod. 34. 29.

To these may be added, that it is commonly beleeved, that *Moses* had hornes when hee came downe from the mountaine, because they read in the vulgar Latine, *Ignorabat quod cornuta esset facies sua*: Hee knew not that his face was horned; whereas the sense is, he knew not that his face shined, the same word in the Hebrew signifying both an horne, and a shining beame.

Mat. 2. 23.

That our Saviour wore his haire long, because we read he was a *Nazarete*, whereas the truth is, that he was a *Nazarete*, or rather a *Nazarene*, as with *Beza* our last Translatours read it, by education not by profession and institution, in regard of the place in which hee was nursed, and conversed, not any vow whereunto hee was bound.

2. Sam. 18. 9.  
Camden. in  
Hampshire.

And lastly, that *Absolon* was hung by the haire of the head, whereas the text saies in plaine termes, *his head caught hold on the Oke*: in like manner (it seemes) as *Henry*, Grand-child to the Conquerour is said to have ended his daies in the new forrest.

SECT.



## SECT. 2. In Philosophie.

**S**Econdly, in Philosophie it is commonly received, that the heart is the seat and shop of the principall faculties of the soule: nay, divine Scripture applying it selfe to the ordinary opinion therein, in many places attributes wisdom and understanding to the heart: whereas that noble paire of Physitians, *Hippocrates* and *Galen* have made it evident by experimentall proofes, that those divine powers of reasoning and discourse are seated in the braine, in as much as they are not hindered in the distemper of the heart, but of the braine, nor recovered being lost, by medicaments applyed to the heart, but to the braine.

That the three principall faculties of the soule, the Understanding, Imagination, and Memory, are distinguished by three severall Cells or Ventricles in the braine; the Imagination (as is conceived) being confined to the fore-part, the Memory to the hinder part, and Judgment or Understanding to the middle part thereof; which opinion *Laurentius* confutes, and *Fernelius* derides, making them all to be dispersed thorough all the receptacles of the braine, in as much as sometimes when the whole braine is disaffected, the operation but of one of those faculties is hurt; and sometimes againe when but one ventricle is hurt, the operation of all the three faculties are hindred. Neither ought it to seem more strange, that the same ventricle in the braine should be capable of all these three functions, then that the same bone or sinew, and every part and particle thereof should have in it (in regard of the nourishment it receives, and the excrement it drives forth;) an attractive, a retentive, an assimilative, and an expulsive vertue.

*Hist. Anas lib.  
10. 9. 2.*

That one hand by nature is more usefull, and more properly made for action then the other: whereas wee find no such difference betwixt the two eyes, the two eares, the two nostrils; and if men were left to themselves, as many, I thinke, if not more, would use the left hand, as now by education and custome doe the right: And in truth I am of opinion that God and Nature hath given us two hands, that wee should use both indifferently, that if need required, the one might supply the losse or defect of the other. Such would *Plato* have the Cittizens of his Common-wealth to be, and such do I take those seven hundred *Benjamites* to have beene, mentioned in the 20<sup>th</sup> of *Judges*; and if either hand should in nature be preferred before other, mee-thinkes in reason it should be that which is nearest the heart, the fountaine of life and activitie.

That in nature there is an East and a West; which (as to mee it seemes) cannot be, since that which to us is East, is West to our *Antipodes*; and that which is East to them, is West to us.

That the radicall moisture, and primigeniall heat, naturally ingrafted in us, wastes alwaies by degrees from the time of our conception, as oyle in a lampe, or waxe in a taper: whereas notwithstanding till wee come to the age of consistence, wee still grow in bulke, in strength and



stature: which for mine owne part I cannot conceive how it should be: if from our infancie our naturall heat and moisture still decreased.

That a man hath a naturall speech of his owne as he is a man, (some thinke *Hebrew*) which language he would speake by nature, if hee were not taught some other: but this is a dreame, and hath beene twice confuted by a double experiment. The first was *Psammeticus* a King of *Egypt*, who desiring to understand which was mans most ancient and naturall language, caused two children to be sequestred from all society of men, and to be nourished of two she goates, forbidding all speech unto them: which children continuing for a long time dumbe, at last uttered *Bec Bec*: the King being informed that in the *Phrygian* language *Bec* signified *Bread*, imagined that the children called then for Bread, & from thence collected, that because they spake that language which no man had taught them, therefore the *Phrygian* language was the naturall speech of man. A weake prooffe and silly conceit. For the childrens *Bec*, (as is probably collected) was onely that language which they learned of their Goat-nurces, when they came to suck their tetts, who receiving from them some ease by their sucking, saluted them with *Bec*, the best language they had, from whom the children learned it, and so much as they heard, so much just they uttered, and no more: and if they had not heard it, they could never have pronounced it, as we may evidently see in men that are borne deafe. And by another experiment tryed upon other infants, (which is our second instance) by *Melabdim Echebar*, whom they call the *Great Magore* or *Mogul*. Hee likewise upon the fore-named error, that man hath a certaine proper language by nature, caused thirty children to be brought up in dumbe silence, to finde out the experience, whether all of them would speake one and the same language, having inwardly a purpose to frame his Religion conformable to that Nation whose language should be spoken, as being that Religion which is purely naturall unto man. But the children proved all dumbe, though they were so many of them, and therefore they could not speake, because they were not taught: whereby it appeareth, that the speaking of any language is not in man by nature; The first man had it by divine *Infusion*, but all his posterity onely by *Imitation*.

### SECT. 3. In History Ecclesiasticall.

THirdly, in History; which is *Ecclesiasticall*, *Civill*, or *Naturall*. In History *Ecclesiasticall* it is commonly received, that *Simon Peter* encountred with *Simon Magus*, and that the *Magician* undertaking to flie up into the aire, the *Apostle* so wrought by prayer and fasting, that he came tumbling downe and brake his necke: but of this story saith *St Augustine*, *Est quidem & hac opinio plurimorum, quamvis eam perhibeant esse falsam plerique Romani*: many are of this opinion, yet most of the *Roman* Writers hold it but as a tale. And in another place he calls it *Græcā fabulam*, an invention of the *Gracians*, who were so fruitfull in these kind of fables, that *Pliny* himselfe could say of them, *Mirum est quò procedat Græcā*



*Græca credulitas, nullum tam impudens mendacium est ut teste careat*; it is a wonder to see whither the credulity of the Greekes carry them, there being no lye so shamefull, but it findes a patron among them: Nay, the very Latine Poet took notice of their immoderate liberty this way:

--- *Et quicquid Græcia mendax  
Audet in historia?*

*Inven. Sat. 104*

What dares not lying Greece  
Insert in histories?

And so did the Roman Oratour, *tribuo illis literas; do multarum artium disciplinam, testimoniorum autem fidem & veritatem nunquam isti colere*: Learning I grant them, and the knowledge of many Arts, but for the religious credit of testimonies they never regarded it. *In Orat. præ Flacco.*

That our ordinary Computation of the yeere of the Lord is exact, yet *Kepler* in the fourth Chapter of his discourse touching that yeere, speaking of the ordinary computation, *ista annorum summa*, (saith hee) *licet receptissima & publico usu stabilita, brevior tamen est quam ut à Nativitate Christi descendat*: that number of yeeres though it be most commonly received and settled by publique use, yet falls it short of the time passed since Christs Nativitie, and againe, *error iste tacito vulgi consensu sensim invaluit*, that error by a tacite consent of the vulgar hath unawares prevailed.

That the World was created in the Spring: *Opinio est non Astrologis modo & Poetis accepta, sed omnium etiam Ecclesiasticorum Scriptorum atque Theologorum firmata consensu* saith *Pererius*, is an opinion not intertained onely of Astrologers and Poets, but ratified by the consent of all Ecclesiasticall Writers and Divines; yet doth himselfe professedly maintaine the Creation to have beene in *Autumne*.

That *S<sup>t</sup> Hierome* was a Cardinall, and apparrelled in Scarlet Robes, many Writers have fained, and the Painters following them have thereby deceived more; yet *Baronius* howbeit it might perchance serve to advance the honour of his owne order, rejects it as a fiction, and as contrary both to the manner of life and writings of that great, but severe Doctor. *Tom. 4. Anno. 377.*

That *S<sup>t</sup> James* the elder came into *Spaine*, and converted that Nation to the Christian faith, is an opinion deeply rooted in the breasts of all men saith *Mariana*, yet in the same place doth himselfe acknowledge that learned and grave men have endeavoured to confute it, and as witnesseth *Baronius*, they have so farre assaulted it, that they held it as a matter altogether impossible. *De Advent. Iac. in Hist. cap. 50. Martyrolog. Jul. 25.*

That Christ suffered in the 33<sup>d</sup> yeare of his age; yet *Ioseph Scaliger* takes upon him to demonstrate from the number of the Passecovers passing betwixt his Baptisme and Passion, that he suffered in the 35 yeere current of his age, or in the 34 compleat. *De emend. temp. lib. 6.*

That those seventie Interpreters, who by the command of *Ptolomey*, translated the Law of the Jewes out of *Hebrew* into *Greeke*; performed that worke single and apart in severall cells; as also that they translated all the Old Testament intirely: whereas *S<sup>t</sup> Ierome* in his Preface to the *Pentateuch* refutes both these.



Exer. 1. ad ap.  
 annal. cap. 10.  
 Ephes. 3. 9.  
 Coloss. 1. 26.  
 Rom. 16. 25.

That the *Sybils* clearly fore-told many things touching the name, the fore-runner, the birth and death of *Christ*, the coming of *Anti-christ*, the over-throw of *Rome*, and the consummation of the World, which notwithstanding, (as *Causabon* hath learnedly observed) seemes to bee contrary to the Word of God, that so profound mysteries should be revealed to the *Gentiles*, so long before the Incarnation of *Christ*; specially since they write more plainly and particularly of those matters, then the Prophets of God themselves among the *Iewes*; and the greatest Clarkes among the *Gentiles*, *Plato*, *Aristotle*, *Theophrastus*, and others, curious searchers into all kindes of learning, never so much as once mention either their names, or their Writings; nor any of these mysteries. While the Church of *Christ* was yet in her infancy, many such kinde of bookes were forged, thereby to make the doctrine of the Gospel more passable among the *Gentiles*; and no marvell then that these of the *Sybils* passed for current among the rest.

That the Wise men which came out of the *East* to worship our Saviour, were *Kings*, and from thence (their bodies being translated to *Cullen*,) they are at this day commonly called the three Kings of *Cullen*, and the day consecrated to their memory, is by the French termed *Le jour de trois Rois*, the day of the three Kings, Yet *Mantuan* a Monke, feares not to declare his opinion to the contrary, and gives his reasons for it.

*Nec reges ut opinor erant, neque enim tacuissent  
 Historia sacra Authores genus illud honoris,  
 Inter mortales quo non sublimius ullum;  
 Adde quod Herodes, ut magnificentia Regum  
 Postulat, Hospitibus tantis regale dedisset  
 Hospitium, secumque lares duxisset in amplos.*

Had they beene Kings, nor holy History  
 Would have conceal'd their so great Majesty,  
 Higher then which on Earth none can be named;  
*Herods* magnificence would eke have framed  
 Some entertainment fitting their estates,  
 And harbour'd them within his Royall gates.

#### SECT. 4. In History Civill.

**I**N History Civill or *Nationall*; it is commonly received, that there were foure, and but foure *Monarchies*, succeeding one the other; the *Assyrian*, the *Persian*, the *Grecian*, and the *Roman*; Yet *John Bodin*, a man of singular learning, specially in matters of History, dares thus to begin the seventh Chapter of his *Method: Inveteratus error de quatuor Imperijs, ac magnorum Virorum opinione pervulgatus, tam altè radices egit, ut vix evelli posse videatur*; that inveterate error of foure Empires, made famous thorow the opinion of great men, hath now taken such deepe rootes, as it seemes it can hardly be pluckt up; and thorow a great part of that Chapter labours hee the Confutation of those who maintaine that opinion.

That



That *Mona-insula* so often mentioned by the Ancients, was the Ile of Man, whereas *Humphry Lloyd* in his epistle to *Ortelius* against *Polydor Virgill*, and the common opinion hath proved it by invincible arguments to be that Iland which we now call *Anglesea*, a part of *Wales*.

That *Nilus* doth emptie it selfe into the Sea by 7 mouths, was and is the current opinion, yet *Gulielmus Tyrius*, a man worthy to be beleaved in this case, for that he was an eye-witnesse and diligent searcher out of the truth of the same, affirmeth that onely by 4 mouthes and no more, it disburdeneth it selfe into the Sea.

That the *Saxons* called the Remainder of the *Brittaines*, *Welch*, as being strangers unto them: whereas that word signifies not a stranger either in the high or low Dutch, as *Verstegan*, a man skilfull in those Languages hath observed; & that the *Saxons* gave them the name of *Welch*, after themselves came into *Brittaine*, is altogether unlikely. For that inhabiting so neare them as they did, to wit, but over against them on the other side of the Sea, they could not want a more particular and proper name for them, then to call them strangers. It seemes then more likely, that the *Brittaines* being originally descended from the *Gaules*, the *Saxons* according to their manner of speech, by turning the *G* into *W*, instead of *Gallish*, termed them *Wallish*; & by abbreviation *Walch* or *Welch*, as the *French* at this day call the *Prince of Wales*, *Prince de Galles*. Cap. 3.

That *Brute* a *Trojan* by Nation, and great grand-child to *Aeneas*, arrived in this Iland, gave it the name of *Brittaine* from himselfe, heere reigned, and left the government thereof divided among his three sonnes, *England* to *Loegrius*, *Scotland* to *Albanak*, and *Wales* to *Camber*: Yet our great *Antiquary* beating (as he professeth) his braines, & bending the force of his wits to maintaine that opinion, hee found no warrantable ground for it. Nay by forcible arguments (produced as in the person of others disputing against himself) he strongly proves it (in my judgement) altogether unsound & unwarrantable. *Boccace*, *Virves*, *Adrianus Iunius*, *Polydorus*, *Buchanan*, *Vignier*, *Genebrard*, *Molinaus*, *Bodin*, and other Writers of great account, are all of opinion, there was no such man as this supposed *Brute*: And among our own ancient Chroniclers, *John of Weshamsted*, *Abbot of S. Alban*, holdeth the whole narration of *Brute* to have been rather Poeticall, then Historicall, which me thinkes is agreeable to reason, since *Cesar*, *Tacitus*, *Gildas*, *Ninius*, *Bede*, *William of Malmesbery*, and as many others as have written any thing touching our Countrey, before the yeare 1160, made no mention at all of him, nor seeme ever so much as to have heard of him. The first that ever broached it, was *Geffrey of Monmouth*, about foure hundred yeares agoe, during the raigne of *Henry the second*, who publishing the *Brittish* story in Latine, pretended to have taken it out of ancient monuments written in the *Brittish* tongue: but this Booke as soone as it peeped forth into the light, was sharply censured both by *Giraldus Cambrensis*, and *William of Newbery*, who lived at the same time; the former terming it no better, then *Fabulosam historiam*, a fabulous history; and the latter, *ridicula signimenta*, ridiculous fictions, and it now stands branded with a black coale among the bookes prohibited by the Church of *Rome*. Camden: Brittan: de primis Incolis.  
In gratiano Anno 1440

That



That the *Pigmies* are a Nation of people not above two or three foot high, or as *Juvenal* but one :

Sat. 13.

*Vbi tota cohors pede non altior uno.*

and that they solemnely set themselves in battle array to fight against the *Cranes* their greatest enemies: and that being griped fast in their talons, they are by them carried through the aire.

Ibidem.

----raptusque per aera curvis

*Vnguibus, a sava fertur Grue. ----*De Gigantibus  
Cap. ultimo.

Of these notwithstanding witnesseth *Cassanion*, *Fabulosa illa omnia sunt qua de illis vel Poeta, vel alij Scriptores tradiderunt*: all those things are fabulous, which touching them either the Poets or other Writers have delivered. And with him fully accordeth *Cardan* in his eight Booke

Cap. 4.

*De rerum varietate*: *Apparet ergo Pigmeiorum historiam esse fabulosam, quod & Strabo sentit, & nostra aetas, cum omnia nunc firmè orbis mirabilia innotuerint, declarat.* It appeares then that the History of the *Pigmies* is but a fiction, as both *Strabo* thought, and our age, which hath now discovered all the wonders of the world, fully declares. *Gellius* also, and

9. 4.

4. 3.

De Civit. Dei.

*Rhodogin*, referre those *Pigmies* (if any such there bee) to a kinde of Apes: and so doth *S. Augustine lib. 16. cap. 8.* and though the vulgar Edition translate those words of the Prophet *Ezekiel, cap. 27. vers. 11. Pigmai erant in turribus tuis*, yet *Iunius* upon better reason renders them *Gammadai in turribus tuis erant*, the originall word (as in his Annotations he observeth) signifying a cubit, being there used, not because the men there spoken of, were of that stature as the vulgar Translatour seemes to imagine; but because their Countrey was cast into that figure, as witnesseth *Pliny. lib. 2. cap. 91.*

#### SECT. 5. In History Naturall.

**I**N Naturall History, it is commonly received, that the *Phœnix* lives five hundred or sixe hundred yeares, that there is of that kinde but one at a time in the World, that being to dye, hee makes his nest of sweet spices, and by the clapping of his wings sets it on fire, and so burnes himselfe: and lastly, that out of the ashes arises a worme; and from that worme another new *Phœnix*: Neither am I ignorant that sundry of the Fathers have brought this narration to confirme the doctrine of the Resurrection: but rather, as I beleieve, to fight against the *Gentiles* with their owne weapons, and to pierce them with their owne quils, or from them to borrow an illustration; then as giving credite to the truth of the story, which was originally coyned in *Egypt*, as fruitfull in fables, as *Africa* in monsters, and from thence derived to the *Grecians* and *Romans*: one of them is said to have beene brought to *Rome* by the command of *Claudius Caesar*, and exposed to publique view, as appeareth upon record, *Sed quem falsum esse nemo dubitaret*, saith *Pliny*, no man need make any doubt of it, but that he was counterfeited, and in the same Chapter, *haud scio an fabulose, unum in toto orbe, nec visum magnoperè*, I doubt it is but a fiction, that there is but one of the kinde in the whole World, and that so seldome scene. With whom accord *Tacitus*, & *Cardan*,

Nat. hist. 10. 2.

Lib. 6. Annal.  
cap. 7.



dan, and Scaliger, and reason it selfe drawne both from Divinity and Philosophy: in Divinity, in as much as two at least of every kinde came into the Arke, male and female, as they at first were created: from Philosophy, in as much as without more individuals then one, the whole kinde by a thousand casualties, must needs be in danger of utter extinguishment, and therefore where we finde but one of a kinde, as the Sunne and the Moone, God and Nature have set them out of gun-shot, farre enough from any reach of malice, or feare of danger.

Lib. 10. de sub.  
Exercit. 233.

That the whelpes of Beares are at first littering, without all forme or fashion, and nothing but a little congealed bloud, or lumpe of flesh, which afterward the dame shapeth by licking, yet is the truth most evidently otherwise, as by the eye-witnesse of Ioachimus Rheticus, & others it hath beene proved. And herein as in many other fabulous narrations of this nature, (in which experience checkes report) may we justly take up that of Lucretius,

Gesnerus.

--- Quid nobis certius ipsis  
Sensibus esse potest, quo vera & falsa notemus?

What can more certaine be then sence,  
Discerning truth from false pretence?

That the Bever being hunted, & in danger to be taken, biteth off his stones, knowing that for them onely his life is sought, and so often escapeth: hence some have derived his name, *Castor à castrando seipsum*, from gelding himselfe, and upon this supposition, the Egyptians in their Hieroglyphickes, when they will signifie a man that hurteth himselfe, they picture a Bever biting off his owne stones, though Alciat in his Emblemes, turne it to a contrary purpose, teaching us by that example, to give away our purse to theeves rather then our lives, and by our wealth to redeeme our danger: but this relation touching the Bever is undoubtedly false, as both by sence and experience, and the testimony of Dioscorides it is manifested. First, because their stones are very small, and so placed in their body as are a Bores, and therefore impossible for the Bever himselfe to touch or come by them: and secondly, they cleave so fast unto their backe, that they cannot bee taken away, but the beast must of necessity lose his life: and consequently most ridiculous is their narration, who likewise affirme, that when he is hunted, having formerly bitten off his stones, he standeth upright, and sheweth the hunters that hee hath none for them, and therefore his death cannot profit them, by meanes whereof they are averted, and seeke for another.

Lib. 3. cap. 23.

That Swans a little before their death, sing most sweetly; of which notwithstanding, Pliny thus speakes, *Olorum morte narratur flebilis cantus, falso ut arbitror aliquot experimentis*: Swans are said to sing sweetly before their death, but falsely, as I take it, being led so to thinke by some experiments. And Scaliger to like purpose, *de Cigni verò cantu suavissimo, quem cum mendaciorum parente Gracia jactare ausus es, ad Luciani tribunal, apud quem aliquid novi dicas, statuo te*. Touching the sweet singing of the Swan, which with Greece the mother of lyes, you dare to publish, I cite you to Lucians tribunal, there to set abroach some new stufte. And Aelian, *cantandi studiosos esse jam communi sermone pervulgatum est: ego verò Cignum*

Natur. hist. 10.  
23.

Exercit. 23.



*Cignum nunquam audiui canere, fortasse neque aliud:* that *Swans* are skilfull in singing, is now rife in every mans mouth; but for my selfe I never heard them sing, and perchance no man else.

De Temp. lib. 3.

That the *Salamander* lives in the fire; yet both *Galen* and *Dioscorides* refute this opinion. And *Mathiolus* in his commentaries upon *Dioscorides* affirms, that by casting many *Salamanders* into the fire for tryall, hee found it false. The same experiment is likewise avouched by *Ioubertus*.

Lib. 2. cap. 56.

De erroribus Populares.

In comment. in Dioscoridem.

That the *Mandrakes* represent the shape and parts of a man; yet the same *Mathiolus*, a very famous Physitian affirms of them, *Radices porro Mandragora humanam effigiem representare, ut vulgo creditur, fabulosum est:* that the rootes of the *Mandrake* represent the shape of a man, as it is commonly beleevd, is fabulous, calling them cheating knaves and quack-salvers that carry them about to be solde, therewith to deceive barren women.

That *Bees* in stinging, lose their stings, and so become drones, whereas *Virgil* tels us, that together with their stings they lose their life. *Animamque in vulnere ponunt.* And Mr *Butler* a great Bee-master in his *Fæminine Monarchie* hath observed, that the drones are such by kinde, not by accident.

Exercit. 20. 1.

That *Vipers* in their birth, kill their mother of whom they are bred: *Scaliger* out of his owne experience assures us the contrary, *Viperas* saith he, *ab impatientibus mora fœtibus numerosissimis, atque idcirco erumpentibus rumpi atque interire, falsum esse scimus, qui in Vincentij Camerini lignea theca vidimus enatas Viperillas parente salva:* that *Vipers* are rent and slaine by the number of their young ones, impatient of delay, and striving to get forth, we know to be false, who in a wooden boxe belonging to *Vincentius Camerinus*, have secne the young newly brought forth, together with the old one, safe & sound. True indeed it is, that the *Viper* bringing sometime twenty or more, and being delivered but of one a day, the hindermost impatient of so long delay, sometimes gnawes thorow the tunicle or shell of the egge in which they are inclosed, & so come forth with a part of it upon them; which *Aristotle* truly affirming, thereupon it seemes hath growne the mistake, that they gnaw thorow the belly of the damme, which is undoubtedly false. The derivation then of the word *Vipera quasi vi pariens*, is but a trick of wit, grounded upon an erroneous supposition, it being rather (as I conceive) from *vivum pariens*; there being no other kinde of Serpent which bringeth forth her young hatched out of the egge, but onely the *Viper*.

Vide Angelum Abbatium de Vipera natura & Bufamen-ssum de animalibus S. S.

Lib. 7. quæst. 8.

That *Women* so borne, have afterward changed their sex, & become men: *Hoc credidit antiquitas, & hodie Medici ferè omnes idem sentiunt*, saith *Laurentius*: thus antiquity beleevd, and almost all Physitians are at this day of the same opinion, yet doth he professe himselfe to be of another minde.

That the *Hare* is one yeare a male, and another a female: whereas *Rondeletius* affirms, that they are not stones which are commonly taken to be so in the female, but certaine little bladders filled with matter, such as are upon the belly of the *Bever*, wherein also the vulgar is deceived, taking those bunches for stones, as they doe these Bladders. Now the



the use of these parts both in *Bever* and *Hares* is this, that against raine both the one and the other sexe, suck thereout a certaine humour, and annoint their bodyes all over therewith, which serves them for a defence against raine.

That a *Wolfe* if he see a man first, suddenly strikes him dumb, whence came the Proverbe, *Lupus est in fabula*; and that of the Poet,

*Lupi Mœrim videre priores,*

The Wolves saw Mœris first.

Yet *Philip Camerarius* professeth, *fabulosum quod vulgò creditur, hominem à Lupo prævisum subito consternari, & vocem amittere*: That it is fabulous which is commonly beleaved, that a man being first seen by the *Wolfe*, is thereupon astonished, and loseth his voyce; And that himselfe hath found it by experience to be a vaine opiaion: which *Scaliger* likewise affirmes upon the same ground. *Vtinam tot ferulis castigarentur mendaciorum assertores isti quot à Lupis visi sumus sine jactura vocis*: I wish those Patrons of lyes were chastised with so many blowes, as at sundry times I have beene seene of Wolves, without any losse of my voyce.

That men are sometimes transformed into Wolves, and againe from Wolves into men: touching the falshood whereof, *Pliny* himself is thus confident, *homines in Lupos verti, rursumque restitui sibi, falsum esse confideri existimare debemus; aut credere omnia quæ fabulosa tot seculis comperimus*: that men are changed into Wolves, & againe restored to themselves, that is, to the shape of men, wee ought assuredly beleave to be false, or to give credite to whatsoever we have found fabulous in the course of so many ages. And with *Pliny* doth our renowned *Camden* herein accord in his description of the Kingdome of *Ireland*: in that (saith hee) the *Irish*, and even those who would seeme worthy credit, affirme, that in the Countie of *Tippararie*, some are yeerely turned into Wolves, *fabulosum sanè existimo*, truly I hold it fabulous; *nec ego aliud de Lycaonibus illis in Livonia transmutatis, de quibus multi multa produnt, affirmare ausim*; neither durst I affirme any other thing of the transmutation of those *Lycaons* in *Livonia*, touching whom, many have vvritten many things. But *Sabin* in his *Commentaries* upon the seaventh Booke of the *Metamorphosis*, tells us upon his owne knowledge, a pretty story to this purpose. That certaine men are yeerely turned into Wolves, and againe, returne to their former shapes, is a matter (saith hee) commonly beleaved: such *Herodotus* mentions among the *Neurians*, a people of *Scythia*; and it is generally reported, that the like are here to be found among the *Borussians*, of whom, one was lately taken and brought by the Boores of the Countrey, before the Duke of *Prussia*, whose Cattle hee was supposed to have devoured; hee was indeed a deformed man, and not much unlike a wilde beast, having woundes in his face, which hee vvas said to have received from the teeth of dogges during his change; this fellow being by some examined (whom the Prince deputed to that businesse) affirmed that hee was twice in the yeare so changed, namely about *Christmas*, and againe about *Midsummer*; whereupon being kept close prisoner in the Castle, and narrowly observed, it was by



tryall found that notwithstanding his owne confession he still retained the same shape, *atque is fuit exitus fabula*, saith my Author, here was the epilogue of this Comœdie.

Now that which hath given occasion to this opinion might bee as I suppose, either an *illusion* of Sathan in regard of the beholders, or a strong melancholic *imagination* in the patients, or the *education* of men among Wolves from their very infancie. For that the Devill can at his pleasure transubstantiate, or transforme one substance into another, I hold it no sound Divinity.

That the *Pellican* turning her beake against her brest therewith pierceth it till the blood gush out, wherewith shee nourisheth her young: whereas the *Pellican* hath a beake broade and flat, much like the slice of Apothecaries and Chirurgions, with which they spread their plaisters, no way fit to pierce, as *Laurentius Ioubertus* Counsellour and Physition to *Henry* the fourth of *France*, in his booke of *Popular errors*, hath observed.

That the cause of the increase of *Nilus*, was the melting of the snow, and the fleeting thereof from the toppes of the mountaines of *Æthiopia*; of this opinion was *Anaxagoras*, and him followed *Aeschylus*, *Nat. qu. 4. 13. Sophocles, Euripides*: nay, *in eadem opinione omnis vetustas fuit*, saith *Seneca*, the whole body of antiquity was of the same minde; *sed falsum esse plurimis argumentis patet*, saith the same *Seneca*, but that to be false is apparent by many arguments.

That the *Lyon* trembles at the Crowing of the *Cocke*, but I have heard by credible report, that King *Iames* upon tryall found this to bee fabulous.

Touching the fable of the *Satyres*, see a notable passage in *Causabon de Satyræ pœsi*.  
PAGE 47.

That there were such creatures as *Nymphs*, and *Satyres*, and *Syrens*, and *Sphinges*, and *Remoraes*, and *Vnicornes*, of which kinde notwithstanding, none are now to be found.

Lastly, that the *Mole* hath no eyes, nor the *Elephant* knees; both which notwithstanding by dayly and manifest experience are found untrue.

#### SECT. 6.

*An Application of what hath beene said to the present purpose.*

**M**Any more instances might bee given both in *Divinity*, *Philosophy* and *History*, to shew that 'tis a thing neither new nor unjustifiable by the practise of wise men to examine & impugne received opinions, if they be found erroneous, such as I take this to be of *Natures universall decay*. So that I hope it shall neither seeme unpleasing nor unprofitable, nor yet impertinent that I have dwelt so long upon this point. I know that of *Chrysostome* to be most true: *The hardest lesson is to unlearne*, and therefore have I harped so long upon this string to make it cleare that men may erre, specially where that falls out which *Iustin* in his dialogue with *Tryphon* hath observed, that *posteriores sequuntur*



*tur priores securi examinis*, that the later follow the former without examination: Custome with most men prevailes more then Truth: though *Christ* hath said, as *Tertullian* rightly noteth, *I am Truth and not Custome*: yea such is the force thereof, that according to the inbred notions and preconceptions, which it hath formed and imprinted in our mindes, for the most part we shape the discourse of Reason it selfe. Thus *Pythagoras* by bringing up his Schollers in the speculative knowledge of numbers, made their conceits so strong, that when they came to the contemplation of things naturall, they imagined that in every particular thing they even beheld as it were with their eyes how the element of number gave essence and being to the workes of Nature. A thing in reason impossible, which notwithstanding thorow their misthioned preconceite, appeared unto them no lesse certaine, then if Nature had written it in the very foreheads of all the Creatures of God.

Divine is that speech of *Aristotle* in his *Metaphysickes*; *Quantum autem vim habeat consuetudo, leges declarant; in quibus fabulosa & pueriles narrationes plus valent cognitione vera earum rerum propter consuetudinem.* what is the strange force of Custome, the Lawes themselves declare; in which, childish and fabulous narrations are preferred before the true knowledge of the same thing, and that onely through custome. From which (to draw nearer to our present purpose) the great Lawyer *Pa. Davenant de Beneficijs. 8. 6.* *normitan* wishes that the severity of the ancient *Canons* be not too farre pressed upon delinquents, because men of later ages (saith he) *are no way matchable with the Ancients, as not in strength nor stature: so neither in wit nor manners.* But I much marvell that so great a *Clarke* should bee so easily carryed away with so vaine a shew, and by making men beleve that they were not able to observe the *Canons*, make them unable indeed: which together with the greedy desire of gaine, hath beene, no doubt, the ground, or at least the pretence of such a multiplicity of *dispensations* in later ages; men choosing rather to stretch their purse-strings, and to buy out a dispensation for their money then, to improve their endeavours for the doing of that which the *Canon* requires. And hence the *Lenten fast* duly kept with much ease by our Predecessours, is with most men now adayes made so impossible, notwithstanding the observation thereof conduce so much to the publique good: and from hence saith the Glosse in the Canon Law, *dicunt hodie pro fornicatione ne- Dist. 82.* *minem esse deponendum, quia fragiliora sunt corpora nostra, quam olim erant;* upon which occasion a worthy friend sent me these verses.

*Turpiter O Hakewille erras, nam deficit orbis  
Iste, nec Antiquis nos parit ille pares;  
Nam rigidus illos Canones, quos prisca ferebat  
Aetas, non possunt sacula nostra pati:  
Atque ita jamdudum decrevit Episcopus ille,  
Cui nimis haeticum est, credere nolle, scelus.*

Thus englished by the Author.

*Hakewill* you are deceiv'd; the world decays,  
And breeds not now the men that were of yore,

B 2

Those



Those rigid Canons that in ancient dayes  
Our Fathers bare, are for our times too sore;  
And thus a Pope did not long since decree,  
Whom not to credit were foule heresie.

## CHAP. 2.

Of the Reasons inducing the Author to the writing and publishing of  
this Discourse.

## SECT. I.

Whereof the first is the redeeming of a captivated truth.

Jan. 1. 17.

**S**UCH is the admirable beauty and sovereignty of *Truth* in it selfe, and such infinite content doth it yeeld the Soule being found and embraced, that had I proposed no other End to my selfe in this ensuing Treatise then the discovery and unfolding thereof, I should hold it alone a very ample recompence, and sufficient reward of my labour. The *Greekes* call it *αληθεια*, which by an easie and unstrained derivation implyes the *breath of God*: so that as *Minerva*, by which is meant the *Arts*, is fained to have sprung from the head of *Jupiter*: so *Truth* undoubtedly flowes from the mouth of the *Creator*, not onely that *supernaturall* and revealed *Truth*, which concernes our spirituall and supernaturall good, but that which concernes our good either morall or naturall. For as every good thing, so farre as it is good, is from God, the Author and originall cause of all goodnesse; so every Truth is from the same God, the Fountaine of all Truth: Howbeit hee impart the diverse kinde thereof after a different manner; the Truth of *Experience* by sense, of *Reason* by discourse of the intellectuall power, of *Religion* by faith. These are as severall lines drawne from the same center, or severall beames from the same Sunne: All which notwithstanding in their severall rankes and degrees carry in them, or rather have stamped and printed upon them, some character or resemblance of the Divine Excellencie.

Gen. 1. 7.

And as *Truth* is the *breath of God*, so is the *Soule* of man to, which may well be thought to be in part, the cause that the *Soule* is so wonderfully taken and affected with the love and liking of it. All the Kingdomes in the world, and the glittering pompe of them cannot so much refresh and delight a studious minde, as this one inestimable Jewell of *Truth*, which *Lucretius* hath lively described:

Lib. 2. 1.

*Suave mari magno turbantibus aequora ventis, &c.*

It is a view of delight, saith hee, to stand or walke upon the shore side, & to see a ship tossed with tempests upon the Sea; or to be in a fortified Towre, and to see two Armies joyne battle upon a plaine: but it is a pleasure incomparable for the minde of man to be settled, landed, and fortified in the certainty of *Truth*, and from thence to descry and behold the errours, perturbations, labours and wandrings up and downe of other men. Wee see in all other pleasures there is fatietie, and after they



they be used their verdure departeth, which sheweth well they bee but deceits of pleasure, and not pleasures, and that it was the novelty that pleased, and not the quality; but of the contemplation of *Truth* there is no satiety, but satisfaction and appetite are perpetually interchangeable. And certainly the more contentment and comfort doe we reape therein, for that the apprehension of *Truth* helps to repaire that Image of God, which by the fall of man was in that very part sorely battered and bruis'd, I meane in regard of the knowledge of naturall Truths; but in regard of supernaturall utterly defaced.

Now such being the condition of *Truth*, both in regard of God, it selfe, and us, wee may not part with it at any termes, nor can wee purchase it at too deare a rate, *buy the truth, but sell it not.* Some perchance in this very point may suppose, that the opinion maintaining *Natures decay*, argues in the maintainers more modesty and humility, and is apter to breed in men a religious feare and devotion, being perswaded as well by sense and reason, as by Scripture and faith, that the World must have an end, & that in appearance the end thereof cannot be farre off. Which though it were so, yet may it not be upheld with an untruth, *Rectè placet laudem humilitatis in parte non ponere falsitatis, ne humilitas constituta in parte falsitatis perdat premium veritatis*, saith S. *Augustine.* Wee desire not to settle the prayse of humility upon false grounds, lest being built upon falshood, it loose the reward of Truth. If evill be in no case to be done that good may come thereof, no, not the least evill for the greatest good, if a lye may not bee made for the winning of a mans Soule; no, not for the gaining of a world of Infidels to the faith, as *Divines* truly teach; then may not the defence of any untruth be undertaken, what faire pretence soever of piety, or charity, or humility it may put on. For as we are to speake *veritatem in charitate*, the truth in love, so are we to follow *charitatem in veritate*, love grounded upon truth. It being one of the properties of true charity to rejoyce in truth. *Truth* then and true piety, *Truth* and true charity, *Truth* and true humility, being inseparable companions; let none presume to put them asunder, whom God hath thus linked and joyned together. Will yee talke deceitfully for Gods cause, saith *Iob*, will yee make a lye for him? if we may not utter an untruth for Gods cause, and the advancement of his glory, much lesse for the best good of man, the glory of God being as much and more to be preferred before the best spirituall good of man, as mans spirituall good before his temporall. *Ab sit a me, ut veritatem per mendacium velim in confirmatam*, saith *Chrysostome*, farre bee it from me to attempt the strengthening of truth by falshood. The reason hereof is well yeilded by S. *Augustine*, *fracta vel leviter imminuta autoritate veritatis, omnia dubia remanebunt*, the credit and soveraignty of truth being never so little crackt, or the practise of lying never so little countenanced, a man can build upon nothing, but all things will be full of doubt and distrust. And againe, *nunquam errare tutius existimo, quàm cum in amore nimio veritatis, & rejectione nimia falsitatis erratur*, a man cannot lightly erre more safely, then in too much love of Truth and hatred of lyes, whether they arise from errour and mistake, or malice and forgery, whether they

Prov. 23. 23.

Lib. de Nat. &amp; Gratia cap. 36.

Ephes. 4. 15.

1. Cor. 13. 6.

Job. 13. 7.

In Mattheum.

De Mendacio ad Consentim.



they consist in the disagreement and disconformity betwixt the speech and the conception of the minde, or the conceptions of the minde and the things themselves, or the speech and the things.

## S E C T. 2.

*The second is the vindicating of the Creators honour.*

**A**S my first Reason, for the writing and publishing this Discourse, was for the redeeming of a captivated truth: so my second is for the vindicating of the Creators honour, the reputation of his wisdom, his justice, his goodnesse, and his power; being all of them in my judgement by the opinion of *Natures decay*, not a little impeached and blemished. His wisdom, for that intending (as by the sacred Oracles of his word he hath in sundry passages clearly manifested it) to put an end to the World by fire, it cannot (I thinke) be well conceived why he should ordaine or admit such a dayly, universall and irrecoverable consumption in all the parts of Nature, which *without fire*, or any other outward meanes would undoubtedly bring it to that finall period.

Exod. 5. 7. 8.

His justice, for that withdrawing from later ages that strength and ability of performing religious duties, and practising morall vertues, which to the former hee granted, yet to demand and expect no lesse from the later then he did from the former, what is it but to reape where he sowed not, to require as much of him that hath but *five talents*, as of him that had *ten*; or to deale as *Pharaoh* did with the *Israelites*, still to exact the same taske of bricke, and yet to withhold the wonted allowance of straw? Neither can wee with that confidence reprehend the reigning vices of the times, if wee cast the reason thereof not so much upon the voluntary malice and depravation of mens vvils, as upon the necessity of the times preordained by God; which upon the matter, what is it but to lay the burden upon God, and to accuse him, that so we may free and excuse our selves?

Joh. 2. 10.

Joel. 2. 18.

Acts. 2. 17.

His Bounty and Goodnesse, as if out of a niggardly and sparing disposition he envied the succeeding generations of the World, that happines which upon the preceding hee freely and richly conferred; whereas I am rather of opinion, that as in *holy Scripture*, for the most part, he accepted and preferred the younger brother before the elder, and as *Christ our Saviour* turned the water into wine towards the end of the feast, which farre excelled that in the beginning: so the gifts and graces of God, have beene more plentifully powred out upon mankind in this later age of the World, then ever since the first Creation thereof. As was foretold by the *Prophet* in the Old Testament, and remembered by the *Apostle* in the New; And it shall come to passe in the last dayes (saith God) I will powre out of my spirit upon all flesh.

Gen. 27. 38.

Lastly, the reputation of his Power is thereby most of all stained and wounded, as if his treasury could at any time bee emptied and drawne dry, as if he had but one blessing in store, or were forced to say with old *Isaack* when hee had blessed *Jacob*, with corne and wine have I blessed him, & what shall I do now to thee my son? No, no, his arme is not shortned, neither



neither is his mightie power any way abated; yet they who thus complaine of *Natures decay*, what do they but implicitly impeach and accuse his *Power*? which indeed is nothing else but *Natura Naturans* (as the *Schooles* Phrase is) *Active Nature*, and the creature the workmanship thereof, *Natura Naturata*, *Nature Passive*; That which the Samaritans ignorantly and blasphemously spake of *Simon Magus*, may properly and truly be spoken of Nature, that it is *the great power of God*, or *the power of the great God*, as is divinely observed by the wittie *Scaliger* against *Cardan* in that Exercitation, which in its front beares this inscription, opposed to *Cardanes* assertion: *Non ex fatigatione mundum solum iri*, that the world shall not dissolve by being tyred, *quasi natura* (saith hee) *sit asinus ad molas, non autem Dei Opt. Max. potestas, quæ eodem nutu gubernat infinito quo creavit*, we may not conceive that Nature is as an asse wasted and wearied out at the mill; but the Power of the Mightie God which governes all things with the same infinite command, wherewith they were created. And with him accords *Valesius* discoursing of the Worlds end, towards the end of his booke *de sacra Philosophia*, *Quæ à Deo ipso per se ac sine causa secunda compacta sunt, non possunt ab alia causa solvi, sed solum ab eo ipso à quo sunt coagmentata*. those things which are made of God himselfe immediately by himselfe without the concurrence of second causes, cannot be unmade by any inferiour cause, but by him alone by whom they were first made. And againe, *Certe ita est, virtutem divinam apponi necesse est ut deleatur quod Deus ipse fecit*; there needes no lesse then a divine power, for the abolishing of that which the *Deity* it selfe hath wrought; which hee seemes to have borrowed from *Plato in Timæo* where hee thus speakes of the World. *Ita aptè coheret, ut dissolvi nullo modo queat, nisi ab eodem à quo est colligatus*, so proportionably doth each part answer other, that it is indissoluble, but onely from his hands who first framed it. As then *Almightie God* created all things of nothing by the power of his word: So doth hee still uphold them and will, till the dissolution of all things in their essences, faculties and operations by the *Word of his Power*, reaching from one end to the other mightily, and disposing all things sweetly. Indeed with the workes of man it is not so, when he hath imployed about them all the cunning, and cost, and care that may be, hee can neither preserve them nor himselfe, both they and hee moulder away and returne to their dust, But I know, saith the *Preacher*, that whatsoever God doth, it shall be for ever, nothing can be put to it, nor any thing taken from it. And the sonne of *Sirach*. Hee garnished his workes for ever, and in his hand are the chiefe of them unto all generations, they neither labour nor are weary, nor cease from their workes, none of them hindereth another, and they shall never disobey his word.

Exercit. 77

Heb. 1. 3.  
Wisdom. 8. 12

Eccles. 3. 14

16. cap. 27. 28.  
vers.



## SECT. 3.

*The third is for that the contrary opinion quales the hopes, and blunts the edge of vertuous endeavours.*

**M**Y third reason for the penning and publishing of this discourse is, that *the contrary opinion thereunto seemes not a little to rebate and blunt the edge of mens vertuous endeavours*. For being once thoroughly perswaded in themselves, that by a fatall kinde of necessitie and course of times, they are cast into those straits, that notwithstanding all their striving and industrie, it is impossible they should rise to the pitch of their noble and renowned Predecessours, they begin to yeeld to the times and to necessity, being resolved that their endeavours are all in vaine, and that they strive against the streame; nay the Master himselfe of Morallitie, the great Patriarch of Philosophers, hath told us, that *circa impossibilia non est deliberandum*, is is no point of wisdom for a man to beat his braines and spend his spirits about things meerly impossible to be atchieved, and which are altogether out of our reach. The way then to excite men to the imitation of the vertue, and the exploits of their famous Ancestours, is not (as I conceive) to beat down their hopes of paralleling them, and so to clip the wings of their aspiring desires: but rather to teach them that there wants nothing thereunto but their owne endeavour, and that if they fall short, the fault is not in the age but in themselves. The spies that were sent by Moses to discover the land of Canaan, at their returne told the people, that the inhabitants thereof were much stronger then themselves, that they were Gyants the sonnes of Anak, and themselves but as Grasshoppers in comparison of them; by meanes of which report, the hearts of the people melted within them, and they were utterly discouraged from marching forward, though the discoverers reported withall, that the land from whence they came flowed with milke and honey; and the pomegranats, the figs, the wonderfull clusters of grapes brought from thence, for a taste and evidence of the goodnesse of the soile, pleased them exceeding well. Thus when our Ancestors are painted forth as Gyants, not onely in stature and strength, but in wit and vertue, though the acts wee find recorded of them, please us marveilous well, yet wee durst not venture, or so much as once thinke upon the matching of them, because wee are taught and made to beleieve, that wee forsooth are but as Pigmies, and dwarfes in regard of them; and that it were as possible to fit a childs shoe to Hercules foote, as for us any way to come neere them, or to trace their steps, *possunt, quia posse videntur*: they can because they seeme they can.

Certainly the force of imagination is wonderfull, either to beget in us an abilitie for the doing of that which wee apprehend we can do, or a disabilitie for the not doing of that which wee conceive wee cannot do: which was the reason that the Wisards and Oracles of the Gentiles being consulted, they either returned an hopefull answer, or an ambiguous,



guous, such as by a favourable construction, might either include or at leastwise not utterly exclude hope. *Agésilas* (as I remember) clapping his hand upon the Altar, and taking it off againe, by a cunning device, shewed to his souldiers *victory*, stamped upon it, whereby they were so encouraged, and grew so confident, that beyond all expectation, they indeed effected that, whereof by this sleight, they were formerly assured. *Prognostications* and *Prophecies* often helpe to further that which they foretell, and to make men such as they beare them in hand they shall bee; nay by an unavoidable destinie must be. *Francis Marquesse* of *Saluzzey* yeelds us a memorable example in this kinde, who being *Guicciardin.* Lieutenant Generall to *Francis* the first, King of *France* over all his forces which hee then had beyond the mountaines in *Italy*, a man highly favoured in all the Court, and infinitely obliged to the King for his *Marquesate* which his brother had forfeited, suffered himselfe to be so farre affrighted and deluded, (as it hath since beene manifestly proved) by *Prognostications*, (which then throughout all *Europe* were given out to the advantage of the *Emperour Charles* the fifth and to the prejudice of the *French*,) that having no occasion offered, yea his owne affections contradicting the same, hee first began in secret to complaine to his private friends of the inevitable miseries which hee foresaw prepared by the *Fates* against the *Crowne* of *France*: And within a while after (this impression still working in him) hee most unkindly revolted from his Master and became a turne-coat to the *Emperours* side, to the astonishment of all men, his owne great disgrace, and the no lesse disadvantage *Idem.* to the *French* enterprize: on the other side I doubt not but that the prophecies of *Savanarola*, as much assisted *Charles* the eight to the conquest of *Naples*, which hee performed so speedily and happily, as hee seemed rather with chalke to marke out his lodgings, then with his sword to winne them.

To like purpose was that custome among the Heathen of deriving the pedigree of valiant men from the Gods, as *Varro* the most learned of the *Romanes* hath well observed. *Ego huiusmodi à Dis repetitis origines utiles esse lubens agnosco, ut viri fortes, etiamsi falsum sit, se ex Diis gentos credant, ut eo modo animus humanus veluti divina stirpis fiduciam gerens, res magnas aggrediendas præsumat audacius, agat vehementius, & ob hæc impleat ipsa securitate felicius.* I for my part (saith hee) judge those pedigrees drawne from the Gods not to be unprofitable, that valiant men (though in truth it be not so) beleeving themselves to be extracted from divine races, might upon the confidence thereof undertake high attempts the more boldly, intend them the more earnestly, and accomplish them the more securely and successively. And of the *Druides* *Cæsar* hath noted, that among other doctrines, they taught the soules immortality by propagation, because they thought, *hoc maxime ad virtutem excitari homines metu mortis neglecto*, that by meanes of this apprehension men were notably spurred forward, and whetted on to the adventuring and enterprising of commendable actions, through the contempt of death. Which same thing *Lucan* hath likewise remarked.

---Vobis auctoribus, umbræ

Non



*Non tacitas Erebi sedes, Ditisque profundi  
 Pallida regna petunt; regit idem spiritus artus  
 Orbe alio: longa (canitis si cognita) vita  
 Mors media est: certè populi quos despicit Arctos,  
 Falices errore suo, quos ille timorum  
 Maximus, band urget Lethi metus; inderuendi  
 Inferrum mens prona viris, anima que capaces  
 Mortis, & ignavum est reditura parcere vitæ.*

--- Your doctrine is,

Our Ghosts goe not to those pale realmes of Strygian Dis,  
 And silent *Erebus*: the selfe same soules do sway  
 Bodies elsewhere, and death (if certaine truth you say)  
 Is but the mid'st of life. Thrice happy in your error  
 Ye Northerne Wights whom Death, the greatest Prince of terror  
 Nothing affrights. Hence are your Martiall hearts inclin'd  
 To rush on point of sword, hence that undaunted minde  
 So capable of Death; hence seemes it base and vaine  
 To spare that life which will eft-soones returne againe.

By all which wee see the admirable efficacie of the *Imagination*, either for the elevating or depressing of the minde, for the making of it more abject and base, or more active and generous: and from thence infer, that the doctrine of *Natures necessary decay*, rather tends to make men worse then better, rather cowardly then courageous, rather to draw them downe to that they must bee, then to lift them up to that they should and may bee, rather to breed sloath then to quicken industrie. I will give one instance for all, and that homebred, the reason why wee have at this day no *Vineyards* planted, nor wine growne in *England* as heretofore, is commonly ascribed to the *decay* of *Nature*, either in the regard of the Heavens, or earth, or both, and men possessed with this opinion sit downe and trye not what may be done: whereas our great *Antiquary* imputes it to the *lazinesse* of the Inhabitants, rather then to any defect or distemper in the *Climat*, and withall professes that hee is no way of the minde of those grudging sloathfull husbandmen, (whom *Columella* censures) who thinke the earth is growne *wearie* and *barren* with the excessive plentie of former ages. I have somewhere read of a people so brutish and barbarous, that they must first be taught and perswaded that they were not beasts but men, and capable of reason, before any serviceable or profitable use could be made of them. And surely there is no hope, that ever wee shall attaine the height of the worthy acts and exploits of our Predecessours, except first wee be resolved that Gods grace and our own endeavours concurring, there is a possibilitie wee should rise to the same degree of worth.

*Si hanc cogitationem homines habuissent ut nemo se meliorem fore eo qui optimus fuisset arbitraretur, ii ipsi qui sunt, optimi non fuissent*; if men had alwaies thus conceived with themselves that no man could be better then hee that then was best, those that now are esteemed best, had not so beene. They bee the words of *Quintilian*, and thereupon hee inferres, as doth the *Apostle* 1. *Corinth.* 12. at the last verse, *Nitamur semper*

Camden in  
 Gloucester-shire

Orat. 12. 10.



*per ad optima, quod facientes, aut evademus in summum, aut certe multos infra nos videbimus.* Let us covet earnestly the best gifts, and propose to our selves the matching at least, if not the passing of the most excellent patternes, by which meanes we shall either gaine the toppe, or see many beneath us. *Non enim nos tarditatis natura damnavit, sed ultra nobis quam oportebat indulgimus, ita non tam ingenio illi nos superarunt quam proposito,* saith the same Author in another place. Nature hath not made us more uncapable then our Ancestours, but wee have beene too indulgent to our selves, by which meanes it comes to passe that they surmount us not so much in wit as in endeavour.

Lib. 2. c. 5.

## SECT. 4.

*The fourth is, that it makes men more carelesse as in matter of repentance, so likewise both in regard of their present fortunes, and in providing for posteritie.*

**A**S the opinion of the worlds universall decay quales the hopes and blunts the edge of mens endeavours, so doth it likewise of our exhortations and threatnings, when men are perswaded that famines and pestilences, and unseasonable weather, and the like, are not the Scourges of God for sinne, but rather the diseases of wasting and decrepit Nature, not procured so much by the vices and wickednesse of men, as by the old age and weakenesse of the world. And this opinion beeing once thoroughly rooted and settled in them, they neither care much for repentance, or call upon God for grace, thereby either to prevent these heavie judgements, hanging over their heads, or to remove them having seised upon them: but the Prophets of God (I am sure) tooke another course. They told not the people that these plagues were the symptoms and Characters of the worlds declining and decreasing, but the marques and rods of Gods vengeance for their transgressions and rebellions, and that the onely way both to prevent and remove them, was to remove their hainous and grievous finnes out of Gods sight, the onely meanes to turne them from themselves, was for themselves to returne and be reconciled to their God. Besides the same opinion serves to make men *more carelesse both in regard of their present fortunes, and in providing for posteritie.* For when they consider how many thousand yeares nature hath now beene, as it were in a fever *Hectique*, daily consuming and wasting away by degrees; they inferre that in reason she cannot hold out long, and therefore it was to as little purpose to plant trees, or to erect lasting buildings, either for *Civill*, *Charitable*, or *Pious* uses, as to provide new apparell for a sicke man, that lies at deaths doore, and hath already one foote in the grave: *I beseech you brethren,* saith the Apostle, *by the coming of the Lord Jesus, and by our gathering together unto him, that yet be not soone shaken in minde or be troubled, neither by spirit, nor by word, nor by letters, as from us, as though the day of Christ were at hand. Let no man deceive you by any meanes.* What a solemne Preface doth hee make unto it? and with how serious a conclusion

2. Thess. 2. 1.



Med. Hist. cap. 41. 1532. sion doth he seale it up? Now among other reasons yeilded by Divines for this his earnestnesse herein, one speciall one is, that men might not lavish out, and scatter their estates, upon a vaine supposition of the approach of that day. As Philip Camerarius a learned man, and Councillour to the state of Norinberg, reports upon his owne knowledge, that a Parish-Priest in those parts skilfull in *Arithmetique* presumed so farre upon his Calculations and the numerall letters of that prediction in the Gospell, *Videbunt in quem pupugerunt*, they shall looke upon him whom they pierced, that hee confidently assured his parishioners, not onely of the yeare, but the very day and *houre* of the worlds end, and our Saviours comming to judgement. Whereupon such as gave credit to him carelessly wasted their meanes, perswading themselves that they should now have no further use of them. At the day & *houre* prefixed they all met in a Chappell to heare their Prophet preaching and praying, during which time there arose a great tempest with fearefull thunder and lightning, in so much as all present looked out every minute, for the fulfilling of the Prophecie: but a while after the storme cleared up, and the day appearing faire, the silly people finding themselves to be thus abused, for very indignation they rush upon their false Prophet, and would have slaine him or used him shamefully as hee deserved, had he not slipped out of their fingers, and the fury of the intraged multitude beene appeased by some of the wiser sort. The like is reported by *Espenceus* out of *Bullinger* of the *Hutites* a branch of the sect of *Anabaptists*, in his Commentaries on the third Chapter of the second epistle to *Timothy*: so dangerous a thing it is to pretermine the last day, or to set a period to the course of *Nature*. It is most certaine that wee are by many hundreds of yeares neerer the worldsend, then was the *Apostle* when hee wrote that exhortation to the *Thessal.* and yet when that end shall bee, is still as uncertaine to us, as it was to them. Upon which point S. *Augustine* I remember hath an excellent meditation, comparing the severall ages of the world to the ages of man; not so much as I conceive in regard of growth or declination, as in regard of progression, making the *infancie* thereof from *Adam* to *Noah*, the *Childhood* from *Noah* to *Abraham*, the *Youth* from *Abraham* to *David*, the *mans estate* from *David* to *Christ*, the *old age* from *Christ* to the end of it And as the duration in all the other ages of man is certaine, but the lasting of *old age* uncertaine: so is it in the World And as *Chrysostome* well noteth, we call not the end of the yeare the last *houre*, or day or weeke thereof, but the last moneth or quarter: so wee call this last age of the World the End thereof. But how long this age shall last, it is still doubtfull, it being one of those secrets which the Almighty hath lockt up in the cabinet of his owne counsell, a secret which is neither *possible* neither *profitable* for us to know, as beeing not by God revealed unto us in his Word, much lesse then in the booke of *Nature*.

It is agreed upon on all sides by Divines, that at least two signes fore-running the Worlds end, remaine unaccomplisht; the *Subversion of Rome*, and the *Conversion of the Jewes*. And when they shall be accomplished



plisht God onely knowes, as yet in mans judgement there being little appearance of the one or the other. *It is not for us to know the times and seasons which the father hath put in his owne power: In his owne power they are,* Act. 1. 7. they depend not upon the law of Nature, or chance of second Causes, but upon his will and pleasure, who as he made the World by his word, so by his becke can and will unmake it againe. *Sola religione mihi persuadetur mundum capisse, atque finem incendio habiturum,* saith Scaliger: it is onely faith and religion that assures mee that as the World had a be- Exercit 62. ginning, so it shall have an end by fire. And Divine *Bartas,*

*L'immuable decret de la bouche divine,*

*Qui Causera sa fin, Causa son origine.*

Th'immutable divine decree, which shall  
Cause the Worlds end, caus'd his originall.

Let not then the vaine shadowes of the Worlds *fatall decay* keepe us either from looking backward to the imitation of our noble *Predecessors*, or forward in providing for *posteritie*, but as our *Predecessours* worthily provided for us, so let our *posteritie* blesse us in providing for them, it being still as uncertaine to us what generations are yet to ensue, as it was to our *predecessours* in their ages. I will shut up this reason with a witty *Epigram* made upon one who in his writings undertooke to foretell the very yeare of the Worlds consummation.

*Nonaginta duos durabit mundus in annos*

*Mundus ad arbitrium si stat obitque tuum.*

*Cur mundi finem propiorem non facis? ut ne*

*Ante obitum mendax arguerere? sapiis.*

Ninetie two yeares the World as yet shall stand,

If it do stand or fall at your command.

But say, why plac'd you not the Worlds end nigher?

Lest ere you dyed you might be prov'd a lyer.

Owen upon  
Napier.

#### SECT. 5.

*The fifth and last reason, is the weake grounds which the contrary opinion is built upon.*

**T**He fifth and last reason which moved mee to the undertaking of this Treatise was, the weake grounds which the contrary opinion of the Worlds decay is founded upon. I am perswaded that the *fiction* of Poets was it which first gave life unto it. *Homer* hath touched upon this string, with whom *Virgill* accords, and they are both seconded by *Juvenall* and *Horace*: but above all, that pretty invention of the *four* Ages of the world compared to *four* mettals, Gold, Silver, Brasse, and Iron, hath wrought such an impression in mens mindes, that it can hardly be rooted out. For ancient *Philosophers* and *Divines*, I finde not any, that are so much as alleaged in defence of it, but *Pliny* and *Cyprian*, to whom some have added *Gellius* and *Augustine*, and some few beside: but how truly, it shall appeare God willing when wee come to speake of their testimonies in their proper places. And for Scripture prooffe, it is both very sparing and wrested.

C

That



Tacitus Annal.  
lib. 2. verbi ul-  
timum.

That which above all (as I conceive) had made way for this opinion is, the *morosity* and crooked disposition of old men, alwaies complaining of the hardnesse of the present times, together with an excessive admiration of *Antiquitie*, which is in a manner naturall and inbred in us, *Vetera extollimus; recentium incuriosi*, The ancients wee extoll being carelesse of our owne times. For the former of these, old men for the most part being much changed from that they were in their youth in complexion and temperature, they are fill'd with sad melancholy thoughts, which makes men thinke the world is changed, whereas in truth the change is in themselves. It fares with them in this case as with those whose taste is distempered, or are troubled with the jaundise, or whose eyes are bloodshot, the one imagining all things bitter or sowre, which they taste, and the other red or yellow which they see.

Virg. Æn. 3.

---Terraque Vrbesque recedunt.

Epist. 51<sup>st</sup>

Themselves being launched out into the deepe, the trees and houses seeme to goe backward, whereas in truth the motion is in themselves, the houses and trees still standing where they were. *Seneca* tels us a pleasant tale of *Harpaste* his wives foole, who being become suddenly blind shee deemed the roome in which she was to be darke; but could by no meanes be perswaded of her owne blindnesse. Such for the most part is the case of old men, themselves being altered both in disposition of body and condition of minde, they make wonderfull narrations of the change of times since they remember: which because they cannot bee controlled, passe for currant.

Such a one it should seeme was that *Cacilian*, of whom the *Epigrammatist* thus writes:

Mart. epig. l. 9.  
epig. 51.

*Dixerat O mores! O tempora! Tullius olim,  
Sacrilegum strueret cum Catilina nefas:  
Cum gener atque socer diris concurreret armis,  
Mæstaque civili cade maderet humus.  
Cur nunc O mores? cur nunc O tempora dicis?  
Quod tibi non placeat Caciliane, quid est?  
Nulla ducum feritas, nulla est infamia ferri,  
Pace frui certâ latitiâque licet;  
Non nostri faciunt tua quod tibi tempera sordent,  
Sed faciunt mores Caciliane tui.*

Oh times! Oh manners! once old *Tully* said,  
When *Catiline* his hellish plot had laid:  
When warres did sonne and Father-Law divide,  
And *Rome's* sad earth in civill slaughter dy'd:  
Why now Oh times! O manners! cry, st thou man?  
What is't displeases thee *Cacilian*?  
No Generalls rage, no swords of traytors now,  
But peace and joy do plentifully flow;  
'Tis not the ages manners, but thine owne  
Hath made the age to thee so hatefull growne.

Which *Epigram* our English *Martiall* thus imitates,  
*Cur accusat homo mores & tempora, culpam*

*Moribus*



*Moribus ascribens temporibusque suam?  
Non in temporibus vitium est, aut moribus ullum,  
Non vitiamur ab his temporibus, sed in his.*

Lib. 3. epig. 17.

The other pioniere, as I may so call it, which by secret undermining, makes way for this opinion of the Worlds decay, is an excessive admiration of Antiquitie, together with a base and envious conceit of whatsoever this present age affords, or possibly can afford in comparison thereof. *Vetulam præferunt immortalitati*, they preferre the wrinkles of Antiquitie, before the rarest beautie of the present times,

Cicero of Vlysses

*--- Cunctis sua displicet ætas*

Anson. Edict. 23

*Spernimus in commune omnes presentia:*

Our present age doth us displease,  
And present things we all despise.

The common voice every where is, and ever hath beene, and will be to the worlds end.

*Fælix nimiam prior ætas,  
Contenta fidelibus arvis---*

Beetun lib. 2.  
metro. 5.

*-- Vtinam quoque nostra redirent  
In mores tempora priscos.*

Thrice happy former ages and blessed  
With faithfull fields content and pleased.  
Would our age also had the grace  
Again old manners to embrace.

Yet if wee will speake properly and punctually, Antiquity rather consists in the old age, then infancie or youth of the World. But take it as commonly understood I thinke it will not be denied by any that understand the course of times, but that in latter ages, many abuses have beene reformed, many Arts perfected, many profitable Inventions discovered, many noble and notable acts atchieved,

*Multa dies variusque labor mutabilis ævi  
Retulit in melius.*

Time and much toile of this unsteddie World  
Hath bettered many things.

As truly *Virgill*; and elegantly *Claudian*,

*--- Rerumque remotas*

De raptu Pro-  
serp. lib. 3.

*Ingeniosa vias paulatim explorat egestas.*

Wittie necessitie by degrees traceth out  
Of things the prints and windings most remote.

But let us heare what the wisest man that ever lived of a meere man hath determined in this point: Say not thou, what is the cause that the former daies were better then these? for thou dost not enquire wisely concerning this. Upon which words saith *Isidorus Clarius*, *Quia manifestum est habuisse priora tempora, sicut & hæc nostra habent incommoda sua*; because it is evident that former times had their mischiefes and miseries waiting upon them as well as ours. Yet because for the most part, the best of former times is recorded, and the worst concealed from us, as the Sieve lets goe the finest flowre, but retaines the bran; or because we are generally more sensible of the crosses, then the blessings of our times; or lastly because the

Eccles. 7. 10.



Minuit præsen-  
tia famam.

Lib. de Orator.

sight and presence of things diminisheth that reputation which we conceived of them: Such is the disease and malignity of our nature, *Vitium malignitatis humanae*, as Tacitus calls it, *ut vetera semper in laude, presentia sint in fastidio*.

Horat. l. 2. ep. 1.

---- Et nisi quæ terris semota suisque  
Temporibus defuncta videt, fastidit, & odit.  
Sed redit ad fastos, & virtutem imputat annis,  
Miraturque nihil nisi quod Libitina sacravit.  
Save what removed is by place; nor lacks,  
Antiquity to warrant it, hee lothes and hates:  
Vertue hee counts by yeares and Almanacks,  
Wonders at nought but what death consecrates.

But as the same Poët wittily speakes, comparing the *Gracians* with the *Romans*, the same may we demaund, comparing our selves and later ages generally with the *ancients*.

*Quod si tam antiquis novitas invisa fuisset  
Quam nobis, quid nunc esset vetus, aut quid haberet  
Quod legeret tereretque viritum publicus usus?*

If ancients had envied as much as wee,  
Things that are new, what now would ancient bee,  
Or could be read and used publickly?

Nell. At. 18. 7.

A man may say of many of our new Writers as *Gellius* sometime spake of a good speech that *Favorinus* made: *Nonne si id Antisthenes aut Diogenes dixisset dignum memoria visum esset?* had *Antisthenes* or *Diogenes* spoken it, would it not have seemed memorable?

Essays l. 2. c. 10.

It was the cunning of *Michael Montaigne*, as himselfe witnesseth, to use a similitude of *Plutarchs*, or a sentence of *Senecaes* as his owne, that so it might appeare how men censured that in him, which in those ancient Authors they highly applauded: but very witty was the device of *Michael Angelo* a most famous moderne Painter, who drawing a table after the *Antique* manner, hid it in a corner of a friends house, where hee thought it would soone be discovered, and withall, sets his owne name in a corner of the table, but in letters scarce discernable. The table being found, hee was quickly sent for, shewed him it was by the Master of the house, and commended for an exquisite peece, farre beyond any of the present age, but when the Authour of it challenged it to be his owne, and for prooffe thereof shewed him his name in it, he craved pardon of him, and acknowledged his errour.

The *Satyrist* somewhere speakes of a famous Poetresse, who was second to none but *Homer*, and that onely for his antiquitie.

---- Vni cedit Homero  
Propter mille annos.----

Such is the advantage which Antiquity hath against the present times, that if we meete with any thing which excells, we thinke it must be *ancient*, or if with any thing that is *ancient*, it cannot but excell: Nay, therefore we thinke it excells, because we thinke it *ancient*, though it be not so.



*Vt quidem artifices nostro faciunt seculo,  
Qui pretium operibus majus inveniunt, novo  
Si marmori adscripserint Praxitelen, suo  
Detrito Myronem argento.*

*Phædrus. l. 5.  
Fabul. in prolo-  
go.*

As some artificers in these our dayes,  
Who sell their workes at a farre dearer rate,  
If on new marble they Praxitiles,  
Or Myron write, upon their battered plate.

I have seene, saith *Ludovicus Vives*, the verses of a man then living, which because they were found in a very ancient Library, covered with dust, and eaten with mothes, hee that tooke them up in a manner adored them bare-headed, as being *Virgils*, or some one of that age. And another with disdain cast away an Epistle of *Tullies*, before which there was of purpose prefixed a French name: *addito etiam convitio barbari Transalpine*: adding this scoffe withall, that it favoured of Transalpine barbarisme. Which perverse and partiall judgement I conceive not to spring so much from a due respect to the ancient Authors, as an envious dilesteeming of the present. *To the best and wisest while they live, the world is continually a froward opposite, a curious observer of their defects, and imperfections, their vertues it afterwards as much admireth.*

*De causis Cor-  
rupt. Art. lib. 7.*

*Hooker 5. 7.*

*Virtutem incolumem odimus,  
Sublatam ex oculis querimus invidi.*

*Hor. l. 3. od. 24.*

Vertue growing in our sight w<sup>th</sup> envy  
Remov'd from hence we straight way deifie.

Though flattery and envy are at defiance each with other, yet doe they both agree in this, that they feed upon living bodies, but leave them being dead.

*Pascitur in vivis livor post fata quiescit,  
Tum suus ex merito quemque tuetur honor.*

*Ovid. amor. ult.  
primi.*

As envy still on living bodies feedes,  
So honour after death doth crowne their deedes.

When *Hercules* had vanquished so many fierce monsters,

*Comperit invidiam supremo sine domandam.*

*Idem l. 2. ep. 2.*

He grappled last with envy as the worst.

*Esse quid hoc dicam vivis quod fama negatur,*

*Martial l. 1.  
epig. 10.*

*Et sua quod rarus tempora lector amat.*

*Hi sunt invidia nimirum (Regule) mores*

*Praferat antiquos semper ut illa novis.*

Whence is't that Poëts living are misprized,  
And few do like the workes of their owne times?

Through Envy (*Regulus*) are they despised,

Which still to new preferres the elder rimes.

Men read the Authors of their owne times, either as *inferiours* or pu-  
nies to themselves, with a kinde of scorne to learne of them:

*Quia turpe putant parere minoribus, & qua*

*Horat. l. 2. ep. 1.*

*Imberbes didicere, senes perdenda fateri.*

To yonger then themselves to yeeld great shame they hold,



And what they learne in youth t' unlearne when they are old.

Or as their *Equalls*, in whose persons or manners, because happily they espie some imperfections, they judge accordingly of their workes.

Eccles. 10. 1.

*For as dead flies cause the ointment of the Apothecary to send forth a stinking savour: so doth a little folly him that is in reputation for wisdom.* Which was in a manner the Apostles case, his letters, (say they) are weightie and powerfull: but his bodily presence is weake, and his speech contemptible. And

2. Cor. 10. 10.

no doubt but to those who thus conceived of him, his very letters were not so powerfull and weightie, as otherwise they would have beene, and as now they are to us, who know not what his person or speech was. Or if no acception be to be taken to them, yet wee hold it a kinde of dilreputation or disparagement unto us, by yeelding them their due (though worthily and justly merited,) to preferre them before our selves,

*Ingenio qui vult cedere nullus erit.*

In wit will no man yeeld:

which is the onely

reason that the same men, being while they live, mightily maligned and impugned, they are after their death, and that many times by the same corrivals, as highly honoured and commended.

Horat. l. 2. ep. 1.

*Vrit enim fulgore suo, qui prae gravat artes  
Infra se positas, extinctus amabitur idem.*

Who others doth in acts and skill surmount,  
With brighter beames inferiour spirits doth vex,  
But being dead is held of great account.

Which *Martial* verifies in the practice of *Vacerra*,

Lib. 8. epig. 69.

*Miraris veteres Vacerra solos,  
Nec laudas nisi mortuos Poetas,  
Ignoscas petimus Vacerra, tanti  
Non est ut placeam Tibi perire.*

Old Poets onely thou dost praise,  
And none but dead ones magnifie;  
Pardon *Vacerra*, thee to please  
I am not yet in minde to die.

Hee is a happie man saith the great *Scaliger*, (and that not so much out of his reading, as his own sense and feeling,) who while hee lives, is made partaker of those deserved praises.

In fine Cyclom.  
Elementorum.

*Quas vita non dat, funus ac cinis dabunt.*

Which life grants not, death and the grave will give.

Even *Tully* himselfe the patterne of eloquence to all succeeding ages, and one of the most absolute, and eminent in his profession, that ever the world yeelded, was notwithstanding sharply censured, and taunted at by his coevals, *ut tumidiorem, & Asiaticum, & redundantem, & in repetitionibus nimiam, & in salibus aliquando frigidum, & in compositione fractum, exultantem ac pene quod procul absit, viro molliorem*: as swelling after the Asiaticque manner, too redundant and frequent in repetitions, in jest sometime too cold, and in the composure of his matter broken and effeminate. Nay *Virgil* the Prince of Poets, was not without his corrivals and opposites in his life-time, such as were *Carbilus Pictor, Vipera-*

Quintie Orat.  
12. 10.



nus, Herennius, Faustus, and others, insomuch, that one wrote a booke intituled *Anti-bucolica*, another *Aeneido-mastix*, one collected his faults, another his stealths, as *Donatus* in his life hath observed. To like purpose *Velleius Paterculus* speaking of a notable exploit of *Sextius Saturninus*, Lib. 2. cap. 92. observes the same humorous disposition in those of his time, *Quod ego factum*, saith he, *cuiuslibet veterum Consulum gloria comparandum reor, nisi quod naturaliter, audita visis laudemus libentius, & praesentia invidia, praeterita veneratione prosequimur, & his nos obrui, illis instrui credimus*: which noble exploit of his I could justly compare with the most famous and glorious acts of the ancient *Consuls*, but that out of a naturall inclination wee more willingly commend things we receive by heare-say, then by sight, prosecuting things present with envie, but being past with veneration; as being perswaded that we are affronted by the one, but instructed the other.

The Roman Priests before *Caesar*, for reformation of the errours in the computation of their yeere, would sometimes thrust in a moneth, by example from *Numa Pompilius*; but this was found to be so poore and weake a remedy, that *Iulius Caesar* by the helpe of his Mathematicians brought it to perfection: yet even for this was he envied and scoffed at by *Cicero*, who when one said to morrow the star *Lyra* will arise; Plutarch. in vita Caesaris. yea, said he, at *Caesars* command.

For my selfe, I profess with *Pliny* the younger, *Sum ex iis qui miror antiquos, non tamen ut quidam, temporum nostrorum ingenia despicio; neque enim quasi lassae aut effatae natura, ut nihil iam laudabile pariat*: I am one of the number of those who admire the Ancients, yet not as some, doe I despise the wits of our times, as if *Nature* were tired and barren, and brought forth nothing now that were prayse-worthy. To which passage of *Pliny*, *Vives* seemes to allude, *male de natura censet quicunque uno illam aut altero partu effatam arbitratur*, hee that so thinkes or sayes, is doublesse injurious and ingratefull both to God and Nature: And *qui non est gratus datis, non est dignus dandis*, hee that doth not acknowledge the peculiar and singular blessings of God bestowed upon this present age in some things beyond the former, is so farre from meriting the increase of more, as he deserves not to enjoy these. And commonly it falls out, that there the course and discent of the graces of God ceases, and the spring is dried up, where there is not a correspondent recourse and tide of our thankfulness. It is a good book to this purpose which *Iohannes Rivius* hath composed and published in Latine: *Of the happiness of this our age, and of the ingratitude of men to God for his benefits*. Let men then suspend their rash judgements, *nec perseverent suspicere praeteritos, despiciere praesentes*, onely to admire the Ancients, and despise those of the present times. Let them rather imitate *Lampridius* the Oratour of whom witnesseth the same *Sydonius*, that hee read good Authors of all kinds, *cum reverentia antiquos, sine invidia recentes*: the old with reverence, the new without envy. I will conclude this point and this Chapter with that of *Solomon*; *Hee hath made every thing beautifull in his time*: answerable whereunto is that of the sonne of *Syrach* (which may well serve as a Commentary upon those wordes of *Solomon*) *All the*

Sydonius lib. 3. epist. 8.

Lib. 8. epist. 21.

Eccles. 3. 11.



Ecclesiasticus  
39. 33, 34, 35.

workes of the Lord are good; and he will give every needfull thing in due season, so that a man cannot say, this is worse then that: therefore prayse yee the Lord with the whole heart and mouth, and blesse the name of the Lord.

### CHAP. 3.

*The Controversie touching the Worlds decay stated, and the method held thorow this ensuing Treatise proposed.*

### SECT. 1.

*Touching the pretended decay of the mixt bodies.*

**L**east I should seeme on the one side to fight with shaddowes, and men of straw made by my selfe, or on the other to maintaine paradoxes, which daily experience refutes, it shall not bee amisse in this Chapter, to unbowell the *state* of the question, touching the *Worlds decay*, and therewithall to unfold and lay open the severall knots, and joynts thereof, that so it may appeare wherein the adverse party agrees, and wherein the point controverted consists, where they joyne issue, and where the difference rests. It is then agreed on all hands, that all subcœlestiall bodies, *individualls*, I meane, under the circle of the Moone, are subject not onely to *alteration*, but to *diminution* and decay; some I confesse, last long, as the Eagle and Raven among *birds*, the Elephant and Stagge among *beasts*, the Oake among *Vegetables*, stones and mettalls among those treasures which Nature hath laid up in the *bosome of the earth*: yet they all have a time of *growth* and increase, of *ripenesse* and perfection, and then of *declination* and decrease, which brings them at last to a finall and totall *dissolution*. *Beasts* are subject to diseases, or at least to the spending of those naturall spirits, wherwith their life and being, as the Lampe with oyle, is maintained, *Vegetables* to rottenesse, *stones* to mouldering, and *mettalls* to rust and canker, though I doubt not but some have layen in the bowells of the earth untainted since the *Worlds Creation*, and may continue in the same case till the *Consummation* thereof: Which neede not seeme strange, since some of the *Egyptian Pyramides* (stones drawne from their naturall beds and fortresses, and exposed to the invasion of the aire, and violence of the weather) have stood already well nigh *three thousand* yeares, and might (for ought wee know) stand yet as long againe. And I make no question but *glasse*, and *golde*, and *christall*, and *pearle*, and *precious stones* might so be used, that they should last many thousand yeares, if the world should last so long. For that which *Poets* faigne of *Time*, that it eates out and devoures all things, is in truth but a *poeticall fiction*, since *Time* is a branch of *Quantity*, it being the measure of motion, and *Quantity* in it selfe is no way *active*, but meerely *passive*, as being an accident flowing from the matter. And thereupon *Constarinus* in his fourth book, and eight Chapter, of the perfection of things, having touched upon that passage of the Poet, *Tempus edax rerum*, Time eates out all things; presently adds, *Quæ sententia ut propius ad vulgus accedat,*



*cedat, ita est remotior à veritate*; which opinion as it approacheth neerer to the vulgar, so is it from the truth more remote. It is then either some inward conflict, or outward assault vvhich is vvrought in *Time*, that eates them out; *Time* it selfe without these, is toothlesse, and can never doe it. Nay, even among *Vegetables* it is reported by Mr *Camden*, that whole trees lying under the Earth, have beene, and daily are digged up in *Cheshire*, *Lancashire*, and *Cumberland*, which are thought to have layen there since *Noahs* flood. And *Verstegan* reports the like of *Cap. 4.* *firre* trees digged up in the *Netherlands*, which are not knowne to grow any where in that Country, neither is the soile apt by nature to produce them, they growing in cold hillie places, or upon high mountaines, so that it is most likely, they might from those places (during the deluge) by the rage of the waters be driven thither. Yet all these consisting of the Elements, as they doe, I make no doubt, but without any outward violence in the course of Nature, by the very inward conflict of their principles whereof they are bred, vvould by degrees, though perchance for a long time insensibly, yet at last feele corruption. For a Body so equally tempered, or evenly ballanced by the Elements, that there shall bee no *predominancie*, no struggling or wrastring in it, may be imagined; but surely (I thinke) was never really subsisting in Nature, nor well can be.

## S E C T. 2.

*Touching the pretended decay of the Elements, in regard of their quantity and dimensions.*

**I** Come then in the next place from the *mixt* Bodies, to the *Elements* themselves, wherof they are mixed. Of these it is certaine, that they decay in their *parts*, but so, as by a *reciprocall compensation* they both lose and gaine, sometime losing what they had gotten, and then againe getting what they had formerly lost, *Egregia est in elementis quaternarum virium compensatio, aequalibus justisque regulis ac terminis vices suas dispensantium*, saith *Philo* in his booke *de Mundi incorruptibilitate*, there is in the Elements a singular retribution of that foure-folde force that is in them, dispensing it selfe by even bounds and just rules. The Element of the *fire*, I make no doubt, but by condensation it sometimes loses to the *aire*, & the *aire* again by rarefaction to it. Again, the *aire* by condensation loses to the *water*, and the *water* by rarefaction to it. The *earth* by secret conveyances, sucks in, & steales away the *waters* of the Sea, but returns them again with full mouth. And these two incroach likewise & make inrodes interchangeably each upon other. The ordinary depth of the sea is commonly answerable to the ordinary hight of the main land above the water: & the whirle-pooles & extraordinary depths answerable to the hight of mountains, above the ordinary hight of the earth. The *Promontories* and neck-lands which butt into the Sea, what are they but *solide creekes*? and the *creekes* which thrust forth their armes into the Land, but *fleeing Promontories*? The *Ilands* what are they but *solide lakes*, and



Arist. 1. Meteor.

and the lakes againe but *fleeting Ilands*? Nay, *Ilands* sometimes are swallowed up by the Sea, sometimes new rise out of the Sea. Sometimes parts of the *Continent* are recovered out of the Sea, as was a place in *Egypt*, called *Delta*, *Ammania regio*, and others; nay, the greatest part of the *Netherlands* was so recovered, as appears by their finding innumerable shels of Sea-fish, almost in every place where they dig, and other parts againe irrecoverably lost by the *inundation* thereof, as it fell out in the same Countries, about foure hundred yeares since, in the raigne of our King *Henry* the first, the steeples and towres which yet appear above the water, shewing to Passengers the revenge of that unmercifull Element upon a part for the losse of the whole land. *Helice* likewise, and *Bura* Cities of *Greece*, were drowned (as it seemes in *Ogyges* flood, of which thus the Poet,

Ovid. Met. 13.

*Si queras Helicen & Buram Achaidos Vrbes,  
Invenies sub aquis.*

Bura and Helice on Achaian ground,  
Are sought in vaine, but under water found.

Cap. 32.

And *Seneca* in the sixth booke of his *Naturall questions*, thus speakes of these two Cities, *Helicen*, *Burimque totas mare accepit, supra oppida duo navigatur, duo autem quae novimus, quae in nostram notitiam memoria literis servata perduxit, quam multa alia aliis locis mersa sunt?* *Helice* and *Buris* the Sea hath wholly swallowed up, so that now wee sayle over two Townes, two I say which are come to our knowledge by the memory of ancient records, but how many other trow wee may bee swallowed up in divers other places, which we never heard of? *Inter Insulas nulla jam Delos*, saith *Tertullian* in his booke *de Pallio*, among the *Ilands* there is now no such thing to be found as *Delos*: and againe *Acon* in *Atlantico Lybiam aut Asiam adaquans queritur nunc*; *Acon* in the *Atlanticke Sea* equalling *Africa* or *Asia*, is now found wanting. The story of King *Arthur*, and the Knights of the round table is but an idle booke, yet it was not (it seemes) without cause that he calls the *Cornish Tristram*, *Sir Tristram de Lionesse*, inasmuch as Master *Carew* of *Antony*, in his *Survey of Cornewall* witnesseth, that the Sea hath ravened from that Shire, that whole Country of *Lionesse*; and that such a Country of *Lionesse* there was, he very sufficiently proveth by many strong reasons. Mr *Camden* in his *Geographicall description* of the *Brittish Ilands* reports out of ancient records, that upon the *Kentish Coast*, not farre from *Tanet*, is a sandy dangerous place (which the inhabitants call *Goodwin sands*) where an *Iland* (being the patrimonie of Earle *Goodwin*) was swallowed up in the yeare 1097.

Surv. lib. 1.

The very like hereunto doth *Camden* out of *Giraldus* report of a part of *Pembrok-shire*, which anciently runne out in the forme of a Promontorie towards *Ireland*, as appears by that speech of *William Rufus*, that he could easily with his shippes make a bridge over the Sea, so that he might passe on foote from thence into *Ireland*. This tract of ground being all buried in deepe sands, during the raigne of *Henry* the second, was by the violence of a mighty storme so farre uncovered, that many stumpes of great trees appeared fastned in the earth: *ictusque securium*  
tanquam



*tanquam hesterni* saith *Giraldus*, and the strokes of the axes in them, as if they had beene cut but yesterday, *ut non littus jam sed lucus esse videretur mirandis rerum mutationibus*, so that it now made shew of a wood rather then a strand; such is the wonderfull change of all things.

Sometimes dry Townes become Havens, and sometimes againe Haven-townes have become dry, as *Hubert Thomas*, a man of very good parts, chiefe Secretary to *Fredericke* the third, Count Palatine of *Rhene*, and *Prince Electour*, in his description of the Country of *Liege*, affirmeth, that the Sea hath in time come up to the walls of *Tongres*; now well nigh an hundred *English* miles from the Sea; which among other reasons hee proves by the great iron rings there yet to bee seene, unto which the ships that there sometimes arrived, were fastened. Also *Forum Iulium*, a Towne seated in *littore Narbonensi*; the present estate whereof is described very well (as all other things) by that excellent Chancellour of *France*, *Michael Hospitalis*:

Epist. lib. 3.

*Apparet moles antiqui diruta portus,  
Atqui ubi portus erat, siccum nunc littus, & horti.*

The ruines of an ancient Haven appears to bee,  
But where the Haven was, now gardens may you see.

In like manner the river *Arno* now falleth into the Sea sixe miles from *Pisa*, whereby it appeareth, that the land hath there gotten much upon the Sea in this Coast, for that *Strabo* in his time reporteth, it was but 20 furlongs (which is two miles and a halfe) distant from the Sea. Lastly, sometimes *Ilands* have beene annexed to the Continent; as *Samos*, which (as witnesseth *Tertullian*) is become sand, and *Pharos* which in *Homers* time was an *Iland*, but in *Pliny's*, annexed to the Continent by the slime of *Nilus*. And sometimes againe peeces have beene cut off from the Continent, and made *Ilands*, so was *Ischia* as witnesseth *Pontanus* and *Baccius*, so was *Sicily* separated from the maine of *Italy*.

Survey of Tuscany.

*Hæc loca vi quondam, & vastâ convulsa ruinâ;  
(Tantum ævi longinqua valet mutare vetustas)  
Dissiluisse ferunt, cum protinus utraque tellus  
Vna foret, venit medio vi pontus & undis  
Hesperium Siculo latus abscidit, arvaque & urbes  
Littore deductas, angusto interluit æstu.*

Virg. Æneid. lib. 3.

These places by huge force with ruine violent,  
(So great a change in things long tract of time can make)  
Sundred they say, which erst were both one Continent,  
Till in betweene the Sea with force impetuous brake,  
And with his mighty waves th' *Hesperian* did divide  
From the *Sicilian* shore, and now 'twixt townes and fields  
Thus rent asunder ebbes and flowes a narrow tide.

*Sic & Hispanias à contextu Africa mare eripuit*, saith *Seneca*. Thus did the Sea snatch away *Spaine* from the Continent of *Africa*. And this *Iland*, as many imagine, was likewise broken off from the Continent of *France*, grounding themselves partly upon private reasons, and partly upon the authorities of *Antonius Volsius*, *Dominicus Marius Niger*, and *Servius Honoratus*, who seekes to prove it from that of *Virgil*;

Nat. quest. l. 6. c. 29. Camden. Twine. Verstegan.

Et



Eclog. 1.

*Et penitus toto divisos orbe Britannos.*

And Britaines wholly from the World divided.  
And of *Claudian* in imitation of *Virgil*.

*--- Nostro deducta Britannia mundo.*

Britaine from our World sever'd.

Of both these, as well Ilands annexed to the Continent, as peeces of the Continent broken off from it by force of the Sea, and made Ilands; *Pliny* hath written at large in his second Booke of his *Naturall History*, cap. 85, 86, 87. And *Ovid* in the 15. of his *Met.* toucheth them both:

*Fluctibus ambita fuerant Antissa Pharoque,**Et Phænissa Tyros, quarum nunc Insula nulla est.*

Antissa, Pharos, and Phænissian Tyre,

Now are not, but with Seas furrounded were.

And on the other side,

*Leucada continuam veteres habuere coloni,**Nunc freta circumcunt: Zancle quoque juncta fuisse**Dicitur Italia, donec confinia pontus**Abstulit, & mediâ tellurem repulit undâ.*

Th'old inhabitants of Leucadian Iles,

Conjoynd to the Continent them found.

And Zancle joynd was to Italy,

Which now cut off by Sea the waves surround.

By reason of which mutuall traffique and interchange, the Elements may truly be said to remaine alwayes the same in regard of their intire bodies, as *Theseus* his ship so renowned in antiquity, was held by the schollers of *Athens* to be the same, though it were renewed in every part thereof, and not a planke or pin remained of the first building, or as a river may properly be said to be the same, though it vary from it selfe by the accessse of fresh supplies every moment.

*Horat. lib. 1.  
epist. 2.*

*Rusticus expectat dum defluat amnis, at iste**Labitur & labetur in omne volubilis ævum.*

The Clowne waits till the foord be flidden all away,

But still it slides, and will for ever and a day.

## S E C T. 3.

*Touching the pretended decay of the Elements  
in regard of their quantities.*

**T**Here is no feare then of the naturall decay of the *Elements* in regard of their *quantity* and dimensions; all the controversie is in regard of their *quality*, whether the *aire* and *water* be so pure and wholesome, and the *earth* so fertile and fruitfull as it was some hundreds or thousands of yeares since. Touching the former, I thinke I shall make it appeare, that the World in former ages hath been plagued with more droughts, excessive raines, windes, frosts, snowes, hailes, famines, earth-quakes, pestilences, and other contagious diseases, then in later times: all which should argue a greater distemper in the *Elements*; and for the fruitfulness



nesse of the earth, I will not compare the present with that before the fall or before the flood: I know & beleve that the one drew on a curse upon it, (though some great Divines hold that curse was rather in regard of mans ensuing labour in dressing it, then of the earths ensuing barrennesse) and the other by washing away the surface and fatnesse thereof, and by incorporating the salt waters into it, much abated the native & originall fertility thereof, and consequently the vigour and vertue of plants, as well in regard of nourishment, as medicine. Upon which occasion (it seemes) after the Flood, man had leave given him to feed upon the flesh of beasts, and fowles and fishes, which before the Flood (as it is commonly thought) was not lawfull. Neither can it be denied that Gods extraordinary favour or curse upon a land (beside the course of Nature) makes it either fruitfull or barren, *A fruitfull land makes be barren*, saith the Psalmist, *for the wickednesse of them that dwell therein*; And on the other side, *hee turneth the wildernesse into a standing water, and dry ground into water-springs*. Though some grounds then are more barren, yet are others more fruitfull, as Barkley in his *Icon animorum* hath truly observed, *fecunditatem aut squallorem non modo non ubique, sed nec perpetuo imposuit Deus, olim felices proventus terra, nunc sterilibus arenis informes ac vastæ sunt; & quæ quondam crudo aëre horrebant, non tantum jam in fruges, sed & in voluptatum instrumenta luxuriant*. As God hath not every-where ordained either fruitfulness or barrenness, so neither alwayes to indure, some fruitfull lands in former ages, are now nothing else but waste & sandie desarts: and some others againe, which by reason of the rawnesse of the aire lay waste, doe not onely abound in corne, but in all kinde of pleasant delights. And for grounds which are continually rent and wounded with a plow-share, worne and wasted with tillage, it is not to be wondred if they answer not the fertility of former ages: But for such as have time and rest given to recover their strength, & renew their decayed forces, or such as yet retaine their virginity without any offence offered unto them, I doubt not but experience and tryall will make it good, that they have lost nothing of their primitive goodnesse, at least-wise since the Flood.

*Requies ager benè credita reddit.*

Give but thy grounds the craved rest,  
They will thee pay with interest.

As on the other side,

*Continuâ messe senescit ager.*

Thy fieldes with restlesse tillage,  
Grow barren as with old age.

And consequently there is in the earth it selfe by long lasting, no such perpetuall and universall decay in regard of the fruitfulness thereof, as is commonly imagined.

And if not in the earth it selfe, then surely not in the trees and hearbs, and plants, and flowres, which suck their nourishment from thence, as so many infants from their mothers breast: Let any one kind of them that ever was in any part of the world since the Creation, be named, that is utterly lost; no, God and Nature have so well provided against this, that

D

one

Gen. 3. 17. 18.  
*Pererunt in locum.*

Gen. 9. 3.

Psal. 107. 34.  
35.

Cap. 2.

Ovid. art. am.  
lib. 3.

*Idem ibidem.*



one seede sometimes multiplies in one yeare many thousands of the same kinde. Let it be proved by comparing their present qualities with those which are recorded in ancient writers, that in the revolution of so many ages, they have lost any thing of their wonted colour, their smell, their taste, their vertue, their proportion, their duration. And if there be no such decay as is supposed to be found in the severall kindes of vegetables, what reason have wee to beleieve it in beasts, specially those that make vegetables their food. If Aristotle were now alive, should he need to compose some new treatise *De Historia Animalium*, in those things where he wrote upon certaine grounds & experimentall observations? have the beasts of which he wrote, any thing altered their dispositions? Are the wilde become tame, or the strong, feeble? no certainly. It was true in all ages, both before and since which the Poët hath,

*Horat. l. 4. od. 4.*

*Fortes creantur fortibus, & bonis,  
Est in juvencis, est in equis patrum  
Virtus, nec imbellem feroces  
Progenerant aquila Columbam.*

From Nobles noble spirits proceed,  
Steeres, Horses, like their Sires doe prove,  
The Eagle fierce doth never breed  
A timorous and fearefull Dove.

Hath the Lyon forgot his Majesty, or the Elephant his sagacity, or the Tyger his fiercenesse, or the Stagge his swiftnesse, or the Dogge his fidelity, or the Foxe his wiliness? were the Oxen then of the same Countrey stronger for labour, the Horses better featured, or more serviceable then now? doubtlesse these lessons, as their Mistresse cannot but teach them, so these schollers cannot but learne them, neither is it in their power to forget them.

#### SECT. 4.

*Touching the pretended decay of mankind, in regard  
of manners and the Arts.*

**W**ith man it is otherwise: for he having a free-will (at leastwise in morall & naturall actions) by reason of that liberty varyeth both from his kind and from himselfe, more then any other creature besides: And hence it is (other circumstances concurring) that in the same Country, men are sometimes generally addicted to vertue, sometimes to vice; sometimes to one vice, sometimes to another; sometimes to civility, sometimes to barbarisme; sometimes to studiousnesse and learning, sometimes to ease and ignorance; sometimes they are taller of stature, sometimes lower; and lastly, sometimes longer, sometimes shorter lived; and this I say ariseth partly from the Liberty of mans will, and partly from Gods providence, over-ruling and disposing all things according to the secret counsell of his owne unsearchable wisdom.

*Boeth. de Consol. lib. 1. Met. 6.*

*Signat tempora proprijs  
Aptans officijs Deus;*

*Nec*



*Nec quas ipse coercuit,  
Misceri patitur vices.*

To proper offices,  
God hath each season bounded :  
And will not that the courses  
He set them, be confounded.

*Hec omnia mutantur, saith S. Augustine, nec mutatur divina providentia ratio, qua fit ut ista mutantur.* All these things are changed, and yet the reason of the Divine Providence, by which they are changed, changeth not. To affirme then that humane affaires remaine alwayes in the same estate, continually drawne out as by an even thread, without variation, is *untrue* : and on the other side to say that they alwayes degenerate and grow worse and worse, is as *unsound*. For surely had it beene so since the Creation, or the fall of man, civill society, nay the world it selfe could not have subsisted, but would long since have beene brought to utter ruine and desolation. *Omne in precipiti vitium stetit,* vice was at highest, and neare its downe fall stood. And as *Bodin* hath both rightly observed, and learnedly expressed. *Quod si res humane in deterius prolaberentur, jampridem in extremo vitiorum ac improbitatis gradu constitissemus, quod quidem antea perventum esse opinor: Sed cum flagitiosi homines nec ulterius progredi nec eodem loco stare diutius possent, sensim regredi necesse habuerunt, vel cogente pudore qui hominibus inest a natura, vel necessitate, quod in tantis sceleribus societas nullo modo coli poterat, vel etiam quod verius est, impellente Dei bonitate;* If men should alwayes grow worse and worse, wee had long since arived at the utmost point and highest pitch of villany, to which it may be men have already attained, but vwhen they could neither make a farther progresse, nor longer abode in the same state, they must needes by degrees returne againe, either very shame constraining them, which is implanted in man by nature, or meere necessity, in as much as humane society could not stand with such an height of wickednesse, or else which I rather beleewe, the Grace and goodnesse of God, moving and leading them thereunto.

With *Bodin* doth *Barkley* herein fully accord, *Omnia secula* (saith *hec*) *genium habent, qui mortalium animos in certa studia solet inflectere; quadam etates precipue armis exercita, mox omnia in quietem composita; tum Regnorum, tum Rerumpublicarum in populis amor; nunc veluti in barbariem homines nasci, deinde facilioribus animis mansuescere, & post secula aliquot ad stipatum prima caligine ingenium redire; ita sepius orbis cultis hominum moribus enituit, subsidensque deinde industria, velut quadam nube subducta est.* All ages have their proper genius, which inclines the mindes of men to certaine studies and courses, sometimes are they wholly exercised in armes, and within a while after all things are composed for peace, now men are in love with Monarchies, and then with Democracies, sometimes are they naturally disposed to barbarousnesse, and then againe to civility, and after the revolution of a few ages they returne to their former roughnesse: thus hath the world often shined in neatenesse of manners, and then againe industry being



slackned by degrees, it hath beene over-shadowed as it were with a thicke and blacke cloud.

S. D.

Psal. 106. 12.

Vers. 13. 14.

Vice sometimes aboundes in one nation, and sometimes in another, and in the same nation the same vice doth not alwayes equally abound: but it either rises or falls, raignes or vanisheth according to the disposition of Rulers, and execution of Lawes: As is well and wisely noted by a late Historiographer of our owne in the very entrance of his *History of England*, wee shall finde (saith he) *the same correspondencies to hold in the actions of men, vertues and vices the same, though rising and falling according to the worth or weakenesse of Governours; the causes of the ruines and mutations of states to be alike, and the traine of affaires carried by president in a course of succession under the like colours;* and that which he observes in the *History* of this nation is no doubt true in all. Wee need goe no farther then that of the *Jewes* for a notable instance in this kinde: who at times, more zealous then they in the worship of God, and the exercises of religion: and who againe, at other times more rebellious: It is said of them in the *Psalme*, *then beleevd they his words*, but presently it followes in the very next verse, *They soone forgot his workes*: and according to their obedience and rebellion, so were they either prosperous or unfortunate in the course of their affaires: during their faith and fidelity towards God, every man of them was in warre as a thousand strong, & as much as a great Senate for Counsell in peaceable deliberations: contrary-wise if they swerved, (as they often did) their wonted courage & magnanimity forsooke them utterly, their souldiers and military men trembled at the sight of the naked sword, when they entred into mutual conference, and sate in Counsell for their owne good, that which children might have scene, their gravest Senatours could not discern, their *Prophets* saw darkenesse instead of *Visions*, and the wise and prudent were as men bewicht.

De perfectione  
Rerum. Lib. 2.  
Cap. 4.

1. De calo, &  
1. Meteor.

Now that which is spoken touching the revolutions and returnes of vertues and vices, is likewise true in Arts and Sciences. *Hinc factum est* (saith *Contarenius*), *ut quibusdam etatibus acerrima hominum ingenia vigere, aliis tanquam flaccescere videantur*. Hence it is that in some ages the wits of men seeme wonderfull sharpe, and againe in others flat & blunt. And it is a true observation which *Ramus* to this purpose hath, *commigrationes gentium varia commemorantur, commigrationes literarum & disciplinarum commemorari possent, non minores*: wee read of diverse commigrations or removalls of Nations, and surely no lesse of Arts and Sciences might be observed. Whereupon *Aristotle*, who held the Arts Eternal, as hee did the world, yet tells us there was alwayes a rising and a falling of them as of the starres: so as sometimes they flourished in one place and age, and sometimes in another: as the starres sometimes shine in our Hemisphere, sometimes in the other. Where was there ever more Learning & Science then in Greece, & where is there now in the world more barbarisme? what most excellently learned men, pillars & lights of the Church of Christ hath Africa brought forth: as *Tertullian*, *Minutius*, *Optatus*, *Lactantius*, *Arnobius* his Master, *Fulgentius*, *S. Cyprian*, and *S. Augustine*: and with what learned men is Africa in our times acquainted?



ted? Contrariwise in the flourishing dayes of the *Romans*, how utterly without all knowledge of letters were the *Germans* and *Netherlanders*, & how do they now a dayes flourish in all kind of learning & cunning? While the Arts through the Christian world lay in a manner buried in negligence and obscurity, then did their lustre shine forth most clearly in *Ireland*, thither did our *English Saxons* repaire as to a Faire or Market of good letters: whence of the holy men of those times we often reade in our Ancient Writers. *Amandatus est ad disciplinam in Hiberniam.* Camden in *Hibernia*. He was sent into *Ireland* to study there. And in the life of *Sulgen*, who lived about six hundred yeares agoe.

*Exemplo Patrum commotus amore legendi,  
Ivit ad Hybernos sophia, mirabile, claros:*  
And for to skill and learning hee aspired,  
Treading the steps of Ancestours he sayled  
To *Ireland*, then for wisedome much admired.

*Jacobus Curio,  
lib. 2. Rer. Crom.*

*Hæc quoque cum Latium quateret Mars Barbarus orbem,  
Sola prepe expulsis fuit hospita terra Camænis.  
Hinc sophia Graia, sophia decreta Latina,  
Doctoresque rudis formatoresque juventa  
Carolus ad Celtas traduxit.*

*Buchan in Syl.  
vii.*

When bloudie warres all Italy had stain'd  
This Land the banish'd Muses entertain'd.  
Hence *Charles* to the French-men did transport,  
Learning and Tutors for the younger sort.

Which howbeit it be by the Author applyed to his owne Country, yet is it by the venerable Archbishop of *Armiach*, in the preface to his *Sylloge veterum epistolarum Hibernicarum*, upon better reason referred to *Ireland*. And it may seeme, that the *English Saxons* borrowed from them the manner of forming their letters, since they used the same character which the *Irish* use at this day, yet now whẽ learning is as it were revived againe from the grave, thorow all Christendome, onely this part of it (which was then as another *Goshen* in *Egypt*) remaines for the most part unlightned, in the darkenesse of ignorance, incivility, and superstition, save that Dr *Vsher* the Reverend and Worthy Primate thereof, and some other of their learned and grave Divines shine there as cleare lights, and give some hope of reducing their former glory. Thus Almighty God in sundry ages and in severall places, casts abroad the seeds of learning and knowledge, which in their due time grow up and spread abroad to the glory of his owne name, and the behoofe of mankind. Neither can I here let passe the words of *Bodin* to like effect, touching the Arts and Inventions of wit, as were those before alleaged touching vertue and vice; *Hæc illa est, (saith he) rerum omnium tam certa conversio, ut dubitare nemo debeat quin idem in hominum ingentis, quod in agris eveniat, qui majori ubertate gratiam quietis referre solent.* This is that certaine wheeling about of all things, so that no man neede doubt but the same befalls mens wits that doth their grounds, which are wont to recompence the favour of their rest, with the more plentious croppe.



## CHAP. 2.

*Touching this pretended decay in regard of the duration of mens lives, their strength and stature.*

*Historia vita  
et mortis. pag.  
156.*

*Psal. 90. 10.*

*Arist. Analyt. 2.  
cap. ult.*

*Maximus lib. 1.*

**T**He same vicissitude and revolution as is in *Arts* and *Wits*, is likewise to be found in the *ages* of men, and the *duration* of their lives; as my Lord of S. *Alban* hath truly noted, *decursum seculorum & successio propaginis nihil videntur omnino demere de diuturnitate vite*. The course of times and succession of progenies seeme to abate nothing from the lasting of mens lives. Certaine times there are in all Regions in which the thread of mens lives is either drawne up longer, or contracted to a shorter scantling. For the most part they live longer when the times are more *barbarous*, their diet more simple, and the exercise of mens bodies more in use: but shorter when the times are more *civill*, and men more given to *luxury* and *ease*, which passe and returne by turnes, *Succession* it selfe effects nothing therein, alone: in case it did, the first man in reason should have lived longest, and the son should still come short of his fathers age: so that whereas *Moses* tells us that the *dayes of mans age* in his time were *threescore yeares and ten*, by this reckoning they might well enough by this time be brought to *ten* or *twenty*, or *thirty* at the most. It cannot be denyed but that in the first ages of the world, both before and after the *floud*, men usually lived longer then wee finde they have done in later ages: But that I should rather choose to ascribe to some *extraordinary priviledge*, then to the *ordinary course of nature*. The World was then to be replenished with inhabitants, which could not so speedily bee done but by an extraordinary multiplication of mankind: neither could that bee done, but by the long lives of men. And againe *Arts* and *Sciences* were then to be planted, for the better effecting whereof, it was requisite, that the same men should have the experience and observation of many ages. For as many

*Sensations breed an experiment, so do many experiments a Science.*

*Per varios usus artem experientia fecit,*

*Exemplo monstrante viam.*

Through much experience Arts invented were,  
Examples shewing way.

Specially it was requisite men should live long for the perfecting of *Astronomy*, and the finding out of the severall *motions* of the heavenly bodies, whereof some are so slow, that they aske a long time precisely to observe their periods and revolutions. It was the complaint of *Hippocrates*, *Ars longa vita brevis*. And therefore Almighty God in his wisdom then proportioned mens lives to the length of *Arts*; and as God gave them this speciall priviledge to live long: so in likely-hood hee gave them withall a temper and constitution of body answerable thereunto. As also the *foode* wherewith they were nourished, specially before the *floud*, may well be thought to have beene more *wholesome* and nutritive; and the Plants more *medicinall*: And happily the influence of the



the heavens was at that time, in that clymate where the *Patriarches* lived, more favourable and gracious. Now such a *revolution* as there is in the *manners, wit, and ages* of men, the like may well be presumed in their *strength and stature*. *Videtur similis esse ratio in magnitudine corporum sive statura, quæ nec ipsa per successionem propaginis defluit.* There seemeth to be the like reason in the growth and bignesse of mens bodies, which decreaseth not by succession of offspring; but men are sometimes in the same nation taller, sometimes of a shorter stature, sometimes stronger, and sometimes weaker; as the times wherein they live, are more temperate or luxurious, more given to labour or exercise, or to ease and idlenesse. And for those narrations which are made of the *Gyantlike* statures of men in former ages, many of them were doubtlesse merely *poeticall* and fabulous. I deny not but such men have beene, who for their *strength and stature* have beene the *miracles* of nature, the worlds wonders, whom God would therefore have to bee, (saith S. *Austine*) that he might shew, that as well the bignesse as the beautie of the body, are not to be ranged in the number of things good in themselves, as being common both to good and badde. Yet may wee justly suspect that which *Suetonius* hath not spared to write, that the bones of huge beasts, or sea-monsters, both have and still do, passe currant for the bones of Gyants. When *Claudius* with great strength entred this Iland, hee brought with him a mightie armie both of horse and foote, as also elephants a beast of great bignesse and burthen, whose strangeness then amazed the Brittaines, and whose carcasses falling in this land, their late found bones (no doubt) have bred our error, being supposed to be of men and not of beasts; which is the conjecture of one of our last and best Chroniclers, and that (as I conceive) very probable. A very notable story to this purpose have wee recorded by *Camerarius*, who reports that *Francis* the first, King of *France* who raigned about an hundred yeares since, being desirous to know the truth of those things, which were commonly spread touching the *strength and stature* of *Rouland*, nephew to *Charlemaine*, caused his sepulchre to be opened, wherein his bones and bow were found rotten, but his armour sound, though covered with rust, which the King commanding to bee scoured off, and putting it upon his owne body, found it so fit for him, as thereby it appeared that *Rouland* exceeded him little in bignesse and stature of body, though himselfe were not excessive tall or bigge.

Hist. vita &amp; mortis p. 158

In August. c. 72.

Dion. Cass. l. 60.

I. Speed.

Medic. hist. cap. 82.

## SECT. 6.

*The precedents of this Chapter summarily recollected, and the method observed in the ensuing treatise proposed.*

**N**OW briefly and summarily to recollect and as it were to winde up into one clue or bottome what hath more largely beene discoursed thorow this Chapter, I hold first that the heavenly bodies are not at all, either in regard of their substance, motion, light, warmth, or influence in the course of nature impaired, or subject to any impairing



or decay: *Secondly*, that all *individuals* (under the Cope of heaven) mixed of the elements are subject to a *naturall declination and dissolution*: *Thirldly*, that the *quantity* of the *Elements* themselves is subject to impairing in regard of their *parts*, though not of their *intire bodies*: *Fourthly*, that the *ayre* and *earth* and *water*, are at diverse seasons diversely affected, sometimes for the better, sometimes for the worse, and that either by some speciall *favour* or *judgement* of *God*, or by some *cause in nature*, *secret* or *apparent*: *Fiftly*, that the severall kindes of *beasts*, of *plants*, of *fishes*, of *birds*, of *stones* of *mettals*, are as many in *number*, as at the *Creation*, and every way in *Nature* as *vigorous*, as at any time since the *floud*: *Sixtly*, and *lastly* that the *manners*, the *wits*, the *health*, the *age*, the *strength*, and *stature* of men do daily vary, but so as by a *vicissitude* and *revolution* they *returne* againe to their former points from which they declined, and again *decline*, and again *returne*, by alternative and interchangeable course, *Erit hic rerum in se remeantium orbis, quamdiu erit ipse orbis*. This circle and ring of things returning alwaies to their principles will never cease as long as the world lasts.

Lipsius de con-  
stant. 1. 16.

Boetius lib. 3.  
Met. 2.

*Repetunt proprios cuncta recursus  
Reatque suo singula gaudent:  
Nec manet ulli traditus ordo  
Nisi quod fini junxerit ortum  
Stabilemque sui fecerit orbem.*

To their first spring all things are backward bound  
And every thing in its returne delighteth:  
Th' order once settled can in naught be found  
But what the end unto the birth united  
And of its selfe doth make a constant round.

And consequently there is no such universall and perpetuall decay in the frame of the *Creatures* as is commonly imagined, and by some strongly maintained.

The *method* which I propose is first to treat hereof in *generall*, that so a cleare way, and easier passage may be opened to the *particulars*; then of the *Heavens*, as being highest in *situation*, and the noblest in outward *glory* and *duration*, as also in their *efficacie*, and *universalitie* of operation, and therefore doth the *Prophet* rightly place them next *God* himselte, in the order of *Causes*, it shall come to passe in that day, saith the *Lora*, that I will heare the heavens, and they shall heare the earth, and the earth shall heare the corne, and the wine and the oyle, and they shall heare *Israell*. From that wee may descend to the foure *Elements*, which as a muscicall instrument of foure strings is both tuned and touched by the hand of heaven: and in the next place those bodies, which are mixed and tempered of these *Elements* offer themselves to our consideration, whether they bee without life, as *stones* and *mettals*, or have the life of *vegetation* onely, as *plants*; or both of *vegetation* and *sense*, as *beasts* and *birds* and *fishes*; and in the last place, *man* presents himselte upon this *Theater*, as being created last, though first intended, the *master* of the whole family, & chiefe *Com mander* in this great house, nay the master-peece, the abridgement, the mapp and modell of the *Universe*. And in him  
wee

Hofca.



wee will examine this pretended decay, *first* in regard of *age* and length of yeares, *secondly* in regard of *strength* and *stature*, *thirdly* in regard of *Wits* and *Arts*, and *fourthly* and *lastly* in regard of *manners* and *conditions*, to which all that is in man is or should be finally referred, as all that is in the world is, under God, finally referred to man. And because it is not sufficient to possesse our owne fort, without the dismantling and demolishing of our enemies, a principall care is to be had throughout the whole worke, to answer, if not all, at least the principall of those *objections* which I have found, to weigh most with the adverse part. And in the last place, lest I should any way bee suspected to shake or undermine the ground of our *Christian* religion, or to weaken the *Article* of our Beliefe touching the *consummation* of the *World*, by teaching that it decays not, to wipe off that aspersiō, I will endeavour to prove the *certaintie* thereof, not so much by *Scripture*, which no *Christian* can be ignorant of, as by force of *Reason* and the testimony of *Heathen* Writers; and finally I will conclude with an *exhortation* grounded thereupon for the stirring of men up, to a preparation of themselves against that day, which shall not onely *end the World*, but *judge their actions*, and dispose of the everlasting estate of their persons.

## CHAP. 4.

*Touching the Worlds decay in generall.*

## SECT. 1.

*The three first generall reasons that it decays not.*

**T**He same *Almighty* hand which created the *Worlds* massie frame, and gave it a being out of *nothing*, doth still support and maintaine it, in that being, which at first it gave, for by him all *things* consist. Col. 1. 17

*Bellarmine* in his Commentaries upon those words of the Psalmist, *Congregans sicut in utero aquas maris, ponens in thesauris abyssos. Dicit Propheta, saith hee, in presenti Congregans & Ponens, cum tamen ab initio hac facta sint, quia Deus ita semper Conservat quod ab initio facit, ut verè dici possit semper id facere.* The Prophet saith in the present tense, gathering and laying up, though these things were made from the beginning, because God so still conserves that which at first hee made, that hee may bee said still to make it, and should hee with-draw himselfe but for a moment, the whole frame would instantly returne into *nothing*, which before the Creation it was, as *Gregory* hath rightly observed, *Deus suo presentiali esse, dat omnibus rebus esse, ita quòd si se rebus subtraheret, sicut de nullo facta sunt omnia, sic in nihilum disfluerent universa.* God by his presentiall Essence gives unto all things an Essence, so that if hee should with-draw himselfe from them, as out of nothing they were first made, so into nothing they would be againe resolved. To which testimony of *Gregory* wee may adde that of *Iustin Martyr*, *Vt id quod ortum est nunquam extitisset nisi ipse*



ipse iussisset, Fiat: Sic neque permanerent nisi idem praecepisset ijs quidem quae non intereunt ut semper starent, ijs qui oriuntur & intereunt ut semper crescerent & multiplicarent: As that which is made had never beene, had not he commanded, let it bee: so neither had they continued, unlesse he had given the charge to those which perish not, that they should still remaine, to those which rise and fall, that they should increase and multiply. And herein with *Iustin Martyr* doth *S. Augustine* accord in his fourth booke and 12. chap. *de Gen. ad literam: Creatoris potentia, & omnipotentis atque omnitenentis virtus, Causa est subsistendi omni Creaturae, quae virtus si ab eis quae Creatae sunt aliquando cessaret, simul cessarent eorum species omnisque natura concideret*: The power of the Creator, and the strength of him who is able to doe all things and supports them all, is the cause of subsistence to every Creature, which power should it cease from those things which are created, their kindes likewise would instantly cease, and their whole nature come to nothing. Now this dependance of the Creature upon the Creator, *Thomas* resembles to the light in the aire, which upon the removall of the Sunnes inlightning is presently extinct; *Contarenius* to the figure of a seale imprinted upon the water, which being withdrawne, the impression is instantly defaced. *Gerson* to a vessell containing and figuring the water which it containes, by meanes whereof it is kept from fleeting abroad, and so from spilling: *Sic Deus in se Creaturae stabilitatem continet, ita ut ejus actio conservetur, ne pereat in nihilum recidendo*. So God supports the weakenes of the Creature, that being by him conserved, it perish not by relapsing into nothing. In the preservation then of the Creature, we are not so much to consider the impotencie, and weakenesse thereof, as the goodnesse, wisdom, and power of the Creator, in whom, and by whom, and for whom, they live, and move, and have their being. The spirit of the Lord filleth the world, (saith the Author of the wisdom of Solomon.) And againe, *Thine incorruptible Spirit is in all things*: and the secret working of this spirit, which thus pierceth through all things, hath the Poet excellently expressed,

*Contr. Gen. l. 3.  
cap. 24.  
De perf. rerum  
lib. 2. cap. 9.*

*De vita Spiritu  
lib. 1.*

*Cap. 1. 7.*

*Aenid. 6.*

*Principio caelum ac terras camposque liquentes  
Lucentemque globum Luna, Titaniaque astra  
Spiritus intus alit, totamque infusa per artus,  
Mens agitat molem, & magno se corpore miscet.*

The Heaven, the Earth, and all the liquid maine,  
The Moones bright globe, and Starres Titanian  
A spirit within maintaines, and their whole masse  
A minde which through each part infus'd doth passe  
Fashions and workes, and wholly doth transpierce,  
All this great body of the Universe.

This Spirit the *Platonists* call the Soule of the World, because by it, it is in some sort quickned and formaliz'd, as the body of man is by its reasonable Soule. There is no question then, but this Soule of the World, (if we may so speake) being in truth none other then the immortall Spirit of the Creator, is able to make the body of the World immortall, and to preserve it from dissolution, as he doth the Angels, & the Spirits of men:  
and



and were it not that he had determined, to dissolve it by the same *supernaturall* and extraordinary power, which at first gave it existence, I see not but by the *ordinary* concurrence of this spirit it might everlastingly endure: and that consequently (to drive it home to our present purpose) there is no such *universall* and *perpetuall* decay in the *course* of *Nature*, as is imagined: and this I take to be the meaning of *Philo*, in that booke which hee hath composed *De Mundi incorruptibilitate*, of the Worlds incorruptibility; there being some who have made the World eternall without any beginning or ending, as *Aristotle*, and the *Peripatetickes*; others give it a beginning, but without ending, as *Plato* and the *Academickes*, whom *Philo* seemes to follow; and lastly others both beginning and ending, as *Christians* and other Sects of Philosophers, whom *Aristotle* therefore flouts at, saying that he formerly feared his house might fall downe about his eares, but that now he had a greater matter to feare, which was the dissolution of the world. But had this pretended universall and perpetuall decay of the World beene so apparant as some would make it, his flout had easily beene returned upon himselfe, and his opinion by dayly and sensible experience as easily confuted, which wee may well wonder none of those Philosophers who disputed against him, (if they acknowledged and beleaved the truth thereof) should any where presse in defence of their owne opinions, it being indeed the most unanswerable and binding argument that possibly could be enforced against him, were there that evident certainty in it as is commonly imagined, whereas he in the sharpenesse of his wit seeing the weakenesse thereof, would not so much as vouchsafe it a serious answer, but puts it off with a jeast. For mine owne part I constantly beleve that it had a beginning, and shall have an ending, and hold him not worthy the name of a Christian who holds not as much: yet so as I beleve both, to be matter of *faith*; through *faith* we understand that the Worlds were framed by the Word of God; and through the same *faith* wee likewise understand that they shall be againe *unframed* by the same word. Reason may grope at this truth in the darke, howbeit it can never clearely apprehend it; but inlightned by the beame of *faith*. I deny not but *probable*; though not *demonstrative* and convincing arguments, may be drawne from discourse of reason to prove either the one or the other, and among the rest that taken from the Worlds decay, to prove the finall consummation thereof, I take to be most *unsound*, in as much as it begges a *principle*, which is not to be granted, and supposeth such a *decay*, which in my judgement to the Worlds end and the day of Judgement will never be soundly and sufficiently proved.

I remember the *Philosophers* propose a question, *Vtrum Mundus solo generali concursu Dei perpetuo durare possit?* Whether the World by the ordinary and generall cooperation of Gods power and providence could still last or no? and for the most part they hold it affirmatively, even such as professe the Christian Religion, and for prooffe of their assertion they bring in effect this reason: The Heavens, say they, are of a nature which is not capable in it selfe of *corruption*; the losse of Elements

Ruvio de celo  
& mundo lib. 1.  
cap. 12.



Elements is recovered by *compensation* of mixt bodies without life by *accretion*, of living Bodies by *succession*, the fall of one being the rising of the other, as *Rome* triumphed in the ruines of *Alba*, and the depression of one *Scale* is the elevation of another, according to that of *Solomon*, *One generation passeth away, and another generation cometh, but the earth abideth for ever.*

Ecclef. 1. 4.

Pontanus cap.  
48 Meteor.-- *Mutantur in ævum*

*Singula, & inceptum alternat natura tenorem,  
Quodque dies antiqua tulit, post auferet ipsa.*

Each thing in every age doth vary,  
And Nature changeth still the course she hath begun,  
And will eftsoones undoe what shee erewhile hath done.

Again, all such celestiaall bodies (as is evident) consist of *matter* and *forme*; Now the *first matter* having nothing contrary unto it, cannot by the force of nature be destroyed, and being created immediately by God; it cannot be abolished by any inferiour agent. And as for the *formes* of naturall bodies, no sooner doth any one abandon the matter it informed, but another instantly steps into the place thereof; no sooner hath one acted his part and is retired, but another presently comes forth upon the stage, though it may be in a different shape, and to act a different part; so that no portion of the matter is, or at any time can be altogether void and emptie, but like *Vertumnus* or *Proteus* it turnes it selfe into a thousand shapes, and is alwaies supplied and furnished with one forme or other.

Lucret. lib. 2.

*Nec sic interimit mors res, ut materiai  
Corpora conficiat, sed cætum dissipat ollis:  
Inde aliis aliud conjungit & efficit, omnes  
Res ut convertant formas, mutantque colores,  
Et capiant sensus, & puncto tempore reddant:  
Vt noscas referre eadem primordia rerum.*

Death doth not so destroy things  
As it the matter to naught brings.  
It onely doth dissolve the frame,  
And so it leaves to be the same.  
And joyning other things it changeth,  
Their shape, forme colour, and so rangeth  
Their being at times, that you may know  
They all from like principles do flow.

*Philo* in his booke of the worlds *incompactibilitie* alleageth to this purpose the verses of a Greeke Tragick Poet, whom I take to be *Euripides*, which the Translator thus renders,

-- *genitum nihil emoritur.*

*Sed transpositum ultro citroque  
Formam priorem alterat.*

Nothing that borne is doth die,  
But being removed too and fro  
Puts on another forme and show.

Neither in truth in the course of *Nature* can it possibly be otherwise,  
since



since it intends not the *abortion* of any thing, as being a defect, and contrary to it's owne good, but for the succession and *generation* of some other thing in the roome thereof. As *Nature* then cannot *create* by making something out of nothing: so neither can it *annihilate* by turning something into nothing. Whence it consequently followes as there is no *accesse*, so there is no *diminution* in the universall, no more then in the Alphabet by the infinite combination and transposition of letters, or in the waxe by the alteration of the seale stamped upon it. If a man should but take one drop of water in the whole yeare from the Ocean, or but one sand from the sea shore, or but one grasse from the earth without any new supply, nay without a supply proportionable, that the addition may fully countervail and repaire the subtraction, their store must in continuance of time of necessitie be emptied and utterly exhausted, and in like manner the world being finite and there being no accesse to the whole, if there should be any such perpetuall and universall decay and decrease in all the parts thereof, as is pretended, it must needes at last by degrees be annihilated and brought to nothing, which is both in reason, and by the consent of the Divines, as incommunicably the effect of a power divine and above nature, as is the worke of the Creation it selfe, *Vt Deus ex nihilo contra rationis & nature leges cuncta creavit: ita in nihilum abire rerum creatarum aliqua nunquam potest, nisi contra rationis naturaeque leges per supernaturalem Dei potentiam fiat.* As God against the lawes of reason and nature created all things out of nothing, so can nothing returne backe againe into nothing, but by the supernaturall power of God against the same lawes of reason and nature. So as whatsoever is taken from one, must of necessitie be given to another.

*D. Deo de praef.  
natura virtu-  
tibus Aphorif. 1.*

*Ne res ad nihilum redigantur protinus omnes.*

*Lucret. lib. 2.*

Lest things ere long to nothing should be brought.

Put the case then that some principall part of the World should still decrease, surely some others must thereupon continually increase, or there would follow some diminution, and consequently some annihilation in respect of the whole, and if upon the continuall decrease of some, others should still increase, there would likewise thereupon follow such a disproportion, and jarring, as they could never well accord, and in the end the whole would be turned into those which gained by the losse, and grew great by the fall of others, & consequently they would prove the ruine both of others and themselves; as the spleene growing and swelling to an immoderate bignes upon the pining of other parts, in the end ruines both it selfe and them: as then a due proportion is held betwixt the parts as well in the naturall body of man as the body politique of the state for the upholding of the whole, so is there likewise by the divine providence in this vast body of the World; not that any of the limbs or members thereof (the heavens onely excepted) remaine without their alteration or diminution, but because they mutually by turnes and exchanges both take one from another, and again repay one to another what they formerly tooke, by which meanes neither is any thing lost in the whole, nor any one part so either infeeble by decrease,

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or



or by increase over strengthened as they loose that proportion which makes the musicke of the whole, or that use and service which to the whole they all stand obliged to performe, and to this purpose it is surely as a divine oracle, for the wisdom and truth thereof, which the Poet hath put into the mouth of *Pythagoras*.

*Ovid. Met. 15*

*Nec species sua cuique manet: rerumque novatrix  
Ex aliis alias reparat natura figuras.  
Nec perit in tanto quidquam (mihi credite) mundo,  
Sed variat, faciemque novat: nascique vocatur  
Incipere esse aliud, quàm quod fuit ante: morique  
Desinere illud idem: cum sint huc forsitan illa,  
Hæc translata illuc, summa tamen omnia constant.*

They hold not long their shapes, but soone *Dame Nature*,  
Of one shape lost, brings forth another feature;  
Beleeve it, in so great and huge a masse  
Nothing doth perish, but change and vary face;  
Wee say a thing then new borne is, when as  
It doth become another then it was:  
And so wee say, a thing doth suffer death  
When it the forme forsakes; as men their breath.  
And though the counters be plac't lower or higher,  
Yet still the totall summe doth stand entire.

*Causabon* likewise in his first exercitation against *Baronius*, sheweth from the testimony of *Hippocrates*, *Apollonius*, *Seneca*, *Antonine* the Emperour, and others, *nihil in rebus creatis perire, sed mutari duntaxat*, that nothing perisheth, but is onely changed.

### SECT. 2.

*Fourth reason for that such a decay as is supposed would in time point out the very day of the Worlds expiration, and consequently of the second comming of Christ.*

**A** Nother speciall reason moving me to beleeve that the Worlds supposed decay is but imaginary, is that it would in time point out the very date of its expiration, so that men should bee able from the extremity of the disorder and confusion (into which it would by degrees degenerate) by the rule of proportion, as it were by the even decrease of sands or water in an hour-glasse, to prognosticate the instant beyond which it could not long subsist; whereas before the *Vniversall Deluge*, which swept away every living soule breathing upon the face of the Earth, (except *Noah* and his Family, and the beasts which lodged with him under the rooffe of the same *Arke*) wee read of no such *fore-running declination*, which was the reason that men tooke no notice of it till it overtooke them, and as it was then, so shall it be at the sudden, and unexpected comming of the second deluge by fire. For as in the dayes which

*Matth. 24. 38.*



which were before the flood, they were eating and drinking, marrying and given in marriage, untill the day that Noah entred into the Arke, and knew not untill the flood came and swept them all away: so shall also the coming of the sonne of man bee: it shall bee like the coming of the theefe in the night, when men shall say, Peace and safety, then sudden destruction shall come upon them.

The more I wonder vvhat should make the Author of the *Scholasticall History* thus to write, *Tradunt Sancti quod quadraginta annis ante iudicium non videbitur arcus caelestis, id quod etiam naturaliter ostendet desiccationem aeris.* Holy men affirme that forty yeares before the day of Judgment no rainebow shall appeare, which shall serve as a naturall signe of the drought in the aire already begun. Those *Holy men* he names not, neither can I so much as conjecture who they should be, since no such opinion, nor any mention thereof (as I presume) is to be found in the writings of any of the *Ancient Fathers* now exrant, neither in truth is it any way grounded, either upon *Scripture* or shew of *reason* drawne from thence. And besides it assumes that as yeelded, which is not onely uncertaine, but certainly false, that the conflagration of the World shall bee wrought, or at leastwise prepared by second and naturall causes, whereas it shall doubtlesse bee the supernaturall worke of Gods omnipotencie, as was likewise the drowning of it. Howbeit *Henricus Mecliniensis* scholler to *Albertus Magnus* in his *Commentaries* upon the great Conjunction of *Albumazer*, seemes to referre it to the watery constellations then reigning, as some others doe, the future generall combustion to the predominance of fiery constellations: whereas notwithstanding they ascribe the universall declinations and dotage of nature to the want of that warmth which former age enjoyed: So that according to their grounds following the course of nature, the world should rather have beene burned in *Noahs* time, it being then in the prime & strength of naturall heate, and reserved for a flood at the last day, it being now according to their opinion seized upon with cold & watrish humours, as at least their feigned fiery constellations would better have suted with those times, and the waterish with ours. But thus we see how curiositie intangleth, and errour ever crosseth and contradicteth it selfe. *Hac est mendaciorum natura ut coherere non possint* (saith *Lactantius*.) Such is the property of falshoods that they can never hang together.

*At nulla est discordia veris,  
Semperque sibi certa coherent.*

In true things discord is there none,  
They friendly still agree in one.

*Boethius lib. 5.  
Metr. 3.*



## S E C T. 3.

*Fift reason, that upon the supposition of such a decay, the vigour of the World must needs long since have beene exhausted and worne out.*

**A** *Fift reason* which makes mee thinke that Nature neither hath nor doth *degenerate* and pine away in the severall kindes of Creatures in regard of their *number, dimensions, faculties or operations*, is, that in the course of so many ages already past, the vigour and strength of it must needs have beene *utterly exhausted and worne out*. If in every *Centenary* of yeares from the *Creation*, or since the *flood*, some small abatement onely should have beene made, (which notwithstanding the *Patrons* of the adverse opinion hold to be great, as will appeare when we come to the examination of the particulars,) and if we should question a man of *an hundred yeares of age* about this point, what a wonderfull change will hee tell you of, since his remembrance: so that if we should goe backward and proportionably allow the like change within the like *compasse of yeares* since the beginning of the World, it could not possibly subsist at this day. But put the case as, I say, that not so great as is imagined, but some small abatement should be made for every *Centenary*, surely even in that *proportion* nothing else could now be left unto us but the very *refuse and bran*, the *drosse* and *dregges* of nature: and as heavy things sinke in rivers, but strawes and stickes are carried downe the streame; so in this long current of time, the *kernell* and *pith* of Nature must needs have beene spent and wasted, onely the *rinde* and *shells* should have beene left to us. The *Heavens* could not by their warraeth and influence have beene able sufficiently to cherish the *earth*, nor the *earth* to keepe the plants from starving at her breasts, nor the *plants* to nourish the *beasts*, nor could the *beasts* have beene serviceable for the use of *man*, nor *man* himselfe of abilitie to exercise the right of his dominion over the *beasts* and other *Creatures*. The *Sunne* by this time would have beene no brighter then the *Moone* or *Starres*, *Cedars* would have beene no taller then *shrubs*, *Horses* no bigger then *Dogges*, *Elephants* then *Oxen*, *Oxen* then *Sheepe*, *Eagles* then *Pigeons*, *Pigeons* then *Sparrowes*, and the whole race of mankind must have become *Pigmies*, and mustered themselves to encounter with *Cranes*.

If we should allow but *one inch of decrease* in the growth of men for every *Centenary* (and lesse cannot well be imagined) there would at this present be abated almost *five foote* in their *ordinary stature*, which notwithstanding was held the *competent height of a man*, above *sixteene hundred yeare* since, & so still continues; so that the *ordinary stature* of the men of the *first age* should by this rule have beene about *ten foote*; which exceeds that of *Goliath* by some *inches*. Sir *Walter Rawleigh*, who in sundry places positively defends *Natures universall decay* (which (I must confesse) I somewhat marvell at, in a man of that piercing wit and cleare judgment, but that as others, he tooke it up upon trust, without bringing it to the touchstone) to prove men to be but reedes nowadaies, as hee termeth



termeth them, in comparison of the Cedars of former ages, gives us an instance, drawne from the times and practise of *Galen* in comparison of ours, telling us that *Galen* did ordinarily let blood, *sixe pound weight*, whereas wee (saith hee) for the most part stop at *sixe ounces*. The truth of his allegation touching *Galen*s practise, I shall hereafter have fitter occasion to examine, in the chapter purposely dedicated to the consideration of *mens decay in strength*; at this time I will onely touch the matter of *proportion*. There is some doubt among *Chronologers*, of the precise time wherein *Galen* lived, as appeares by *Gesner* in his life, but in this they all agree, that hee practised at least *two hundred yeares* since *Christ*, so that taking our levell from thence, we may safely affirme, that hee flourished about *fourteene hundred yeares* since, in the compasse of which time, men have lost by that account almost halfe a pound of blood for every *Centenary*, which proportion of losse, if wee should observe in the like distances of time before *Galen* from the *Creation*, it were not possible that so much as a *drop of blood* should bee left in any mans body at this day. From these *particulars* wee may guesse at the rest, as retailers do of the *whole piece*, by taking a view of the *ends* thereof, or as *Pythagoras* drew out the measure of *Hercules* whole body from the *scantling* of his foote.

## SECT. 4.

*Sixth Argument taken from the authoritie of Solomon, and his reason drawne from the Circulation of all things as it were in a ring.*

**T**O these reasons may be added the weightie authority of the wisest Cap. 1. 6. 7. man that ever lived, of a *meere man*; how often doth hee beat upon the *circulation* and *running round* of all things as it were in a *ring*: how earnestly and eloquently doth he *presse* it, and *expresse* it as it were in lively colours in that most divine booke of the *Preacher*. The *Sunne* *arise*th (saith hee) and the *Sunne* *goeth* downe, and hasteth to the place where he *arose*. Which *Boetius* discoursing upon the same Theme, hath elegantly set forth:

*Cadit Hesperias Phæbus in undas  
Sed secreto tramite rursus  
Cursum solitos vertit ad ortus.*

The *Sunne* doth set in *Western* maine,  
But yet returnes by secret waies  
Unto his wonted rise againe.

But the *Preacher* staies not there. The *winde* goeth toward the *South*, and turneth about toward the *North*, it whirleth about continually, and returneth againe according to his *circuities*. All the *rivers* runne into the *Sea*, yet the *Sea* is not full. Vnto the place from whence the *rivers* come, thither they returne againe. Whereupon hee inferres, the thing that hath beene, it is that that shall bee, and that which is done, is that which shall be done, and there is no new thing under the *Sunne*. Is there any thing whereof it may be said, behold this is new? it hath beene already of old time before us; and againe, that which hath



Cap. 3. 15.

beene, is now; and that which is to bee hath already beene, and God requirerth that which is past. Now this wheeling about of all things in their seasons and courses, and their supposed perpetuall decrease, are in my understanding incompatible, they cannot possibly stand together, nor be truly affirmed of the same subject. For if they returne againe to their times and turnes, to the state from which they declined, as Boetius speakes of a bowed twigge;

Lib. de Con.  
Philos. Met. 2.

*Validus quondam viribus acta  
Pronum flectit virga cacumen:  
Hanc si curvans dextra remisit  
Recto spectat vertice cælum.*

The tender plant by force and might  
Constrain'd its top doth downward bend:  
Remove the hands which bowed it,  
And straight to heav'n-wards will it tend.

Louys le Roy

If (I say) they thus returne to their former condition, as it hath bin more at large proved by *Ludovicus Regius*, a French man, in a booke which he purposely intitles, *De la Vicissitude des choses*, and dedicates it to Henry the third King of France, then can it not be they should alway grow worse and worse, as on the other side, if they alway degenerate and grow worse and worse, it cannot be they should have such returnes, as Solomon speakes of, wise and learned men in all ages have observed, and experience daily confirmes. The Poëts faigne, that *Saturne* was wont to devour his sonnes, and then to vomit them up againe, which fiction of theirs (saith *Rhodogin*) the wiser sort understand to be referred to time, shadowed under the name of *Saturne*, à quo vicibus cuncta gignantur & absumantur quæ renascantur denuò, because as all things spring from time, and by it are consumed, so in it they are renewed and restored againe. And by this meanes the world for the intire is still preserved safe and sound,

Mansuetus l. 1.

*Exuta variant faciem per secula gentes,  
At manet incolumis mundus, suaque omnia servat  
Quæ nec longa dies auget, minuitque senectus:  
Nec motus puncto currit, cursuque fatigat.  
Idem semper erit, quoniam semper fuit idem,  
Non alium videre patres, aliumve nepotes  
Aspicient.*

The people chang'd, at times the face doth vary,  
The world stands sound, and alwaies holds it owne,  
Nor by long daies encreas'd, nor age lesse growne,  
Runnes round yet moves not, nor by running's weary,  
Was still the same, and still the same shall bee,  
That which our grandfathers saw, our sonnes shall see.

And from hence it is, that a minde well seasoned, like a square body, stands upright in all fortunes.

Blor. car. lib. 2.  
ed. 10.

*Sperat infestis metuit secundis  
Alteram sortem, bene præparatum*

Pectus,



*Pectus, informes byemes reducit  
Iupiter, idem  
Summovet, non si male nunc, & olim  
Sic erit.*

It hopes in stormes, in calmes it feares  
A breast well arm'd, and both it beares,  
As Jove the Winter backe doth bring,  
And then removes it by the Spring,  
Though now the chance that fall be hard,  
Yet art thou not from better barr'd.

## SECT. 5.

*The seventh and last generall argument that the seedes of decay were  
not infused into the World before the fall, nor after, and  
consequently not at all.*

**I**F the decay of the World be an effect of the fall of man, and a punishment of sinne as some would have it, it could not bee created subject to decay, except we should make the effect before the cause, and the punishment before the offence, in as much as the world was built and furnished before man was made, and consequently before he had sinned, by which meanes it cannot be, but that even in the state of integrity before his fall, he must of necessity actually suffer as a sinner: which how it can stand with the justice of the Creator, I must professe that for mine owne part I cannot understand. Besides, when Almighty God had finished the worke of the Creation, he saw and pronounced both the whole and all the parts thereof to be exceeding good; which could not be if he had originally sowne in it the seeds and principles of corruption; for as *S. Augustine* speakes in his book *de natura boni. cap. 4. ipsa corrupta in quantum natura est, bona est: in quantum corrupta est, mala est.* And if it be evill as it is corrupted, and cannot be from God as it is evill, neither can it bee from him as it is corrupted, from whom being goodnesse it selfe, nothing can flow but what is good. He being most pure and incorruptible in himselfe, can no more be the Author of corruption, then hee can of sinne: both which he permitted, and according to his excellent wisdom and power ordereth both, but directly and for themselves ordained neither; hee being so good and so just as hee would not so much as have permitted either, had hee not withall beene so wise and so powerfull, as out of both to draw some good for the advancement of his owne glory, the advantage of his children that serve him, and the confusion of such as rebell against him.

A very memorable passage we have to this purpose in the first chapter of the *Wisedome of Solomon*, vers. 13. 14. *God made not death, neither hath he pleasure in the destruction of the living; for he created all things that they might have their being, and the generations of the world were healthfull, and there is no poyson of destruction in them, nor the Kingdome of death upon the earth.* There is in them no poyson of destruction, which the vul-



gar Latine renders, *Medicamentum exterminij*; Arias Montanus, *medicamentum perditionis*; Iunius, *pharmacum exitiale*, and gives this note upon it, *Ad salutem spectabant omnia creationis lege, ut qua carerent iniustitia, que exitiale pharmacum appellatur.*

Now for the second opinion, which is, that this decay came in after the fall, by making it the just punishment of sinne, it cannot stand with the former position of the inbred and naturall principles of corruption, nor yet with that other assertion, that it happens not from any forraine or accidentall cause; in as much as sinne in regard of the world (men and Angels onely excepted) can bee none other then a forraine cause, nor yet other then accidentall as it is opposed to necessary; And if then this decay be not introduced by any forraine or accidentall cause, how can sinne bee the cause thereof? or if it be onely occasioned by sinne, what other cause shall wee finde out of power sufficient to alter and deprave those principles of nature, which the Author of her had planted in her?

Here the *Manichees* would have recourse to their Idoll the God of evill; but the truth is that no created power (as all power is created, save onely that of the Creator himselfe) were all the power of men and Devills and Angels combined in one, is of force sufficient any way to change or alter, much lesse to abolish or utterly corrupt the principles of nature. True it is that men and Angels being the onely rationall creatures that God made, indued with understanding and freedome of will, have both corrupted their owne wayes, and feeble the smart thereof, and the other creatures by the abuse of them; but neither of them have, or possibly can alter the fundamentall lawes of nature in themselves, much lesse in the other creatures; from whence it inevitably followes, that if upon the fall of man the principles of nature be corrupted, they are undoubtedly corrupted by the Author of them, there being none other power of sufficient ability to produce such an effect.

And this indeed is the common opinion grounded upon the curse of the earth, *Gen. 3.* but that this curse extended to the changing of the principles of nature in the earth it selfe, wee finde not, much lesse that it reached unto the heavens, the other Elements, or the mixt bodies. *Manet in illis primigenia illa natura, in nobis degeneravit in pejus*, saith *Ludovicus Vives*, *de ver. Fid. Christ. lib. 1. cap. 17.* Nay a greater then *Vives* hath told us, *They continue this day according to thine ordinance. Psal. 119. 91.* And againe, *Hee hath established them for ever and ever; hee hath given them a Law which shall not be broken. Psal. 148. 6.* but this point hath and shall be so fully cleared by the testimonies of *S. Augustine*, *Abulensis*, *Arias Montanus*, *S. Basil*, *Theodoret* and others, as here it shall need no farther prooffe.



## CHAP. 5.

*Generall arguments making for the Worlds decay, refuted.*

## SECT. I.

*The first generall objection drawne from reason, answered.*

**H**Owbeit, as the great Patriarchs of Philosophers have taught us, that *Verum est index sui & obliqui*, Truth may serve as a square or rule both for it selfe and falshood, as a right line discovers the obliquity of a crooked, yet because

*Qui statuit aliquid parte inaudita alterâ,  
Æquum licet statuerit, haud æquus fuit :*

*Sen. Medea  
Act. 2*

Who but one party heares, yet doth decree,  
Just is he not, though just his sentence bee.

Let us see what the *Adverse part* can say for themselves. Their generall arguments then for the Worlds decay are drawne, partly from reason, and partly from authority. The maine argument drawne from reason, upon which all the rest, in a manner, depend, so as I may call it, the Pole-decede of their evidence, is this, *That the Creature the nearer it approaches to the first mould, the more perfect it is, and according to the degrees of its removeall and distance from thence, it incurreth the more imperfection and weakenesse, as streames of a fountaine, the farther they runne thorow uncleane passages, the more they contract corruption.* For the loosing of which knot, I shall crave pardon if I inlarge my selfe, and make a full answer thereunto, considering that in the striking off of this head, the body of the opposite reasons fall to the ground; and at the shaking of this foundation, the whole building totters. First then I will examine the truth of this proposition, *whether every thing the farther it departs from its originall, the more it loses of its perfection, because upon it the weight of the argument is grounded; and secondly I will consider how justly it is applyed to this present purpose.* For the first, whether wee behold the workes of Art, or Nature, or Grace, wee shall finde that they all proceed by certaine steps from a more imperfect & unpolished being, to that which is more absolute and perfect. To begin with the workes of Grace; in the course of Christianity wee grow both in knowledge and vertue, in illumination and sanctification, as the blinde man in the Gospell having recovered his sight, first saw men walking like trees confusedly and indistinctly, but afterwards more clearely: in knowledge we grow, by leaving the principles of the doctrine of Christ, and going on unto perfection, by leaving milke fit for babes, and using stronger meate belonging to them that are of a full age, who by reason of an habite, have their senses exercised to discern both good and evil. In vertue wee grow, not onely by adding vertue to vertue, as it were linke to linke; but by increasing in those vertues, as it were by inlarging the linke, that the man of God may be made perfect, thorowly furnished unto every good worke. For the workes of Art; wee see the Limmer to begin with a rude draught, and the Painter to lay his grounds with shadowes and

*Heb. 6. 1.*

*Heb. 5. 13. 14.*

*2 Pet. 1. 5.*

*2 Tim. 3. 17.*



and darke some colours, the *Weaver* out of a small thread, makes a rich & faire peece, and the *Architect* upon rubbish layes a goodly pile of building, which at first consists of naked walles, but at last is furnished with variety of household-stuffe, and garnished with hangings and pictures. Lastly for the workes of Nature, out of what a confused *Chaos* was the goodly Frame of this *World* raised? out of what unworthy little seedes spring the tallest *trees*, & most beautifull *flowres*, nay what a base beginning at the first Creation had and still hath *Man* himselfe the *Lord* of the Creatures? so as himselfe even blushes to mention it, how impotent and unable to helpe himselfe, is he brought into the world? how slowly doth he come forward to the use of his senses, his strength, his reason: yet at length by degrees if he live and be of a sound constitution, he arrives unto it. By which it appeares, that at leastwise individuals, in the severall workes both of *Grace*, and *Art*, and *Nature*, the farther they proceede from their originall, the more perfect they are, till they arrive to their state of *perfection*, though herein they differ, that *Art* and *Nature* then decline, but *Grace* is turned into *Glory*.

And for the *species* or *kindes* of things, which is it that specially concerns our present question, as I cannot affirme that by degrees they grow on still to greater perfection, so neither can I finde that they daily grow more imperfect. For *Grace*, we know, it was more abundantly powred out by the *incarnation* and *passion* of the *Sonne of God* in this *later age* of the world, then at any time before since the *first creation* thereof. And of *Art* it is commonly thought that neere about the same time the *Roman Empire* was at the heighest; *Souldiers*, *Poets*, *Oratours*, *Philosophers*, *Historians*, *Politicians*, never more excellent, which withall should argue, that *Nature* was at this time rather *strengthened* then *enfeebled*, in as much as both *Art* and *Grace* are built upon *Nature*, I meane the *naturall faculties* of the soule, which commonly follow the temper of the body, and the more vigorous they are, the more happily are both *Art* and *Grace* exercised by them.

Now for the *application* of the proposition to the present purpose touching the Worlds decay, it is evident, that if it were indeed of that force as is pretended, it would thereupon follow, that in the course of *Nature*, *Adam* should have beene the *tallest* and *longest-liv'd* man that ever breathed upon the face of the earth; whereas notwithstanding we read not of any *Gyants* till a little before the *floud*; and *Noah* who lived after the *floud*, saw *twenty yeares* more then *Adam* himselfe did, the latter being *nine hundred and fiftie*, and the former but *nine hundred and thirtie* yeares olde when he died. Nay *Methusaleth* the eight from *Adam*, out-stripped him by *forty yeares* wanting but one; and we see by daily experience, that a weake or foolish father, often begets a strong and a wise sonne, and that the grand-childe sometimes equalls the age of the father and grand-father both together. If a thousand *candles* or *torches* should be successively lighted one from another, it cannot be discerned by their dull or bright burning, which was first or last lighted, nay the last sometimes yeelds a brighter light then the first, if it meete with matter accordingly prepared. The *water* which runnes a thousand miles



miles thorow cleane passages, is every whit as wholesome and sweet at its journeyes end, as when it first issued from the fountaine. The *seede* that is cast into the earth seldome failes to bring forth as good as it self, and sometimes better, and if at any time it prove worse, it is not because it is further distant from its originall, (which is the very point in controversy) but because it meetes with a *worse soyle*, or a *worse season*, and the soyle and season are worse perchance then in *former times*, not by reason of the revolution of so many ages since the Creation, but either by reason of *Gods Curse* upon sinne, or some other *accidentall cause*, which being removed, they returne againe to their native & wonted properties. For, did they grow worse and worse, onely by a farther distance from their first being, then would the *Creatures* have decayed in *processe of time*, whether *man* had sinned or no, and *man* himselfe should have beene of lesse strength and stature and continuance, though he had not failed in the temperate use of the *Creature*, or of any other meanes making for the preservation of his life and health, which I suppose the *Patrons* of the adverse part, will not maintaine; once I am sure that the *common tenet* of *Divines* is, that whatsoever defect or swarving is to be found, in the nature either of *man* himselfe, or the *Creature* made to serve him, ariseth from the sinne of *man* alone, as being the onely cause of all the jarre and disorder in the world. Now to impute it to *sin*, and yet withall to affirme that it is occasioned by the removeall of the *Creature* from its *primordially existence*, implies (in my judgment) a manifest and irreconcilable contradiction.

To conclude this answer, this *axiome*, *unumquodque quò magis elongatur à suo principio, eò magis deficit & languescit*: Every thing the farther it is remov'd from its originall, the more faint and feeble it growes, in violent motions is most true. As an *arrow* shot out of a bow, or a dart flung upward from the hand of a man, the higher they mount, the slower they move; and so conceive it to have beene meant by *Aristotle*: but in *naturall motions*, as the moving of a stone downward, (and such is rather *Natures* motion in the course of the world,) the contrary is undoubtedly true, *Crescit eundo*, the farther it moves, the more strength it gathers, and fortifies it selfe in going. Besides, if the strength of the *hand* could goe along with the *dart*; or if the *bow* with the *arrow*, as the hand and power of *GOD* leades and preserves *Nature* in her course, keeping it a working, as the *spring* doth the wheelles in a Watch or Clocke; there is no question, but their motions would prove as quicke and forcible in the end as at the beginning, and not cease at all before the strength of the *hand* or *bow* which carry them forward, were removed from them: Finally, if this *axiome* were not to be limited, it should equally extend to the *Angels* and the *soules of men*, and the *first matter*, and the *heavens*, as well as to the sublunary mixt bodies: but the same power which upholds and maintaines them, in their originall state, supports likewise the whole body of this inferiour World, together with all the severall species or kindes thereof, & did it not so do, all the absurdities already touched, as impotency in that *spirit*, which animates the *World*, to support it; annihilation in the course of *Nature*, defect and swarving in the *Creature* without



without the *sin of man*, fore-knowledge of the *Worlds end*, and the end of it long before this time, would infallibly follow thereupon.

## S E C T. 2.

*The second generall objection answered, which is that the severall parts of the World decaying, it should argue a consumption in the whole.*

**A**Nother argument drawne from *reason*, for the *Worlds decay*, is, that all the parts of it decay, and by degrees grow to dissolution, which should likewise argue a wasting and lingring consumption in the whole, since there seemes to bee the same reason of the whole, which is of all the parts whereof it consists. But the answer hereunto will easily appeare out of that which hath already beene delivered, and by taking a review of the severall parts of the *Vniversall*. First then for the *heavens*, undoubtedly they feele no such decay, either in *substance, quantity, motion, light, warmth* or *influence*, as I hope I shall make it manifest in the next booke; and for the *Elements* what they loose in regard of their *quantity*, is againe made up by *equivalence* or *compensation*, & that in respect of their *quality* they decay no either by being of *lesse efficacie*, or more *malignant dispositions*, then in former ages, remains to be shewed in their proper place; and lastly for the *bodies mixed* and tempered of the *Elements*, though it be granted, that all *individuals* or *particulars* in time decay or perish, yet doth it not follow, that the same condition should likewise be annexed to the *species* or kinde which is still preserved by a new *supply* and successive propagation of particulars, not alwayes inferiour to their predecessours, which this argument presumes, but sometimes excelling, and commonly equalling them in goodnesse, as hath already beene touched in part, and shall hereafter by Gods helpe be more fully and distinctly proved.

## S E C T. 3.

*The third generall objection answered, taken from the authority of S. Cyprian.*

**T**He arguments drawne from *authority*, are either *humane* or *divine testimonies*. Among *humane* is that of *Origen tract. 28. super Math.* of *Ambrose in Luc. cap. 21.* of *Gregory Homil. 1<sup>a</sup> in Evang.* who all make the calamities of their times through the world, the infallible symptomes and presages of the great feeblenesse, and approaching dissolution thereof, which had it beene so, wee had not beene here at this present to examine the validitie of their allegations: but the testimony most of all stood upon, is that of *S. Cyprian*, as well in regard of his great piety and learning, as his neerenesse to the pure and primitive times of the Church of *Christ*. This holy *Martyr* then, and venerable *Bishop*, grieving that the *Christian Religion* should be charged with those



those lamentable accidents, wherewith the World at that time was pressed and shaken, shapes this replie to *Demetrianus* the Accuser: *Illud primo loco scire debes sensuisse jam mandum; non illis viribus stare quibus prius steterat, nec vigore & robore eo praevalere, quo antea praevalebat, hoc enim nobis tacentibus, & nulla de Scripturis sanctis prae-dicationibusque divinis documenta promentibus, mundus ipse jam loquitur, & occasum sui rerum labentium probatione testatur. Non hyeme nutriendis seminibus tanta imbrum copia est, non frugibus aestate torrendis solis tanta flagrantia est, nec sic verna de temperie sua leta sata sunt, nec adeo arbores foetibus autumno fecunda sunt; minus de effossis & fatigatis montibus eruuntur marmorum crustae, minus argenti & auri opes suggerunt, exhausta jam metalla, & pauperes venae tenuantur in dies singulos & decrescunt, deficit in agris agricola, in amicitijs concordia, in artibus peritia, in moribus disciplina. Putasne tu posse tantam substantiam rei senescentis existere, quantum prius potuit novella adhuc & vegeta juventute pollere? Minuatur necesse est quicquid sine jam proximo in occidua & extrema divergit; sic sol in occasu suo radios minus claro & igneo splendore jaculatur, sic declinante jam cursu exoletis cornubus Luna tenuatur, & arbor quae fuerat antea viridis & fertilis crescentibus ramis, fit postmodum sterili senectute deformis, & fons qui exundantibus prius venis largiter profluebat, vix modico sudore distillat. Hac sententia mundo data est, hac Dei lex est, ut omnia orta occidant, & aucta senescant, & infirmantur fortia, & magna minuantur, & cum infirmata & diminuta fuerint, siniantur.* You ought first to have knowne this, that the World is now waxen old, that it hath not those forces which formerly it had, neither is indued with that vigour and strength wherewith it formerly was, & thus much, though we held our peace, and brought no prooffe thereof from holy Scripture and divine Oracles, the World it selfe proclaimes, and testifies its declination by the experience of all things declining in it. Wee have not now so great store of showres for the nourishing of our seedes in the Winter, nor in Summer so much warmth of the Sunne for the ripening of our corne. In the Spring our fields are not so fresh & pleasant, nor in Autumne our trees so loaden with fruits, lesse pieces of marble are hewed out of the exhausted and tyred Mountaines, and the emptied Mines yeeld lesse quantity of gold and silver, their veines daily diminishing and decreasing. The Husbandman is defective in manuring the Earth, concord failes in friendship, skill in Arts, & discipline in manners. Can you imagine that the state of a thing waxing old, should be so firme and sound, as when it flourished in its youth? That must needs be weakened, which (the finall period of it approaching) hastens to the last end. So the Sun when it is setting, darts not forth so fiery and cleare beames; So the Moone drawing toward the end of her race, drawes in her horns and growes lesse, and the tree which was formerly greene and fruitfull, her boughes withering, becomes deformed by barren old age, and the well-spring which formerly flowed abundantly with full streames, being dried up through age, hardly distills a drop of moisture. This sentence is passed upon the World, this is the Law which God hath set it, that all things that are borne, should die; all that increase, should decrease; that strong things should be weakened, and great lessened; and

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being thus weakned and lessened, they should at last be utterly dissolved.

This discourse of *Cyprian*, and the excellent flowres of *Rhetorique* in it, shew him to have been a sweet and powerfull *Oratour*, of a great wit, and flowing eloquence: but whether in this he shew himselfe so deepe a *Philosopher* or sound *Divine*, I leave that to the Reader to judge, and referre his judgement to the future examination of the particulars: onely by the way it shall not be amisse to remember, that the *Christians* of those times (happily by reason aswell of the bloody persecutions which pressed them sore, as the frequent passages both in the Gospell and Epistles, which speake of the second comming of Christ, as if it had beene then hard at hand) stood in continuall allarums and expectation of the day of Judgment, and the end of the world, as evidently appears by the very words of *Cyprian* himselfe in his discourse, and their thoughts still running thereupon, all things seemed futable thereunto, and to draw towards that end. It cannot bee denied but those times wherein *Cyprian* lived, were indeed very bitter and miserable in regard of famine, and warre, and mortality; as most clearely it appears in that excellent Booke of his *De Mortalitate*; yet about forty yeares after, it pleased *Almighty God* to pacifie those stormes, and dispell those clouds by the conversion of the renowned *Constantine* to the *Christian Religion*, as it had beene by the breaking forth of the Sun beames, so as they who sowed in teares, reaped in joy, at which time had *Cyprian* lived, no doubt he would have changed his note, his pen vould have as much triumphed in the tranquillity and flourishing estate of the Church under that noble Emperour, as it deplored the torne state of the World in the time wherein himselfe lived. The former *famine*, and *warre*, and *mortality*, being then by Gods gracious blessing, happily turned into *health*, and *peace*, and *plenty*. Hee would then have told you, that whereas before, showres of their blood were powred out for *Christ's* sake; now it pleased God to open the windowes of Heaven for the moistning and nourishing of their seedes, that as *Christ* the *Sonne of Righteousnesse* was acknowledged as the *Saviour* of the World, and the shining beames of the *Gospell* displayed themselves: so the Sunne in the firmament had recovered its warmth and strength for the ripening of their corne; that as the outward face of the *Church* was become beautifull and glorious, so the very fieldes seemed to smile, and to receive content therein by their fresh & pleasant hue; that as men brought forth the fruits of *Christianity* in greater abundance, so their trees were more plentifully laden with fruits; that as the rich mines of *Gods word* were farther searched into, so new veines of marble, and gold, and silver were discovered; that *Christian Religion* having now gotten the upper hand, had made the *Husbandman* and *Artificer*, more carefull and industrious in their callings, had opened the *Schools* for *Professours*, in all kinde of learning, had restored wholesome *discipline* in manners, & *faithfulnessse* in friendship. Finally, he would have told you, that the world with the *Eagle* had now cast her worne bill and sicke feathers, and upon the entertainment of *Christ* and his *Gospell*, was growne young againe. Which I  
am



am the rather induced to beleue, for that *Cyprian* himfelfe in the ſame diſcourſe againſt *Demetrianus*, in another place referres the diſaſters of thoſe times to the obſtinacie of the world, in not receiving the truth of *Chriſtianity*, and ſubmitting it ſelfe to the yoke of *Chriſt Ieſus*. A more likely and certaine cauſe doubtleſſe then that other of the worlds imaginary olde age and decay: His words are theſe. *Indignatur ecce Dominus & irascitur, & quod ad eum non convertamini comminatur, & tu miraris & quereris, in hac obſtinatione & contemptu vestro si rara deſuper pluvia deſcendat, si terra ſitu pulveris ſqualleat, si vix jejunas & pallidas herbas ſterilis gleba producat, &c.* Beholde, the Lord is angry, and threatens, becauſe you turne not vnto him, and doſt thou wonder or complaine, if in this your obſtinacie and contempt, the raine ſeldome fall, the earth be deformed with duſt, & the land bring forth hungry & ſtarved graſſe, if the haile falling doe ſpill the vine, if the over-turning whirle-winde doe marre the Oliue, if drought dry vp the ſprings, if peſtilent dampes doe corrupt the aire, if diſeaſes conſume men, when all theſe things come by ſins provoking, & God is the more offended, ſince ſuch and ſo great things doe no good at all. And the ſame reaſon is vpon the like occaſion yeelded by *Lactantius*, *Discite igitur ſi quid vobis reliqua mentis eſt, homines ideo malos & injuſtos eſſe quia dii coluntur: & ideo mala omnia rebus humanis quotidie ingraveſcere, quia Deus mundi huius effector & gubernator derelictus eſt, quia ſuſcepta ſunt contra quam fas eſt impia religiones: poſtremo quia ne vel à paucis quidem coli deum ſinitis.* Learne thus much then (if you have any vnderſtanding left) that men are therefore wicked & unjuſt, becauſe ſuch Gods are worſhipped, and that ſuch miſchiefe dayly befall thē, becauſe God the Creator & Governour of the world is forſaken by thē, becauſe impious religions againſt all right are entertained of them, finally, becauſe you will not permit the worſhip of the true God ſo much as to a few. Here then was the true cauſe of their bloody warrs, that they ſhed the innocent bloud of *Chriſtians*, & trampled under foote the precious bloud of *Chriſt*; as their warres, together with the unkindly ſeaſon, were the cauſe of dearth and famine, & both famine & warre of peſtilence and mortalitie: how frequently and fervently doth the Scripture beate upon this cauſe, God every-where promiſing to reward the obedience of his people with plenty and peace, and kindly ſeaſons, & their rebellion with ſcarcitie & ſicknes, & the ſword. But that theſe ſcourges of the world were at any time cauſed by, or imputed to the old age or decay thereof, to my remembrance we no where reade. As then the referring of theſe plagues with *Demetrianus* and the Gentiles to the curſe of God vpon *Chriſtian Religion*, was a blaſphemous wrong to Gods truth: So with *Cyprian*, to referre them to the old age and naturall decay of the world, (bee it ſpoken with all due reverence to ſo great a light in the Church of God) is in my judgment an aſperſion vpon the Power and providence, and juſtice of God. And *Pamelius* in his annotations to excuſe *Cyprian* heerein (conceiuing belike that he was not in the right) tells us that therein he alludes to the opinion of the ancient *Philophers & Poets*: perchance thereby intending *Lucretius* the great admirer and ſectary of *Epicurus*, who of all the Poets I have



met with hath written the most fully in this argument.

*Iamque adeo effæta est ætas, effætaque tellus:  
Vix animalia parva creat, quæ cuncta creavit  
Sæcla, deditque ferarum ingentia corpora partu.  
Haud (ut opinor) enim mortalia sæcla superne  
Aurea de cælo demisit funis in arva:  
Nec mare, nec fluctus plangentes saxa, creârunt:  
Sed genuit tellus eadem, quæ nunc alit ex se.  
Præterea nitidas fruges, vinetaque lata,  
Sponte suâ primum mortalibus ipsa creavit:  
Ipsa dedit dulces fœtus, & pabula lata.  
Quæ nunc vix nostro grandescunt aucta labore.  
Conterimusque boves, & vires agricolarum:  
Conficimus ferrum vix arvis suppeditati:  
Vsq; adeo parcunt fœtus, augentque labores.  
Iamque caput quassans grandis suspirat arator  
Crebrius incassum magnum cecidisse laborem:  
Et cum tempora temporibus præsentia confert  
Præteritis, laudat fortunas sæpe parentis:  
Et crepat antiquum genus ut pietate repletum  
Perfacile angustis tolerârit finibus ævum,  
Cum minor esset agri multo modus ante viritim:  
Nec tenet, omnia paulatim tabescere, & ire  
Ad scopulum spacio ætatis defessa vetusto.*

The world with age is broke, the earth out-worne,  
And shee of whom what ever liues was borne  
And once brought forth huge-bodied beasts, with paine  
A small race now begets. No golden chaine  
These mortalls downe from Heauen to earth did let,  
As I suppose: nor sea, nor waues that beat  
The rockes did they create, 't was earth did breed  
All of her selfe, which now all things doth feede.  
The chearefull vine shee of her owne acord,  
Shee corne to mortall wights did first afford:  
Sweete fruites beside and food did shee bestow,  
Which now with labour great doe hardly grow:  
The plough-swanes strength wee spend, our oxen weare;  
When we our fields have sowne, no crop they beare;  
So wax our toyles, so waneth our reliefe,  
The husband shakes his head, and fighes for griefe,  
That all his travels frustrate are at last.  
And when times present he compares with past,  
Hee his Sires fortune raises to the skie,  
And much doth talke of th' ancient pietie,  
And how though euery man lesse ground possesse,  
Yet better liv'd with greater plenty blest.  
Nor markes how all things by degrees decay  
And tir'd with age towards the rocke make way.

But



But heerein *Lucretius* likewise contradicted himselfe in other places of the same booke, and had the world beene indeede so neare its last breathing as it were, and giving up of the Ghost, as *Cyprian* would make it in his time, much more as *Lucretius* in his: undoubtedly it could neuer have held out by the space of almost fourteene hundred yeares since the one, and aboute sixteene hundred since the other, and how long it is to last, he only knowes, who hath put the times and seasons in his owne power.

## SECT. 4.

*The same authority of Cyprian farther answered by opposing against it the authority of Arnobius, supported with ponderous and pressing reasons.*

**N**OW because this authority of *Cyprian* is it which preuailes so much with so many, it shall not bee amisse to oppose thereunto that of *Arnobius*, not naked and standing upon bare affirmatiō as doth that of *Cyprian*, but backt with weighty and forcible arguments: A very renowned both Oratour and Philosopher he was, the Master of *Lactantius*, and diuerse other very notable and famous men, and being pressed by the *Gentiles* of his time with the same objection against Christian Religion, as was *Cyprian* by *Demetrianus*, hee shapes unto it an answer cleane contrary, by shewing that all the fundamentall and primordially parts of the world, as the heavens and elements remained still entire since the profession of Christian Religion, as before they were; and for other calamities of famine and warres, and pestilence, and the like, the common scourges of the World, they had beene as great or greater in former ages, and that before the name of Christianity was heard of in the World, then at that time they were. His Latine, because the allegation is long, and in some places it favours of the African harshnes, I will spare, and only set downe the English.

*Adversus Gen-  
tes non prout in  
principio.*

*And first of all in faire and familiar speech this we demaund of these men: since the name of Christian Religion began to be in the World, what uncouth, what unusuall things, what against the Lawes instituted at the beginning hath Nature, as they terme and call her, either felt or suffered? Those first Elements whereof it is agreed that all things are compounded, are they changed into contrary qualities? Is the frame of this engine and fabricke which covereth and incloseth us all in any part losed or dissolved? Hath this wheeling about of Heaven swerving from the rule of its primitive motion either begun to creepe more slowly, or to be carried with headlong volubility? Doe the Starres begin to raise themselves up in the West, and the Signes to incline towards the East? The Prince of Stars the Sun whose light cloatheth, and heat quickneth all things, doth he cease to be hot, is hee waxen cooler, and hath hee corrupted the temper of his wonted moderation into contrary Habits? Hath the Moone left off to repaire herselfe, and by continuall restoring of new to transforme herselfe into her old shapes? Are colds, are heats, are temperate warmths betweene them both by confusion of unequall times gone? Doth Winter beginne to have long dayes,*



dayes, and Summer nights to call backe the slowest lights. Have the winds breathed forth their spirits as having spent their blasts? Is not the aire straitned into clouds, and doth not the field being moistned with showres wax fruitfull? Dosth the Earth refuse to receiue the seedes cast into her? Will not trees budde forth? Have fruites appointed for foode by the burning up of their moisture changed their taste? Doe they presse gore bloud out of olives? Are lights quenched for want of supplie? The Creatures enured to the land, and that live in waters, do they not gender and conceive? The young ones conceived in their wombs doe they not after their owne manner and order conserue? To conclude, Men themselves whom their first and beginning nativity dispersed through the uninhabited coasts of the Earth, doe they not with solempne nuptiall rights couple themselves in wedlocke? Doe they not beget most sweete offsprings of children? Doe they not manage publicke, priuate, and domesticall businesses? Doe they not every one as he pleaseth by diuerse sorts of arts and disciplines direct their wits, and studiously repay the use of their nativity? Doe they not reigne, doe they not command to whom it is allotted? Doe they not every day more increase in the like dignities and power? Doe they not sit in judgment to heare causes? Doe they not interpret Lawes and Statutes? Doe they not publickely use all other wayes whereby the life of man is held in and kept in compasse, all according to the orders and customes of the Countrey in their severall nations? these things therefore being so, and that no novelty hath broken in to interrupt the perpetuall tenor of things by severing and discontinuing them: What is it that they say, Confusion is brought upon the World since Christian Religion entred into it, and discovered the misteries of hidden verity? But the Gods, say they, exasperated with your injuries and offences bring upon us pestilences, droughts, scarcity of corne, locusts, mice, haile, and other hurtfull things assaulting the affaires of men. Were it not follie longer to insist upon things evident and needing no defence, I would soone by unfolding former times demonstrate that the evils yee speake of are neither unknowne nor sudden, nor that these confusions brake in, nor that mortall businesses began to be infested with such variety of dangers, since our Society obtained the happinesse of this name to bee bestowed upon them. For if wee bee the cause, and for our demerits these plagues were invented, whence knew antiquity these names of miseries, whence gave it signification to warres? With what knowledge could it name the Pestilence and Haile? or assume them into the number of those words wherewith they uttered their speech? For if these evils be new, and draw their causes from late offences, how could it bee that it should forme words to those things whereof it selfe neither had experience, nor had learnt that they were in any time done? Scarcitie of corne and extreame dearth distresseth us. What? were the ancient and eldest ages at any time free from the like necessity? Doe not the very names by which these evils are called testifie and crie that never any mortall man was privileged from it? Which were it a matter so hard to beleewe, I could produce the testimonies of authours, what Nations, how great, how often have felt horrible famine, and have beene destroyed with a great desolation. But stormes of Haile fall very often, and light on all things. And doe we not see it registred and recorded in ancient writings that Countries have often beene battered with showres of stones? Want of raine killeth up the corne, and makes the earth unfruitfull; And was antiquity free from these evils, especially seeing



seeing wee know that huge rivers have beene dried up to the very bottome? The contagion of pestilence vexeth Mankinde; Runne over the Annals written in severall tongues, and yee shall learne that whole Countries have oftentimes beene made desolate, and emptyed of inhabitants. All kinde of graines are destroyed and devoured by locusts, by mice: Passe through forraine histories, and they will informe you how often former times have been troubled with these plagues, and brought to the miseries of poverty, Cities shaken with mighty earthquakes tottered even unto ruine. What? have not former times seene Cities together with the inhabitants swallowed up in huge gaping clefts of the earth? Or have they had their estate free from these casualties? when was mankinde destroyed with deluges of water? not before us? when was the world burnt and dissolved into embers & ashes? not before us? when were mighty Cities overwhelmed by the Seas inundation? not before us? when did they make warre with wilde beasts, and encounter with Lyons? not before us? when were people plagued with venomous serpents? not before us? For that yee use to object unto us the causes of so often warres, the laying wast of Cities, the irruption of Germans and Scythians, I will by your good leave and patience bee bold to say, that yee are so transported with desire to slander, that yee know not what it is yee say. That upward of ten thousand yeares agoe a huge swarme of men should breake out of that Island of Neptune, which is called Atlantick, as Plato declares, and utterly destroy and consume innumerable nations, were wee the cause? That the Assyrians and Bactrians sometimes under the leading of Ninus and Zoroastres should warre one against the other, not onely with sword and strength, but also by the hidden artes of Magicke, and the Chaldeans, was it our envy? That Helena by the direction and impulsion of the Gods was ravished and became a fatall calamity, both to her owne and future times, was it attributed to the crime of our religion? That the great and mighty Xerxes brought in the Sea upon the land, and past over the seas on foote, was it done through the injury of our name? That a young man rising out of the borders of Macedon, brought the kingdome and people of the East under the yoke of captivity and bondage, did wee procure and cause it? That now the Romans should like a violent streame drowne and overwhelme all nations, did wee forsooth thrust the Gods into the fury? Now if no man dare to impute to our times the things that were done long since: how can wee be the causes of the present miseries, seeing there is no new thing fallen out, but all are ancient and not unheard of in any antiquity? although it bee not hard to prove that the warres which yee say, are raised through the envie of our Religion, are not onely increased since Christ was heard of in the world, but also for the greater part (by repressing mans furiousnesse) lessened. For seeing we so great a multitude of men have learned by his instruction and lawes, that wee are not to requite evill for evill, that it is farre better to suffer then to doe wrong, rather to shed a mans owne, then to pollute his hand and conscience with the bloud of another: the ungratefull world hath ere while received this benefit from Christ, by whom the fiercenesse and wildenesse of nature is tamed, and they have begun to refraine their hostile hands from the bloud of the Creature kinne unto them. Certainly if all who know, that to bee men stands not in the shape of bodies, but in the power of reason, would listen a while unto his wholesome and peaceable decrees, and not puffed up with arrogance and selfe-conceit, rather beleieve  
their



their owne opinions then his admonitions: the whole World long agoe (turning the use of iron unto milder workes) should have lived in most quiet tranquillity, and have met together in a frame and indissoluble league of most safe concord. But if, say they, through you the state of man suffereth no disadvantage, whence are those evils wherewith now a long time miserable mortality is afflicted and oppressed? You aske my opinion in a matter not necessary to this businesse. For the present disputation now in hand was not undertaken by mee to this end, to shew or prone upon what causes or reasons each thing was done, but to manifest that the reproch of so great a crime as wee are charged with, is farre from us, which if I performe, and by deedes and euident remonstrances unfold the truth of the matter, whence these evils are, or out of what fountaines or principles they proceede, I care not. For what if the first matter, digested into the foure elements of all things, containe wrapped up in its rotations the causes of all miseries? what if the motions of the starres by certaine signes, parts, times, lines produce these evils, and bring upon things subject unto them necessities of diuerse sorts? what if in set times the vicissitude of things fall out, and as it is in the motions of the sea, sometime there is a flow of prosperity, sometime it ebbeth backe againe, and evils returne in the roome thereof? What if the dregges of this matter which wee tread under our feet have this law given unto it, to breath forth most noysome vapours, wherewith this aire being corrupted should both infect the bodies and disable the endeavours of men? what if (which indeede is nearest unto truth) what soeuer seemeth crosse unto us, is not euill to the World it selfe: and that wee perswading our selves that all things are done for our benefits, doe by reason of our wicked opinions wrongfully accuse the event of nature? Plato the highest top and chiefeest pillar of philosophers, maintaineth in his commentaries, that those fearfull inundations and conflagrations of the World, are the purging of the earth: neither was that wise man affraid to call the subversion, slaughter, ruines, destruction and funeralls of mankind, an innovation of things, and that thereby repaireing their strength, they recouer a certaine youth againe. Heaven, saith hee, raines not, and wee labour of I know not of what scarcity of corne. What? dost thou require that the Elements serue thy necessities? and to the end thou mayst line more daintily and delicately, that the times obsequiously apply themselves to thy commodities? What if hee that is desirous of navigation complaine in the like sort that now a long time there are no windes, and that the blasts of Heaven are ceased, Must wee say therefore that such tranquillity of the World is pernicious, because it hinders the desires of passengers? What if any who hath becne accustomed to tosse himselfe in the sunne, and to procure drinesse to his body, should in like manner complaine that the pleasure of faire and cleare weather is by very often cloudinesse taken away? Must the clouds therefore bee sayd as enemies to hang and over-spread the skie, because thou canst not at thy pleasure frie thy selfe at the flames, and prepare occasions for drinking? All these events which come to passe and fall out under the cope of Heaven are to bee weighed not by our petty commodities but by the reasons and orders of nature it selfe. Neither if any thing happeneth which touch us and our affaires but with unwelcome successe, is it forthwith euill, and to be accounted noxious? Whether the World raine or not raine, it raineth or not raineth to it selfe, and which happily thou knowest



knowest not, either it consumes away the too much moyſture with the fervencie of drought, or tempers the drought of a very long time with the pouring out of raine. It ſendeth peſtilences, diſeaſes, famines, and other formes of evils threatening deſtruction: how doſt thou know whether ſo it take away that which is ſuperfluous, and by its owne loſſes ſet a meaſure to the riot and exceſſe of things? Dareſt thou ſay this or that is evil in the world, the originall and cauſe whereof thou art not able to unfold and reſolve: and becauſe happily it hinders the pleaſures of thy delights and luſts, wilt thou ſay it is pernicious and cruell? what then? If cold bee contrary unto thy body, and uſe to congeale the heate of thy bloud, muſt not winter therefore bee in the World? And becauſe thou canſt not endure the fervent heate of the Sunne, muſt the Summer bee taken out of the yeare? and nature againe bee ordered by other lawes? Hellebore is poiſon unto men: ought it not for this cauſe to bee brought forth? The wolfe layes waite for the flocke of ſheepe: is nature in the fault which hath bred ſo troubleſome a beaſt unto thoſe fleecie creatures? The biting of the Serpent taketh away life: ſhall I therefore ſpeake evil of the firſt beginnings of things becauſe they have added ſo cruell monſters unto living Creatures? It is too arrogant a part, ſeeing thy ſelfe art not thine owne, and liveſt in poſſeſſion of another, to preſume to preſcribe to thoſe that are mightier then thy ſelfe, and to require that that be done which thou deſireſt, not that which thou findeſt by ancient conſtitutions already ſetled in things. Wherefore if you men will have your complaints to take place, it is requiſite yee firſt teach us whence or what yee are: whether this world be made and framed for you, or ye came as ſtrangers unto it out of other Countries. Which ſeeing you are not able to tell, & you cannot reſolve us for what cauſe you live under this hollow vault of heaven: leave off to ſuppoſe that any thing belongeth unto you, ſeeing the things that are done, are not alike done, but are to be reckoned & accounted in the ſumme intended in the whole. By reaſon of Chriſtians, ſay they, theſe evils are come and the gods ſend theſe calamities upon corne. I demaund when yee ſay theſe things, do ye not ſee how deſperately with open and manifeſt lies yee ſlander us? It is now three hundred yeares more or leſſe, ſince wee Chriſtians began to be, and heare this name in the World: have there beene all theſe yeares continuall wars, continuall dearths? haſt there bin no peacc at all in the Earth, no cheapenes, no plenty of things? For he that accuſeth us muſt firſt of all demonſtrate that theſe calamities have beene perpetuall & continuall, that mortall men have neuer had any breathing time, & that without any holy-dayes, as they ſay, have endured the formes of manifold dangers. But do we not ſee in theſe middle yeares & middle times, that innumerable victories have beene obtained over conquered enemies: that the territories of the Empire have bin enlarged, & Nations whoſe names were neuer heard of, bin brought into ſubjection: that oftentimes the yeares have yeilded marveilous great increaſe, and ſuch cheapeneſſe and plenty of things, that there was no buying or ſelling at all, the prices of things being ſo much fallen? For how could things be done, and how could mankind continue untill this time, if fertility & plenty did not ſupply all whatſoever neede required? But ſome times heretofore have beene in neede & neceſſity, and they have beene recompenced againe with abundance. Again ſome warres have beene waged againſt our will, and they have afterwards beene corrected by victories and good ſucceſſe. What then ſhall wee ſay: that the gods are ſometimes mindfull of our miſeries, and ſome-



sometimes againe vnmindfull? If at what time there is Famine it bee sayd they are angry, it followeth that in time of plenty they are not angry nor displeased: and so all is brought to this issue, that by turnes they lightly lay aside and take up their angers, and by remembrance of offences retorne afresh vnto them againe. Although what that is which they say seemes to be inexplicable, and cannot be knowne or vnderstood. If therefore they would haue the Almans, Persians, Scythians subdued, because Christians did dwell and liue among these Nations: Why did they give the Romans the victory seeing Christians dwelt and liued among their Nations also. If it were their pleasure that mice and locust should therefore swarme in Asia & Syria, because in the like manner Christians dwelt in those Nations: why did they not at the same time swarme in Spaine & France, seeing innumerable Christians liued in these Provinces also? If for this very cause they send drought vpon the corne and barrennesse among the Getulians and them of Aquitaine: why did they the same yeare give such plentiful harvests to the Moores and Numidians, the like Religion being settled in these Countries also? If in any one Cittie they haue cause through the hatred of our name very many to perish with famine: why in the same place haue they through the dearenesse of all provision made not onely those that are not of our body, but even true Christians also much more the richer & wealthier? It behoued therefore that either none should haue had any thing that was comfortable, if wee be the cause of Evills, for wee are in all Nations: or seeing yee see that things profitable are mingled with those that are incommodious, leaue off at length to ascribe that vnto us which impeacheth your estates, since we be no hindrance at all to your wealth and prosperity.

Orosius likewise the scholler of Saint Augustine shapes in a manner to the same objection of the Gentiles the same answere as doth Arnobius, though short yet full: *Recolant sane mecum majorum suorum tempora bellis inquietissima, sceleribus execrabilia, dissensionibus fœda, miseris continuatissima; quæ & merito possunt horrere quia fuere, & necessario debent rogare, ne sint, cum sane rogare solum deum, qui & tunc occulta iustitiâ permisit ut fierent, & nunc aperta misericordia præstat ut non sint.* I wish that together with mee, they would recount the times of their ancestours restlesse in warres, hatefull in wickednesse, in dissensions shamefull, never without miseries; which they may justly abhorre, because they were; and have reason to pray that they may not bee, him I say they ought to pray who then by his secret justice permitted them to bee, and now by his notable mercy brings to passe that they be not.

#### SECT. 5.

*The fourth objection answered, which is borrowed from the authority of Esdras.*

**T**Hat which yet farther disables the validity of this testimony of Cyprian, is that in the opinion of *Sixtus Senensis*, a learned Writer, he borrowed it frõ the *Apocryphall Esdras*. For *Canonicall Scripture* he seemes indeed to glance at the name thereof by the way, but alleages none, And if *Senensis* had thought that any booke of the Canon had



had favoured this opinion of Cyprian, hee would never have sent us to *Esdra*s, but since the appeale is made to *Esdra*s, to *Esdra*s let us goe. He then in his fourth booke and fifth Chapter, v. 51. 52. 53. 54. & 55. thus speakes of this matter. *Hee answered mee and said, aske a woman that beareth children; and shee shall tell thee: say unto her, wherefore are not they whom thou hast now brought forth like those that were before, but lesse of stature? and shee shall answer thee: they that be borne in the strength of youth, be of one fashion, and they that be borne in the time of age when the wombe faileth are otherwise. Consider thou therefore also, how that yee are lesse of stature then they that were before you, and so are they that come after you lesse then ye, as the creatures which now begin to be old, and have passed over the strength of youth.* Now as others depend upon the authority of Cyprian, so Cyprian himselfe depending upon this of *Esdra*s, it will not I hope be thought either unseasonable or impertinent, if we a little examine the weight thereof. First then, it is certaine that this booke is not to be found either in *Hebrew* or *Greeke*, neither is it by the *Tridentine Councell* admitted into the *Canon*, & no doubt but upon very sufficient reason is it excluded both by them and us, in regard of the doctrines which it teacheth, manifestly repugnant to the rules of *orthodoxe faith*; as in the fourth and seventh Chapter it teacheth, that the *soules of the Saints departed this life, are detained as it were imprisoned in certaine cels & vaults of the Earth, untill the number of the elect be accomplished, and that then they shall receive their Crownes of glory altogether, and not before.* In the sixth Chapter he tels us a most ridiculous unfavory tale, of two vaste Creatures made upon the fifth day of the Creation; the one called *Enoch*, or *Behemoth*, and the other *Leviathan*. In the seventh he derives his pedigree from *Aaron*, by nineteene generations, whereas the true *Esdra*s, or *Esras* derives his but by fiftene. And to bring it home somewhat neerer to our purpose. In the fourteenth Chapter hee shewes himselfe manifestly a false Prophet, touching the Consummation of the world, which (saith hee) hath lost his youth, and the times begin to waxe old: for the world is divided into twelve parts, and tenne parts of it are gone already, and halfe of a tenth part, and there remaineth that which is after the halfe of the tenth part. So that by his computation dividing the whole time of the *Worlds duration* into twelve equall portions, onely one and a halfe were then remaining; which had it beene true, the world should have ended almost fiftene hundred yeares agoe. For the time from the worlds Creation to *Esdra*s, according to the *Scriptures calculation* contains about three thousand foure hundred and seventy yeares, and this summe of yeares contains ten parts & an halfe of the twelve, allotted for the whole duration of the world, whence it consequently followes, that the residue of the time from *Esdra*s to the *Worlds end*, could not exceed the number of five hundred yeares: and yet from *Esdra*s to the present yeare of the Lord, one thousand six hundred twenty six, we finde there are passed almost two thousand yeares.

Hereunto may bee added the sharpe, but well deserved, Censure of *Iunius* in his preface to the *Apocryphall bookes*. *Nihil habet Esdra, quàm falso emendicatum nomen & injuriâ maximâ: Authorem enim quem puduit sui operis, longè amplius debuerat puduisse cum suis somnijs nomen tantè viri praefigeret,*



*praefigeret, & impudenter Ecclesiam vellet fallere.* Hee hath nothing in him worthy of *Esdra*s, but only a borrowed name, and that most injuriously assumed. Hee was ashamed of his owne name, but hee should rather have shamed to prefixe the name of so worthy a man before his dreames, and thereby attempt the deceiving of the Church. And againe, in his annotations on the first Chapter of that booke, *Quis verò huic libro tantam fidem deinceps arroget, qui in ipsa fronte navos tam immanes & in re tam evidenti mendacia tam puerilia, ne quid gravius dicam, animadvertit? Quisquis es qui hunc librum legis, sume auctoritatem probandi atque judicandi sermones ejus, non enim obstringis fidem tuam illius auctoritas, si qua est in tam crassis erroribus.* Who will hereafter give credit to this booke, who observes in the very forehead of it so notorious blemishes, and in a matter so evident, (not to say worse of it) so childish lyes? Whosoever thou art that readest this booke, take to thy selfe authority of trying and judging his speeches; for his authority cannot binde thy Credence, if there be any in such grosse errors. It shall not be amisse then to follow this advise of *Iunius*, and to bring this counterfeit to the touch-stone, whereby we shall easily discern, that both the ground he assumes is *unsound*, and his *illation* from thence deduced *inconsequent*. His ground is that children borne or begotten in old age, are alwayes weaker then those in youth: Whereas *Isaack* borne of *Sarah* when she was now so old that she was thought both by others, and her selfe, to bee past conceiving, and begotten by *Abraham* when his body was now dead, was for any thing we finde to the contrary of as strong and healthfull a constitution as *Isaacob* borne in the strength of *Isaack*, and *Rebecca*. And *Ioseph* or *Benjamin* as able men as *Reuben*, though *Isaacob* in his blessing call him, *The beginning of his strength and the excellencie of power*, as being his first begotten. Nay often wee see that the youngest borne in age not equalls onely, but excells both in wit and spirit, and strength and stature, the eldest borne in youth. So unsure and sandy is this ground; and for his inference drawne from thence, it is no lesse *unwarrantable* and *insufficient*: There being in the resemblance betwixt a woman and the world as large a difference, as in the dissimilitude betwene the fruit of the one, and the generations of the other: The one taking her beginning by the course of nature in weakenesse, and so growing to perfection & ripenesse, shee quickly declines and hastens to dissolution; Shee must necessarily expect the terme of certaine yeares before shee can conceive her fruite, and then againe at the end of certaine yeares shee leaves to conceive: Whereas the other being created immediately by a *supernatural* power, was made in the very first moment (that it was fully made) in full perfection, which except it be for the sinne of man, it never lost, nor by any force of subordinate causes possibly could or can loose. The quickening efficacy of that word, *Crescite & multiplicamini*, though delivered many thousand yeares since, is now as powerfull in beasts, in plants, in birds, in fishes, in men, as at first it was. And thus much this false Prophet seemes himsele to acknowledge in the Chapter following, where hee thus brings in the Lord speaking unto him; *All these things were made by mee alone, and by none other: by mee also they shall be ended, and*



by none other. And if they shall be ended *immediately* by the hand of the Almighty, as *immediately* by it they were made, then doubtlesse there is no such *naturall decay* in them, which would at last without the concurrence of any such *supernaturall power*, bring them to a *naturall dissolution*, no more then there was any *naturall fore-running preparation* to their *Creation*. And thus wee see, how this *Goliath* hath his head stricken off with his owne sword, and this lying Prophet condemned out of his owne mouth. I have dwelt the longer upon this examination, because I finde that the testimony drawne from this *Counterfeit*, was it that in appearance misled both *Cyprian* and *Ambrose* (who in his booke *de bono mortis*, cap. 10. in plaine termes alludes to the fore-alleged passage of *Esdra*) and all their testimonies together, that which hath yeilded the principall both *confidence* and *countenance* to the *Adverse part*.

## S E C T. 6.

*The last objection answered, pretended to be taken from the authority of holy Scripture.*

**A**S the testimony taken from *Esdra* wants *authority*: so those which are drawne from *authority* of *sacred* and *Canonicall Scriptures*, want right *explication* and *application*. Whereof the first that I have met with, are those mis-construed words of the Prophet *Isaiah*, *the world languisheth & fadeth away*, or (as some other translations read it,) *The world is feeble and decayed*. Which by *Iunius* and *Tremelius* 24. 8. are rendered in the future tense, *Languebit, Concidet orbis habitabilis*, and are undoubtedly to bee referred to the destruction and desolation of those Nations against which hee had in some Chapters precedent, denounced the heauey judgement of God, as the *Moabites*, *Egyptians*, *Tyrrians*, *Syrians*, *Assyrians*, *Aethiopians*, *Babylonians*, and the *Isralites* themselves. *Iunius* thus rightly summing the chapter, *Propheta summam contrahit iudiciorum quae supra denunciaverat*, The Prophet recapitulates or drawes into one head or summe, the judgements which before he had denounced at large, and in particular; which comming from the justice and immediate hand of God for sin upon a part of the world, can in no sort be referred to the ordinary course of Nature, in regard of the *Vniuersall*.

That which carries with it some more colour of Reason is, that by *S. Paul*, *The Creature is sayd to bee subject to vanity, to the bondage of corruption, to groaning, and to travelling in paine*: All which seeme to imply a decay and declination in it: But in the judgement of the soundest Interpreters, the Apostle by *vanity* and *bondage of corruption*, meanes, first, that *impurity*, *infirmity*, and *deformity*, which the Creature hath contracted by the fall of man; Secondly, the daily alteration and change, nay declination and decay of the *Individuals* and particulars of every kinde under Heaven; Thirdly, the designation & hasting of the kinds or species themselves to a *finall & totall dissolution* by fire; And lastly, the abuse of them, tending



tending to the dishonour of the Creator, or the hurt of his servants, or the service of his enemies: All these may not improperly bee termed vanity and a bondage of corruption, under which the Creature groaneth and travaileth, wishing and waiting to be delivered from it.

But that of S. Peter is it which is most of all stood upon, where hee brings in the prophane scoffers at Religion, and especially at the article of the worlds consummation, thus questioning the matter; *where is the promise of his coming?* For since the Fathers fell asleepe, all things continue as they were from the beginning of the Creation. But in truth that place, if it bee well weighed, rather makes against the worlds supposed decay then for it, in as much as if the Apostle had knowne or acknowledged any such decay in it, it is to be presumed, that being invited, and in a manner forced thereunto by so faire and fit an occasion, he would have pressed it against those scoffers, or in some sort have expressed himselfe therein. But since hee onely urges the Creation of the world, and the overwhelming of it with water, to prove that the same God, who was the Author of both those, is as able at his pleasure to unmake it with fire, it should seeme hee had learned no such divinity, as the worlds decay, or at leastwise had no such assurance of it, and warrant for it, as to teach it the Church. Nay in the 7 verse of the same chapter, he tells us, that the heavens and earth which are now, are by the same word, by which they were created, kept in store and reserved to fire. It was not then their averring, that things continued as they were, that made them scoffers, but their irreligious inference from thence, that the world neither had beginning, neither should have ending; but all things should alwayes continue as formerly they alwayes had done. And thus much may suffice for the consideration of the worlds decay in Generall, it rests now that we descend to a distinct view of the Particulars, amongst which the Heavens first present themselves upon the Theatre, as being the most glorious and operative bodies, and seated in the most eminent roome.



## LIB. II.

Of the pretended decay of the Heavens and Elements, and  
Elementary Bodies, Man onely excepted.

## CHAP. I.

Touching the pretended decay of the Heavenly Bodies.

## SECT. I.

First of their working upon this inferiour World.



UCH and so great is the wisdom the bounty, and the power which Almighty God hath expressed in the frame of the Heavens, that the Psalmist might justly say, *The Heavens declare the glory of God; the Sun, and the Moone, and the Starres serving as so many silver and golden Characters, embroydered upon azure for the dayly preaching and publishing thereof to the World.* And surely if hee have made the floore of this great House of the World so beautifull, and garnished it with such wonderfull variety of beasts, of trees, of hearbes, of flowres, wee neede wonder lesse at the magnificence of the roose, which is the highest part of the World, & the nearest to the Mansion-House of Saints and Angels. Now as the excellencie of these Bodies appears in their situation, their matter, their magnitudes, and their Sphericall or Circular figure: so specially in their great use and efficacie, not onely that they are for signes and seasons, and for dayes and yeares, but in that by their motion, their light, their warmth, & influence, they guide and governe, nay cherish and maintaine, nay breed and beget these inferiour bodies, even of man himselfe, for whose sake the Heavens were made. It is truly said by the Prince of Philosophers, *Sol & homo generant hominem*, the Sunne and man beget man, man concurring in the generation of man as an immediate, and the Sunne as a remote cause. And in another place hee doubts not to affirme of this inferiour World in generall, *Necesse est mundum inferiorem superioribus latioribus continuari, ut omnis inde virtus derivetur*: It is requisite, that these inferiour parts of the World should be conjoynd to the motions of the higher Bodies, that so all their vertue and vigour from thence might be derived. There is no question, but that the Heavens have a marvailous great stroake upon the aire, the water, the earth, the planets, the metals, the beasts, nay upon Man himselfe, at leastwise in regard of his body and naturall faculties: so that if there be found any decay in the Heavens, it will in the course of Nature, and discourse of reason consequently follow, that there must of necessity ensue a decay in all those which depend upon the Heavens: as likewise on the other side, if there be found no decay in the Heavens, the presumption will be strong that there is no such decay

Psal. 19.

Gen. 1. 14



(as is supposed) in these *Sub-celestiall Bodies*, because of the great sympathy and correspondence which is knowne to be between them by many and notable experiments. For to let passe the quailing & withering of all things, by the *recesse*, and their reviving and resurrection (as it were) by the *re-accesse* of the Sun; I am of opinion that the sap in trees so precisely follows the motion of the Sun, that it never rests, but is in continuall agitation as the Sun it selfe: which no sooner arrives at the *Tropick*, but he instantly returnes, and even at that very instant (as I conceive, and I thinke it may be demonstrated by experimentall conclusion) the sappe which by degrees descended with the declination of the Sun, begins to remount at the approach thereof by the same steps that it descended: and as the approach of the Sunne, is scarce sensible at his first returne, but afterward the day increases more in one weeke, then before in two; in like manner also fares it with the sap in plants, which at first ascends *insensibly* and slowly, but within a while much more swiftly and apparantly. It is certaine, that the *Tulipp*, *Marigold*, and *Sun-flower* open with the rising, and shut with the setting of the Sunne; so that though the Sunne appeare not, a man may more infallibly know when it is high noone by their full spreading, then by the *Index* of a Clocke or Watch. The *Hop* in its growing, winding it self about the pole, alwaies follows the course of the Sunne from East to West, and can by no meanes be drawne to the contrary, choosing rather to breake then yeelde.

Lib. 9. cap. 7.

Cent. 2. cap. 98.

*Gellius* affirms that it is commonly both written and beleevd, that on the very day of the Winter *Solstice* the leaves of some trees, (as namely of the *Olive*) are so turned, that the lower and hidden part of them becomes the higher and more conspicuous, which himselfe likewise testifies to have found true by his owne experience more then once; and *Camerarius* in his *Historicall Meditations*, hath written a whole Chapter to the same purpose. *De conversione in arboribus, alijsque rebus circa brumalem diem*, which he proves from the testimony of *Franciscus Rueus, lib. 1. de Gemmis: Nonne à veteribus observatum est quarundam arborum, Olea inquam, Populi alba, & felicis folia, solstitiali tempore converti, fieri etiam ut ipsi brumali die frondes quaedam revirescant?* It is observed by the Ancients that the leaves of some trees, as namely of the *Olive*, the *White Poplar* and the *Willow* are turned at the *Solstice*, and some other grow greene againe on the same day: and lastly *Marcus Varro* in his booke *De Odoribus* is alleaged by the same Author, For prooffe of the same experiment, to whom we may adde *Crinitus* in his fourth booke and sixth Chapter, *De honesta disciplina*.

It is observed by those that sayle betweene the *Tropicks*, that there is a constant set winde, blowing from the *East* to the *West*, Saylers call it the *Breeze*, which rises and falls with the Sunne, and is alwayes highest at noone, and is commonly so strong, partly by its owne blowing, and partly by over-ruling the Current, that they who sayle to *Peru*, cannot well returne home the same way they came forth: And generally, *Mariners* observe, that *ceteris paribus*, they sayle with more speed from the *East* to the *West*, then backe againe from the *West* to the *East*, in the same compasse of time. All which should argue a wheeling about of the aire,  
and



and waters, by the diurnall motion of the *Heavens*, and specially by the motion of the *Sun*. Whereunto may be added, that the high *Sea-springs* of the year are alwayes neere about the two *Aequinoctials* and *Solstices*, and the *Cocke* as a trusty watch-man, both at midnight and breake of day, gives notice of the *Sunnes* approach.

These be the strange and secret effects of the *Sunne*, upon the inferiour Bodies, whence by the *Gentiles* he was held the visible *God* of the World, and termed the *eye* thereof, which alone saw all things in the World, and by which the World saw all things in it selfe.

*Omnia qui videt, & per quem videt omnia mundus.*

And most notably is he described by the *Psalmist*, in them hath hee set a *Tabernacle* for the *Sun*, which is as a bridegroom comming out of his chamber, and rejoyceth as a strong man to run a race. His going forth is from the end of the *Heaven*, and his circuite unto the ends of it, and there is nothing hid from the heate thereof.

Now as the effects of the *Sun*, the head-spring of light and warmth, are upon these inferiour Bodies more active: so those of the *Moone*, (as being *Vltima cælo, Cætima terris*, nearer the Earth, and holding a greater resemblance therewith) are no lesse manifest. And therefore the husbandman in sowing and setting, grafting and planting, lopping of trees, and felling of timber, and the like, upon good reason observes the waxing & waning of the *Moone*; which the learned *Zanchius* well allows of, commending *Hesiod* for his rules therein. *Quod Hesiodus ex Luna de-* *De operibus*  
*Dæ.*  
*crementis & incrementis totius agricoltationis signa notet, quis improbet?* who can mislike it, that *Hesiod* sets downe the signes, in the whole course of husbandry, from the waxing and waning of the *Moone*? The tydes and ebbes of the *Sea* follow the course of it so exactly, as the *Sea-man* will tell you the age of the *Moone* onely upon the sight of the tyde, as certainly, as if he saw it in the water. It is the observation of *Aristotle* and *Arist. lib. 4. de*  
*partibus animæ*  
*lib. 2. cap. 3.*  
*Plin. lib. 2. c. 41.*  
*De 99.*  
*De Civit. Dei.*  
*lib. 21. cap. 5.*  
*De natura Foss.*  
*lib. 5.*  
of *Pliny* out of him, that oysters, and mussels, and cockles, & lobsters, & crabbs, & generally all shell-fish grow fuller in the waxing of the *Moone*, but emptier in the waning thereof. Such a strong predominancie it hath even upon the braine of Man, that *Lunatickes* borrow their very name from it, as also doth the stone *Selenites*, whose property, as *S. Augustine* and *Georgius Agricola* records it, is to increase and decrease in light with the *Moone*, carrying alwayes the resemblance thereof in it selfe. Neither can it reasonably be imagined that the other *Planets* & *Starres*, and part of *Heaven*, are without their forcible operations, upon these lower Bodies, specially considering that the very plants and hearbs of the earth which we tread upon, have their severall vertues, as wel single by themselves, as in composition with other ingredients. The *Physitian* in opening a veine, hath ever an eye to the signe then raining. The *Cannicular starre*, specially in those hotter *Climates*, was by the Ancients alwayes held a dangerous enemy to the practise of *Physicke*, and all kinde of *Evacuations*. Nay *Galen* himselte, the *Oracle* of that profession, advised Practitioners in that Art, in all their Cures to have a speciall regard to the raining *Constellations* & *Conjunctions* of the *Planets*. But the most admirable *mystery* of *Nature*, in my mind, is the turning of iron touched *In 3. de diebus*  
*Criticis.*



with the *loadstone*, toward the *North-pole*, of which I shall have farther occasion to intreate, more largely in the Chapter touching the comparison of the wits and inventions of those times with those of former ages. Neither were it hard to adde much more to that which hath been said, to shew the dependance of these *Elementary Bodies* upon the heavenly, specially out of *Cornelius Gemma* his *Cosmocritices* or *de divinis natura Characterismis*, and *Mizaldus* his *Harmonia superioris naturæ mundi & inferioris, unâ cum admirabili fœdere & Sympathia rerum utriusq̃*. Almighty God having so ordained, that the highest should serve as *intermediate Agents*, or *secondary Causes*, betweene himself and the lower: And as they are linked together in a *chaine* of order, so are they likewise chained together in the order of causes, but so as in the wheels of a Clocke, though the failing in the *superiour*, cannot but cause a failing in the *inferiour*, yet the failing of the *inferiour*, may well argue though it cannot cause a failing in the *superiour*. We have great reason then, as I conceive, to begin with the Examination of the state of *Celestiall bodies*, in as much as upon it the condition of the *subcelestiall* wholly depends. Wherein five things offer themselves to our consideration: Their *substance*, their *motion*, their *light*, their *warmth*, and their *influence*.

## S E C T. 1.

*Touching the pretended decay in the substance of the Heavens.*

Lib. 1. de Cel.  
cap. 2.

Wisdomc 9. 16.

**T**O finde out whether the *substance* of the heavenly bodies be decayed or no, it will not be amisse a little to inquire into the nature of the *matter* and *forme*, of which that *substance* consists, that so it may appeare, whether or no in a naturall course, they be capable of such a supposed decay. That the Heavens are endued with some kinde of *matter*, (though some *Philosophers* in their jangling *humour*, have made a doubt of it, yet I thinke no sober and wise *Christian* will deny it: But whether the *matter* of it bee the same with that of these *inferiour bodies*, *adhuc sub Iudice lis est*; it hath beene, and still is, a great question among Divines. The ancient Fathers and Doctours of the *Primitive Church*, for the most part following *Plato*, holde that it agrees with the *matter* of the *Elementary Bodies*, yet so as it is compounded of the finest flowre, and choysiest delicacy of the *Elements*: But the *Schoole-men* on the other side, following *Aristotle*, adhere to the *Quintessence*, and by no meanes vwill bee beaten from it, since (say they) if the *Elements* and the *Heavens* should agree in the same matter, it should consequently follow, that there should bee a mutuall traffique and commerce, a reciprocall action, and passion betweene them, vvhich vwould soone draw on a change, and by degrees, a ruine upon those glorious Bodies. Now though this point will never (I thinke) be fully and finally determined, till wee come to be inhabitants of that place, whereof we dispute, (for hardly doe we guesse aright at things that are upon earth, and with labour doe wee finde the things that are at hand, but the things which are in heaven, who hath searched out?) Yet for the present, I should

state



state it thus, that they agree in the same originall matter; and surely Moses mee-thinkes, seemes to favour this opinion, making but one matter, (as farre as I can gather from the text) out of which, all *bodily substances* were created.

*Vnus erat toto natura vultus in orbe.*

*1. Metamorph.*

So as the *Heavens*, though they bee not compounded of the *Elements*, yet are they made of the same matter that the *Elements* are compounded of. They are not subject to the qualities of *heat*, or *cold*, or *drought*, or *moysture*, nor yet to *weight* or *lightnesse*, which arise from those qualities, but have a *forme* given them, which differeth from the *formes* of all corruptible Bodies, so as it suffereth not, nor can it suffer from any of them, being so excellent and perfect in it selfe, as it wholly satiateth the appetite of the *matter* it informeth. The *Cælestiall Bodies* then, meeting with so noble a *forme* to actuate them, are not, nor cannot in the *course* of *nature*, bee lyable to any *generation* or *corruption*, in regard of their *substance*, to any *augmentation* or *diminution* in regard of their *quantity*; no, nor to any *destructive alteration* in respect of their *qualities*.

I am not ignorant that the controversies touching this *forme* what it should be, is no lesse then that touching the *matter*; Some holding it to be a living and quickning *spirit*, nay a sensitive and reasonable *soule*, which opinion is stiffely maintained by many great & learned *Clarkes*, both *Iewes*, and *Gentiles*, & *Christians*, supposing it unreasonable, that the heavens which impart *life* to other bodies, should themselves be destitute of *life*: But this *error* is notably discovered and confuted by *Claudius Espenceus*, a famous *Doctour* of the *Sorbone*, in a *Treatise* which hee purposely composed on this point; In as much as what is denied those Bodies in *life*, in *sense*, in *reason*, is abundantly supplied in their constant and unchangeable *duration*, arising from that inviolable knot, and indissoluble marriage, betwixt the *matter* and the *forme*, which can never suffer any divorce, but from that hand which first joyned them. And howbeit it cannot be denied, that not onely the *reasonable soule* of man, but the *sensitive* of the least gnat that flies in the aire, and the *Vegetative* of the basest plant that springs out of the earth, are (in that they are indued with life) more divine and neerer approaching to the fountaine of life, then the *formes* of the heavenly Bodies; yet as the *Apostle* speaking of *Faith*, *Hope*, & *Charity*, concludes *Charity* to be the greatest; (though by *Faith* we apprehend & apply the merites of *Christ*) because it is more *universall* in operation, and *lasting* in duration; so though the *formes* of the *Creatures* endued with life, doe in that regard, come a step neerer to the *Diety*, then the *formes* of the heavenly Bodies, which are without life; yet if we regard their *purity*, their *beauty*, their *efficacy*, their *indesciencie* in moving, their *Universality* and *independencie* in working; there is no question, but the *Heavens* may in that respect bee preferred, even before *man* himselfe, for whose sake they were made; *Man* being indeed immortall in regard of his *soule*, but the *Heavens* in regard of their Bodies, as being made of an *incorruptible* stuffe.

We have to this purpose a singular passage in the Preface of *Picus Mirandula*, prefixed to his *Heptaplus*, where having mentioned the worlds distinct



distinct each from other a sublunarie, a Celestiall, and a super-Celestiall or Angelicall hee thus goes on; *Hoc non pratermiserim figuratos hos mundos tres à Mose evidentissime in admirabilis illius tabernaculi sui constructione. Partitus est enim tabernaculum in partes tres, quarum singula singulos, quos diximus, mundos representare expressius nullo modo possent. Etenim prima pars nullo defensa tecto vel umbraculo, imbris, nivi, solibus, calore, frigoriq; obvia erat & opportuna, & quod est nostri, id est, sublunaris mundi evidentius simulachrum, inhabitabant eam, non modo homines mundi & immundi, sacri & prophani sedet omnifarij generis animalia, eratque in ea vel ob sacrificia jugesque immolationes vita & mortis perpetua vicissitudo. Reliqua dua partes amba obiecta & uniusque ab omni peregrina injuria libera, quemadmodum & uterque mundus, tam Celestis quam super-celestis, nec injuria capax, nec contumelia: Amba item sanctitatis nomine honestata, ita tamen ut quæ erat secretior, Sancti Sanctorum, reliqua Sancti tantum titulo decoraretur: sicuti quamvis Celestis & Angelicus mundus uterque sanctus, quoniam supra Lunam post Luciferi casum, nec macula, nec peccatum, aut est, aut esse potest; Angelicus tamen Celesti longè sanctior & diviniore habetur.* This I cannot passe over, that these three worlds were by *Moses* most evidently figured in that admirable structure of his tabernacle which hee divided into three parts, each of which in a very lively manner expressed some one of these worlds; for the first part then it had no Covering at all but lay open to raine, to snow, to heate to cold; and not onely so, but heere in more expressly represented this lower world, that into it were admitted not only all sorts of men cleane and uncleane, holy and prophane, but beasts of all kindes, and therein also by reason of the daily sacrifices was to bee seene a perpetuall vicissitude of life and death. The other two parts were covered, and free from all outward violence as both the Celestiall and super celestiall worlds are, in which regard they were both honoured with the title of Holy, part with this difference that the in most was commonly called the Holy of Holyes, and againe though so it bee that both the Celestiall and Angelicall world are Holy, because since the fall of *Lucifer* no staine, no sinne hath ascended or possibly can ascend above the Moone, yet can it not bee denied but that the Angelicall is much more Holy and Divine then the Celestiall.

Which cannot well stand with their opinion, who held them to bee composed of fire, or that the waters which in the first of *Genesis* are said to bee above the firmament; and in the hundred fortie and eight *Psalme*, above the Heavens, are above the heavens wee now treat of, for the tempering and qualifying of their heat, as did *S. Ambrose*, and *S. Augustine*, & many others, venerable for their antiquity, learning, & piety. Touching the former of which opinions, we shall have fitter opportunity to discusse it at large, when wee come to treatise of the warmth caused by the Heavens. But touching the second, it seemes to have beene grounded vpon a mistake of the word *Firmament*, which by the Ancients, was commonly appropriated to the eight spheare, in which are seated the fixed starres, whereas the originall *Hebrew* (which properly signifies *Extention*, or *Expansion*) is in the first of *Genesis*, not onely applied to the

Spheres

*Hexam. l. 2. c. 3.  
De civit. Dei l.  
21. c. ult.*

v. 15.  
v. 20.



Spheres in which the Sunne and Moone are planted, but to the lowest region of the aire, in which the birds flie, and so doe I with *Pareus* & *Pererius* take it to bee understood in this controversie. This region of the aire being (as *S. Augustine* somewhere speakes) *Terminus intransgressibilis*, a firme and immoveable wall of separation betwixt the waters that are bred in the bowels of the earth, and those of the Cloudes: and for the word *heaven*, which is used in the hundred forty and eight *Psalme*, it is likewise applyed to the midale region of the aire by the *Prophet Jeremy*, which may serve for a *Glosse* upon that text, alleadged out of the *Psalme*. *When he uttereth his voice there is a noise of waters in the heavens, and hee causeth the vapours to ascend from the ends of the earth.*

Now the Schoolemen finding that the placing of waters about the starry heavens, was both unnaturall and unusefull, and yet being not well acquainted with the property of the *Hebrew* word, to salve the matter, tell us of a *Christalline* or glasse heaven, above the eight sphere, which say they, is undoubtedly the waters above the *firmament* mentioned by *Moses*; which exposition of theirs, though it doth not inferre a decay in the heavenly bodies, yet doth it crosse the course of *Moses* his historicall narration, his purpose being, as it seemes, onely to write the history of things which were visible and sensible, as appears in part by his omitting the Creation of *Angels*; whereas the *Christalline* heaven they speake of, is not onely invisible and insensible, but was not at all discovered to be, till the dayes of *Hipparchus* or *Ptolomy*. Since then the heavens in regard of their substance, are altogether free (for any thing yet appears,) from any mixture or tincture of the *Elements*, being made of an incorruptible and inalterable quintessence, which neither hath any conflict in it selfe, nor with any other things without it, from thence may wee safely collect that it neither is, nor can bee subject to any such decay as is imagined.

## SECT. 3.

*An objection drawne from Iob, answered.*

**H**OWbeit the deserved curse of God, deprived the earth of her fertility, in bringing forth without the sweate of *Adam*, and his of spring, yet I finde not that it stretcheth to the *Starres*, or that any thing above the *Moone* was altered or changed, in respect of *Adams* fault, from the first perfection. *Non rectè dicunt qui asserunt factos corruptibiles Caelos propter peccatum hominis, aut in deterius mutatos & contaminatos.* They say not true who affirme that the heavens were made corruptible by the sinne of man, or changed for the worse: or any way polluted. True indeede it is which *Eliphaz* teacheth, that the heavens, and *Bildad*, that the *Starres* are not cleane in Gods sight: it may bee because of the fall of *Angels*, the inhabitants of heaven, whom therefore hee charged with folly: Which exposition, *Iunius* so farre favours, as instead of *Cælum* hee puts *Cælites*, into the very body of the

text:



Iob. 4. 18.

Cap. 15. 15.

Isay 6. 2.

Apud Augusti-  
num Steuchum,  
l. 10. de Perenni  
Philosophia.

text: But in my judgement it would have better sorted with the *Margin*, in as much as by *Caelites*, wee may understand either *Saints* or *Angells*, both *Cittizens* of heaven, either in actuall possession, or in certaine hope and expectation; in possession, as Angels and Saints departed; in expectation, as the Saints heere in warfaire on the earth: And of those doth *Gregory* in his *Moralls* on *Iob*, expound the place, *hoc caelorum nomine repetijt, quod Sanctorum prius appellatione signavit*, saith hee: *Iob* repeates that by the name of Heaven, which before hee expressed under the name of Saints. And thus both he and *S. Augustine* expound that of the nineteenth *Psalme*, *The Heavens declare the glory of God*. And with them most of the *Ancients*, that petition of the *Lords Prayer*, *Thy will bee done on earth as it is in heaven*. But what neede we flie to allegories, and figurative senses, when the letter of the text will well enough stand with the analogie of faith, the texts of other Scriptures, and the rule of sound reason. The very materiall heavens then, may not untruly or improperly bee said, to be uncleane in Gods sight. First, *Quia habent aliquid potentialitatis admixtum*, as *Lyra* speakes, they have some kinde of potentiality, (I know not how otherwise to render his word) mixed with them, hee meanes in regard of their motion, and the illumination of the *Moone* and *Starres* from the *Sunne*. But chiefly, as I take it, they are said to bee uncleane, not considered in themselves, but in comparison of the *Creatour*, who is *Actus purissimus & simplicissimus*; all *Act*, and that most pure, not onely from staine and pollution, but all kinde of impotency, imperfection, or Composition whatsoever. And in this sense the very blessed and glorious *Angels* themselves, which are of a substance farre purer then the *Sunne* it selfe, may bee said to be uncleane in his sight, in which regard the very *Seraphins* are said, to cover their faces and feete with their wings. But to grant that the heavens are become uncleane, either by the fall of man or *Angels*, yet doth it not follow (as I conceive) that this uncleannesse doth daily increase upon them, or, which is in truth the point in controverisie, that they feelee any impairing by reason of this uncleannesse, it being rather imputative (as I may tearme it) then reall and inherent. *Nonne vides caelum hoc*, saith *Chrysostome*, *ut pulchrum, ut ingens, ut astrorum choreis varium? quantum temporis viguit? quinque aut plus annorum millia processerunt, & hac annorum multitudo ei non adduxit senium; Sed ut corpus novum ac vegetum florida virentisque juventa viget atate: Sic caelum, quam habuit à principio pulchritudinem semper eadem permansit, nec quicquam tempus eam debilitavit*. Dost not thou see the heavens, how faire, how spacious they are, how be-spangled with diverse constellations? how long now have they lasted? fivethousand yeares or more are past, and yet this long duration of time hath brought no olde age upon them; But as a body new and fresh, flourisheth in youth: So the heavens still retaine their beauty, which at first they had, neither hath time any thing abated it. Some error or mistake doubtlesse there is in *Chrysostomes* computation, in as much as he lived above 1200 yeares since, and yet tells us, that the world had then lasted above 5000 yeares; but for the truth of the matter hee is therein seconded by all the schoole-Divines; *Corpora caelestia peregrina impressionis non sunt receptiva*



*ceptiva* (saith *Thomas* : ) the Heavenly Bodies are not capable of any forraine impression : neither can *Beza* ( as appeares in his annotations on the 8 Chapt. to the *Rom.* v. 19. ) finde any other vanity in the Heavens, but this, that they serve Gods enemies, and are in the last day to bee dissolved. *Si verò Cælestia Corpora consideres, quamvis adhuc sit incredibilis eorum ornatus, tamen & ipsa non possint expertia dici istius vanitatis quum impijs etiam & Dei hostibus inserviant, & tandem quoque sint ultimo illo die dissolvenda* : As for the heavenly bodies, though their lustre bee yet exceeding glorious, yet are they not altogether free from this vanitie, since they are forced to serve the wicked and Gods enemies; and finally at the last day shall bee dissolved. Now had this grave Divine conceived any such decay in the the heavenly bodies, as is pretended, he could not wel have had offered a fairer occasion to have expressed himselfe therein : but among those of the reformed Churches none hath written in this point more clearly and fully then *Alstedius* in his preface to his naturall divinity. *Tanta est huius palatij diuturnitas atque firmitas, ut ad hodiernum usque diem supra annos quinquies mille & sexcentos ita perstet, ut in eo nihil immutatum, diminutum, & diuturnitate temporis vitiatum conspiciamus*. Such, saith he, and so lasting is the duration and immoveable stability of this palace, that being created above 5600 yeares agoe, yet it so continues to this day that we can espy nothing in it changed, or wasted, or disordered by age, and tract of time.

## S E C T. 4.

*Another objection taken from Psalme the 102 answered.*

**A**Nother text is commonly & hotly urged by the Adverse part, to like purpose as the former, and in truth the onely argument of weight, drawne from Scripture in this present question, touching the heavens decay in regard of their Substance. In which consideration wee shall be inforced to examine it somewhat the more fully. Taken it is from the hundred and second Psalme, and the wordes of the Prophet are these. *Of olde thou hast laide the foundation of the earth, and the heavens are the worke of thine hands. They shall perish, but thou shalt endure: yea all of them shall waxe olde as doth a garment, as a vesture shalt thou change them, and they shall be changed: But thou art the same, and thy yeares shall have no end.* To which very place undoubtedly, the Apostle alludes in the first to the Hebrewes, where he thus renders it, *Thou Lord in the beginning hast laide the foundation of the earth, and the heavens are the workes of thine hands. They shall perish, but thou remainest, and they shall waxe old as doth a garment, and as a vesture shalt thou fold them up, and they shall bee changed: But thou art the same, and thy yeares shall not faile.* In which passages, the words which are most stood upon and pressed, are those of the growing old of the heavens like a garment, which by degrees growes bare till it be torne in pieces, and brought to ragges. S. *Augustine* in his *Enarration* upon this Psalme, according to his wont, betakes him to an *Allegoricall* Exposition,



Exposition, interpreting the *heavens* to bee the *Saints*, and their bodies to bee their garments wherewith the soule is cloathed. And these garments of theirs, saith he, *waxe olde and perish*, but shall bee *changed* in the resurrection, and made conformable to the glorious body of *Iesus Christ*. Which exposition of his is *pious* (I confesse) but surely not *proper*, since the *Prophet* speakes of the *Heavens*, which had their beginning together with the *earth*, and were both principall peeces in the great Worke of the Creation. Neither can the *regions of the aire*, bee heere well understood, (though in some other places they be stiled by the name of the *heavens*) since they are subject to continuall variation and change, and our *Prophets* meaning was, as it should seeme, to compare the *Almighties unchangeable eternity*, with that which of all the visible Creatures was most stable and stedfast. And besides, though the *aire* be indeede the worke of *Gods* hands, as are all the other Creatures, yet that phrased is in a speciall manner applyed to the *starry heavens*, as being the most exquisite and excellent peece of workmanship that ever his hands fram'd. It remaines then, that by *heavens* heere, wee understand the *lights of heaven*, thought by *Philosophers* to bee the thicker parts of the spheres, together with the spheres themselves, in which those lights are fixed and wheeled about. For that such *spheres* and *orbes* there are, I take it as granted, neither will I dispute it, though I am not ignorant, that some later writers thinke otherwise, and those, neither few in number, nor for their knowledge unlearned. But for the true sense of the place alleadged, wee are to know that the word there used to *wax old*, both in *Hebrew*, *Greeke*, and *Latin*, doth not necessarily imply a decay of impairing in the subject so *waxing old*, but sometimes doth only signifie a *farther step* and *accesse* to a finall period in regard of duration. Wee have read of some, who being well stricken in yeares, have renewed their teeth, and changed the white colour of their haire, and so growne young againe. Of such it might truely be saide that they grew *elder* in regard of their neerer approach to the determinate end of their race, though they were *yonger* in regard of their constitution and state of their bodies. And thus doe I take the *Apostle* to be understood, *That which decayeth and waxeth olde, is ready to vanish away*; where he speakes of the *Ceremoniall law*, which did not *grow olde* by degrees, at least before the incarnation of *Christ*, but stood in its full force and vigour, untill it was by him abrogated and disanulled. To which purpose *Aquinas* hath not unfitly observed upon the place, *Quod dicitur vetus significat quod sit prope cessationem*, the tearming of a thing *olde*, implies *that it hasten to an end*. This then (as I take it) may truely be affirmed of the signification of the word in generall and at large, and may justly seeme to haue beene the *Prophets* meaning, in as much as hee addeth, *But thou art the same, and thy yeares shall have no end*. From whence may bee collected, that as *God* cannot *grow old*, because *his yeares shall have no end*; so the *heavens*, because *they shall have an end*, may be therfore saide to *grow old*. But whereas it is added, not onely by the *Psalmist*, but by the *Apostle* in precise tearmes, *They shall waxe olde as doth a garment*, and againe, as a *Vesture shalt thou change them*; the doubt still remaines, whether



whether by that addition, the sense of the word, bee not restrained to a graduall and *sensible decay*. I know it may be said, that a *garment* waxing olde, not onely looses his *freshnesse*, but part of his quantity and weight, it is not onely soiled, but wasted either in lying or wearing, and so in continuance of time, becomes utterly unserviceable, which no man, I thinke, will ascribe to the *heavens*. I meane, that their *quantity* is any way diminished. All agree then, that the *Similitude* may be strained too farre, as the wringing of the nose bringeth forth blood, and the wresting of a string too high, marres the musicke: but yet the question still remaines; how it is to be understood, and how farre we may safely extend it. For to say that *waxing old* in that passage is onely to be understood of a nearer approach to an alteration, or an abolishment, seemes to be too colde an interpretation, in as much as then needed not the *Prophet* to have added for a clearer explication of his minde, in the manner of their waxing old, as doth a garment: it rests then to be shewed, as I conceive, wherein the similitude stands, which the *Interpreters* I have met with, doe not sufficiently unfold, and those that undertake the unfolding of it, runne upon the rockes by publishing harsh and unwarrantable positions. Mee thinke the *Psalmist* himselfe gives some light unto it, *Thou coverest thy selfe*, saith hee, *with light as with a garment*, and *stretchest out the heavens like a Curtaine*: his meaning then, in my judgment, may be this, that the *Heavens*, which for their *expansion*, may well be compared to a *Curtaine* or *garment*, shall *wax old*, the comparison standing betweene the *heavens* and a *garment*, not in regard of their *deficiencie*, but their *spreading*, the heavens covering this inferiour world, as a garment doth the body it is spread over. Or if the comparison stand in their *deficiencie*, which seemes, I confesse, the more *kindly exposition*; to my seeming, *Aquinas* in few words looseth the knot, *sicut vestimentum*, saith hee, *quod sumitur ad usum, & cessante usu deponitur* in Heb: and with him accordes *Lorinus* in Psal: The heavens then shall *waxe old* as doth a garment, in that their use shall cease together with man, as doth the use of a garment, with him that useth it. Which *exposition* hee seemes to have borrowed from *Dydimus*, blinde in his bodily eyes, but in his minde sharpe-sighted, *quod canit Psaltes, veterascent & mutabuntur*, designat *eorum usum abijisse & defecisse: Vt enim indumentum ubi officio fructum fuerit obvolvitur: sic cælum ac terra functa muneribus suis abibunt*. In that the *Psalmist* professeth, They shall waxe olde and be changed; his meaning, is when there shall be no further use of them: For as a garment having performed that use to which it was ordained, is folded up and layde aside: so the heaven and the earth having finished those services for which they were created, shall vanish and passe away. And upon this Comment of *Dydimus*, *Eugubinus* thus commenteth: *Hoc autem summus docet Theologus primum mundum antiquando, vetustate & senio interitum, sed non eo senio quo res mortales corrumpuntur atque abolentur, in cælo tale senium nullum est, sed aliud quoddam cuius similitudo ex vestibus ostenditur, cum deponimus eas ubi nobis esse usui desissent, tanquam inutilis eas eximus atque obvolvimus, sic mundus, id est cælum, non eo delebitur quod eadem vetustate atque omnia animalia & arbores, aliquando sit defecturus. sed*



Heb. 1. 12.

34. 4.

2. Pet. 3. 10.

*quia cessabit usus ejus quo rerum tantos ordines peragebat.* The purpose of this great Divine was, to teach, that the Heavens should waxe olde and consume with age, but not with such an olde age, as that by which things mortall suffer corruption and dissolution. In heaven there is no such waxing old to be found, but another kinde there is, the resemblance whereof is taken from garments, when wee put them off, as having no further use of them, laying them aside, and folding them up. In like manner the heaven shall not therefore be dissolved, because it shall at any time suffer defect thorow that old age, which beasts and plants feele, but because the use of it shall cease, by which it keepes these inferior bodies in due order. And perchance the *Apostle* himselfe, rendring the wordes of the *Psalmist*, intends as much, *As a vesture shalt thou fold them up*: as the curtaines, and carpets, and hangings are folded up, and laide aside when the family removes. Which seemes likewise to have beene fore-told by the *Prophet Isaiah*: the heavens shall be rolled together as a scrolle, and they shall passe away with a noyse, saith *S. Peter*, like the hissing of parchment, riveled up with heat, for so signifies the originall word in that place. Howsoever they shall not wax olde by the course of nature, but by the mightie power of the God of Nature, hee that created them, shall, dissolve them, and nothing else; which the *Prophet* seemes to point at in this very passage, *Tu mutabis & mutabuntur*, thou shalt change them, not Nature, but thou shalt change, and they shall be changed. Finally, *Bellarmino* in his Commentaries on that *Psal* and passage tells us; that the words may be expounded, *ex hypothesi*, by way of supposition thus: *etiamsi Caeli veterascerent, mutarentur, & perirent, tu idem semper maneres*, though the heavens should waxe olde, bee changed and perish, yet shouldest thou still remaine one and the same; thus (sayeth hee) in the Gospell, when it is said, *Mat. 5. 18. till Heaven and earth passe, one jote, or title shall in no wise passe from the Law, till all be fulfilled.* Wee have the sense thereof more clearely expounded *Luke 16. 17: it is easier for Heaven and earth to passe, then one title of the Law to fade.* Now the *Psalmist* being taken in this sense, no such positive or absolute decay in the Heavens can bee inferred from the place as is imagined. And as for that fresh lustre and brightnesse, wherewith (as is commonly thought) the Heavens shall be renewed at the last day, as a garment by turning is changed, and by changing refreshed, it may well bee by making them more resplendent then now they are, or ever at any time were since their first creation, not by scowring off of contracted rust, but adding a new glosse and augmentation of glory. And whereas some *Divines* have not doubted to make the spots and shadowes appearing in the face of the Moone to be undoubted arguments of that contracted rust, if those spots had not beene originall and native, of equall date with the Moone her selfe, but had beene contracted by age & continuance of time, as wrinkles are in the most beautifull faces, they had said somewhat, but that there they were above fiftene hundred yeares agoe, appeares by *Plutarchs* discourse, *De maculis in facie Luna*, and that they have since any whit increased, it cannot be sufficiently proved. Perchance by the helpe of the new devised perspective glasses, they have beene of late more clearely and distinctly discerned



ned then in former ages, but that prooves no more that they were not there before, then that the *Sydera Medicea* lately discovered by vertue of the same instruments, were not before in being, which the discoverers themselves knew well enough, they could not with any colour of reason affirme.

*Galileus Florentine.*

## SECT. 5.

*A third objection taken from the apparition of new starres answered.*

**H**owbeit it cannot be denied but that *new stars* have at times appeared in the *firmament*, as some think that was, at our *Saviours* birth, yet in as much as it pointed out the very House in which he was borne, by standing over it, and was not (for ought we finde) observed by the *Mathematicians* of those times, I should rather thinke it to have beene a *blazing light* created in the Region of the Aire, carrying the resemblance of a starre, then a new and true *created starre*, seated in the *firmament*.

As for that which appeared in *Cassiopeia* in the yeare *one thousand five hundred seventy two*, (the very yeare of the great *Massacre* in *France*) I thinke it cannot well be gainesaid, to have beene a *true starre*, it being observed by the most skilfull and famous *Astronomers* of that time to hold the same aspect in all places of *Christendome*, to runne the same course, to keepe the same proportion, distance & situation every where, & in every point, with the *fixed starres* by the space of *two whole yeares*: but this I take to have beene not the effect of *Nature*, but the *supernaturall* and *miraculous* worke of *Almighty God*, the first Author and free disposer of *Nature*; & the like may be said of all such *Comets* which have at any time evidently appeared, (if any such evidence may be given) to be above the *Globe* of the *Moone*; from whence it can no more be inferred, that the *heavens* are composed of a matter *corruptible*, naturally subject to impairing & fading, then that their *motion* is *irregular*, or that it is in the power of *mortall man* to dispose of the course of those *immortall* Creatures, because by a speciall priviledge at the prayer of *Iosuah*, both the *Sun* & *Moone* were stayed in their wonted courses, and the shadow went backe *tenne degrees* in the *Dyall* of *Ahaz*, for the assurance of the truth of the Prophet *Isaiabs* message sent to King *Hezekiah*.

*Cap. 10 v. 12.*

*Isay 38. 8.*

The same answer may not be unfitly shaped, to that wonder which *S. Augustine* reports out of *Varroes* booke, intituled *de Gente Populi Romani*, and he out of *Castor*, touching the Planet *Venus*, which to adde the greater weight and credit to the relation, being somewhat strange and rare, I will set it downe in the very words of *Varro*, as I finde them quoted by *S. Augustine*. *In cælo mirabile extitit portentum, nam in stella Veneris nobilissima, quam Plautus Vesperruginem, Homerus Hesperon appellat, pulcherrimam dicens, Castor scribit tantum portentum extitisse, ut mutaret colorem, magnitudinem, figuram, cursum, quod factum ita neque antea, neque postea sit, hoc factum Ogyge Rege dicebant Adrastus, Cyzicenus, & Dyon Neapolites*

*De Civit. Dei. 21. 8.*



*Neapolites Mathematici nobiles*: In Heaven, saith he, appeared a marvailous great wonder, the most noted starre called *Venus*, which *Plautus* tearmes *Vesperrugo*, and *Homer*, *Hesperus* the faire, as *Castor* hath left it upon record, changed both colour, and *ignes*, and figure, & Motion, which accident was never scene before, nor since that time, the renowned Mathematicians *Adrastus* and *Dyon* averring, that this fell out during the raigne of King *Ogyges*. Which wonder neither *Varro* nor *Augustine* ascribe to the changeable matter of the Heavens, but to the unchangeable will of the Creator. And therefore the one calls it as we see, *Mirabile portentum*; and the other makes this Comment upon it, that it hapned, *quia ille voluit qui summo regit imperio ac potestate quod condidit*, because he would have it so, who governes all things that he hath made with a Sovereigne and independing power. So that two speciall reasons may be yeelded for these extraordinary unusuall apparitions in heaven, the one, that they may declare to the world that they have a Creator and Commander, who can alter or destroy their natures, restraine or suspend their operations at his pleasure, which should keepe men from worshipping them as Gods, since they cannot keepe themselves from alteration. The other to portend and fore-shew his judgments, as did that new starre in *Cassiopeia*, a most unnatural inundation of blood in *France*; and this change in *Venus*, such a deluge in *Achaia*, as it over-flowed and so wasted the whole Countrey, that for the space of two hundred yeares following, it was not inhabited.

## S E C T. 6.

*The last objection drawne from the Eclipses of the Sunne and Moone answered.*

THE last doubt touching the passibility of the matter of the Heavens, is drawne from the Eclipses of the Sun and Moone, in which they are commonly thought to suffer, and to be as it were in travel during that time. Which if it were so, it must of necessity by degrees consume the vigour and beauty of those glorions Bodies, and finally the Bodies themselves. To this purpose is alleadged that of the Poet, where he calls these Eclipses,

*Virg. Georg. l. 2.*

*Defectus Solis varios Lunaque labores.*

Defects and travels of the Sunne and Moone.

*Tacit. Annal. 1. 7.*

As also the manner of the ancient Romans while such Eclipses lasted, to lift up many burning torches toward Heaven, and withall to beate pans of brasse and balons, as wee doe in following a swarme of bees,

*Boetius lib. 4. met. 5.*

*Commovet Gentes publicus error,*

*Lassantque crebris pulsibus ara.*

A common errour through the World doth passe,

And many a stroake they lay on pans of brasse,

saith *Boetius*; and *Manilius*, speaking of the appearance of the Moones Eclipse by degrees in diverse parts of the Earth,

*Seraque in extremis quatiuntur gentibus ara,*

Th' vtmost



Th' utmost coasts doe beate their brasse pans last.  
And the Satyrift wittily describing a ratling Gossip,

*Vna laboranti poterit succurrere Luna.*

Shée onely were enough to helpe

The labours of the Moone.

They thought therby they did the Moone great ease, and helped her in her labour, as *Plutarch* in the life of *Æmilius* observeth. Nay *Æmilius* himselfe a wise man, as the same Author there witnesseth, congratulated the Moones delivery from an Eclipse, with a solemne sacrifice, as soone as shee shone out bright againe; which action of his, that prudent *Philosopher* and sage *Historian*, not relateth only, but approoveth & commendeth as a signe of godlinesse and devotion; yea this *Heathenish* and fortish custome of relieving the Moone in this case by noise & out-cries, the *Christians* it seemes borrowed from the *Gentiles*, as appeares by *S. Ambrose* in his eighty & third Sermon, where he most sharply checks his Auditors for their rude and uncivill, nay prophane and irreligious carriage in this very point. And because his discourse there is not only smart and piercing, but marvailous punctuall and pertinent in regard of the question in hand, I hope it will not bee thought time or paper mispent, if I set it downe as there I finde it. Who would not grieve at it that you should so farre forget your soles health, as you should not blush to call Heaven as a witnessse to your sinne. For when I lately preached unto you touching your covetousnesse, even the same day at Evening there was so great shouting of the people, that your prophanenesse pierced the Heavens. I inquired what the meaning of that noise might bee: it was told mee, that with your out-cries you relieved the Moone, being then in travell, and succoured her faintings with your shouting: which when I heard, in truth I could not choose but laugh and wonder at your vanity, that like devout Christians you thought to bring aide to God, for it seemes you cryed, lest by meanes of your silence, hee might perchance lose one of his noblest Creatures? or as if being weake and impotent he could not maintaine those lights himselfe had created, but by the assistance of your voyces. And surely you do very well in that you succour the Deity, that by your helpe he may governe Heaven. But would you doe it to purpose indeede? then must yee watch every night, & all night. For how often trow yee is the Moone eclipsed while you sleep, & yet she falls not from Heaven: Or is shee alwayes eclipsed in the night, & not likewise in the day time? But then only it seemes is the Moone eclipsed with you, when your bellies are well stuffed with a full supper, and your braines steeled with full pots; then only the Moone labours in heaven, when the wine labours in your heads, then is her circle troubled with charmes, when your sight is dazled with over-much quaffing. How canst thou then discern what befalls the Moone in heaven, when thou canst not discern what is done nere thee on earth? herein is that plainly verified which holy *Solomon* foretold; a foole

changeth as the Moone: Thou changest like the Moone, when being ignorant of the motion thereof, thou who werst a Christian before, now beginnest to be sacrilegious; for sacrilege thou committest against thy Creatour, when thou imputeest such impotency to the Creature. Thou then changest like the Moone, when thou who before shinedst in the devotion of faith, now fallest away thorow the weaknesse of unbeleeffe: thou changest like the Moone, when thy braine is as void

*Ind. lib. 2 Sat. 6*

*Ser. 83, vel 82.  
Maximus Taurinensis hath an Homily to the same purpose, and in the same words.*

*Eccles. 17. 11.*



Rom. 2.

Plal. 89. 37.

Job. 2. cap. 10.

Eib. 3. de Civit.  
Dei. cap. 15.

Act. 17. 23.

of wit, as the Moone is of light, and I could wish thou diddest indeede change as the Moone, for she quickly returnes againe to her fulnesse; but thou by leasure to the use of thy wits; shee soone recovers her light, but thou slowly the faith which thou hast denied. Thy change then is worse then that of the Moone; shee suffers an Eclipse of her light, but thou of thy soules health. But will some man say, is not the Moone in labour then? yes indeed shee labours, it cannot be denied: but she labours with the other Creatures, as the Apostle speakes, we know that the whole Creature groaneth and travellet in paine untill now: and againe, the Creature it selfe shall also be delivered from the bondage of Corruption. It shall be freed from bondage. You see then that the Moone doth not labour with charmes, but with dutifull observances, not with dangers, but with usefull offices, not to perish, but to serve. For the Creature is made subject to vanitie, not willingly, but by reason of him who hath subjected the same, so that the Moone is not willingly changed from her condition, but thou wittingly and willingly robbest thy selfe of thine owne reason. She by the condition of her nature suffers an Eclipse, thou by consent of thine owne Will, art drawne into mischief. Bee not then as the Moone when she is eclipsed, but as when shee fills her circle with light. For of the righteous man it is written, Hee shall bee established for ever as the Moone, and as the faithfull witnesse in heaven.

By which witty discourse of S. Ambrose, it plainly appeares, that in his judgement, the Moone suffered nothing by her Eclipse, which opinion of his is confirmed not onely by the testimony of Aristotle, in the eight of the *Metaphysikes*: but by the evidence of reason, it being caused by the shadow of the earth, interposed betweene the Sunne and the Moone, as in exchange or revenge thereof, (as Pliny speaketh) the Eclipse of the Sun is caused by the interposition of the Moone, betwixt the Earth and it. The Moone so depriving the Earth, and againe the Earth the Moone of the beames of the Sunne: Which is the true cause, that in the course of nature, the Moone is never eclipsed but when shee is full, the Sunne and shee being then in opposition: nor the Sunne, but when it is New-moone, those two Planets being then in conjunction: I say, in the course of Nature, for the Eclipse at our Saviours passion, was undoubtedly supernaturall: *Quam Solis obscuracionem non ex canonico Syderum cursu accidisse satis ostenditur, quod tunc erat Pascha Iudeorum. Nam plena Luna solenniter agitur*, saith S. Augustine. It is evident that that Eclipse of the Sunne happened not by the ordinary and orderly course of the stars, it being then the Passover of the Jewes, which was solemnized at the full Moone. And this was it, that gave occasion, as is commonly beleaved, to that memorable exclamation of Dionysius the Areopagite, being then in Egypt, *Aut Deus Natura patitur, aut machina mundi dissolvetur*: either the God of nature suffers, or the Frame of Nature will bee dissolved. And heereupon to, as it is thought by some, was erected that Altar at Athens, *Ignoto Deo, To the unknowne God*: Though others thinke that Eclipse was confined within the borders of *Iudea*, howsoever it cannot be denied, but that it was certainly beside and above the course of Nature. Neither ought it seeme strange, that the Sunne in the Firmament of heaven should appeare to suffer, when the Sunne of Righteousnesse indeed suffered upon earth.

But



But for other *Eclipses*, though their Causes bee now commonly knowne, yet the *ignorance* of them was it, which caused so much *superstition* in former ages, and left that impression in mens mindes, as even at this day wise men can hardly bee perswaded, but that those *Planets* suffer in their *Eclipses*, which in the *Sunne* is most childish and ridiculous to imagine, since in it selfe, it is not so much as deprived of any *light*, nor in truth can bee: it being the *fountaine of light*, from which all the other starres borrow their light, but pay nothing backe againe to it, by way of *retribution*. Which was well expressed by *Pericles*, as *Plutarch* in his life reports it: for there happening an *Eclipse* of the *Sun*, at the very instant, when his *Navy* was now ready to lanch forth, and himselfe was imbarcked, his followers began to be much appal'd at it, but specially the Master of his owne Gally, which *Pericles* perceiving, takes his cloake, and with it hood-winkes the Masters eyes, & then demands of him what danger was in that, he answering none, neither saith *Pericles* is there in this *Eclipse*, there being no difference betweene my cloake and that *Vaile*, with which the *Sun* is covered, but only in bignesse. And the truth is, that the *Sunne* then suffered no more by the intervening of the *Moone*, then for *Pericles* his cloake, or daily doth from the cloudes of the aire which hinders the sight of it, or by the interposition of the Planet *Mercury*, which hath sometimes appeared as a spot in it; But Scalig. Exerc. 7. whether these *Eclipses* either *cause* or *presage* any change in these inferior bodies, I shall have fitter occasion to examine hereafter, and so passe from the consideration of the substance, to the motion of the heavenly bodies.

## CHAP. 2.

*Touching the pretended decay of the heavenly bodies  
in regard of their motions.*

## SECT. 1.

*The first reason, that there is no decay in the motion of the heavenly  
bodies, drawne from the causes thereof.*

**M**otion is so universall and innate a property, and so proper an affection to all naturall bodies, that the Great Philosopher knew not better how to define *Nature*, then by making her the *Engineer* and *Principle of Motion*: and therefore as other objects, are onely discernably by one sense, as colours by seeing, and sounds by hearing, motion is discernable by both, nay, and by feeling to, which is a third sense really distinguished from them both. That there is in the heavenly bodies no motion of generation, or corruption, of augmentation, or diminution, or of alteration, I have already shewed. There are also who by reason of the incredible swiftnesse of the first *Moover*, and some other such reasons dare deny that there is in them any *Lation* or *Locall motion*, here- Copernicus. in, flatly opposing in my judgement both *Scripture* and *Reason*, and *Sense*; But to take it as granted, without any dispute, that a *Locall motion* there



Hooker, Eccles.  
Politic, 5.69.

there is, which is the *measure of time*, as *time* againe is the *measure of motion*, the line of *motion*, and the threed of *time*, being both spun out together: Some doubt there is touching the *moover* of these heavenly bodies, what or who it should be, some ascribing it to their *matter*, some to their *forme*, some to their *figure*, and many to the *Angells*, or *Intelligences*, as they call them, which they suppose to be set over them. For mine owne part, I should thinke that all these and every of them might not unjustly challenge a part in that *motion*: The *matter* as being neither light nor heavy, the *forme* as well agreeing with such a matter, the *figure* as being Sphericall or Circular, the *Intelligence* as an assistant: In the *matter* is a *disposition*; For whereas light bodies naturally moove upward, and heavy downward, that which is neither light nor heavy, is rather disposed to a Circular motion, which is neither upward nor downward. In the *figure* is an *inclination* to that motion, as in a wheele to be carried round, from the *forme* an *inchoation* or on-sett; and lastly from the *Intelligence* a *continuance* or *perpetuation* thereof, as a great *Divine* of our owne, both age and nation hath well expressed it, *Gods owne eternity*, (saith hee) *is the hand which leadeth Angells in the course of their perpetuity*, *their perpetuity the hand that draweth out Celestiall motion*, that as the *Elementary* substances are governed by the *heavenly*: so might the *heavenly* by the *Angelicall*: as the *corruptible* by the *incorruptible*, so the *materiall* by the *immateriall*, and all *finites* by one *infinite*. It is the joynt consent of the *Platonickes*, *Peripatetickes*, and *Stoickes*, and of all the noted *sects* of *Philosophers*, who acknowledged the *Divine providence*, with whom agree the greatest part of our most learned & *Christian Doctors*, that the *Heavens* are moved by *Angels*, neither is there in truth any sufficient meanes besides it to discover the beeing of such Creatures by *discourse of reason*. Which to mee is a strong argument, that the *Heavens* can by no meanes erre, or faile in their *motions*, being managed by the *subordinate ministry* of such *indefatigable* and *unerring guides*, whose power is every way proportionable to their *knowledge*, and their *constancie* to both.

## SECT. 2.

The Second reason taken from the certainty of demonstrations upon the Celestiall Globe: the Third, from a particular view of the proper motions of the Planets, which are observed to be the same at this day, as in former ages without any variation: The Fourth, from the infallible & exact prediction of their Oppositions, Conjunctions, and Eclipses for many ages to come: The Fifth, from the testimony of sundry grave Authours, averring the perpetual constancie and immutability of their motions.

**T**He most signall motions of the heavens (beside their retrogradations, trepidations, librations, and I know not what, which Astronomers have devised to reconcile the diversity of their observations) are the diurnall motions of all the fixed Starres and Planets, and all the Celestiall spheres from East to West, in the compasse of every foure and twenty



twenty houres, and the proper *motion* of them all from the *West* to the *East* againe. These *motions* whether they performe, by themselves, without the helpe of *orbes*, as *fishes* in the water, or *birds* in the aire, or fastned to their *spheres*, as a *gemme* in a ring, or a *nayle* or knot in a Cart-wheele, I cannot easily determine: howbeit I confesse we cannot well imagine how one and the same body should bee carryed with *opposite* motions, but by the helpe of somewhat in which it is carryed; As the *Marriner* may bee carryed by the motion of his shippe from the *East* to the *West*, and yet himselfe may walke from the *West* to the *East* in the same ship: Or a *flie* may bee carryed from the *North* to the *South* upon a Cart-wheele, and yet may goe from the *South* to the *North* upon the same wheele: But howsoever it bee, it is evident that their *motions* are most eaven and *regular*, without the least jarre or discord, *variation* or uncertainty, *languishing* or defect, that may be. Which were it not so, there could be no certaine demonstrations made upon the *Globe* or *materiall sphere*: Which notwithstanding by the testimony of *Claudian* are most infallible, as appeares by those his elegant verses upon *Archimedes* admirable invention thereof.

*Iupiter in parvo cum cerneret athera vitro,  
Risit, & ad superos, talia dicta dedit:  
Huccine mortalis progressa potentia cura?  
Iam meus in fragili luditur orbe labor.  
Iura poli, rerumque fidem legesque Deorum  
Ecce Syracusius transtulit arte senex.  
Inclusus variis famulatur Spiritus astris,  
Et vivum certis motibus urget opus:  
Percurrit proprium mentitus signifer annum  
Et simulata novo Cynthia mense redit.  
Iamque suum volvens audax industria mundum,  
Gaudet & humana sydera mente regi.*

When Iove within a little glasse survaid  
The Heavens, he smil'd and to the Gods thus said:  
Can strength of Mortall wit proceed thus farre?  
Loe in a fraile orbe my workes mated are.  
Hither the *Syracusians* Art translates  
Heavens forme, the course of things, and humane fates.  
Th' included spirit serving the star-deck signes,  
The living worke in constant motions windes,  
Th' adulterate *Zodiaque* runnes a naturall yeare,  
And *Cynthiaes* forg'd hornes monthly new light beare,  
Viewing her owne world, now bold industry  
Triumphes and rules with humane power the skye.

The *Gentiles* saith *Julian*, (as *S. Cyrill* in his third booke against him, reports it) *videntes nihil eorum quæ circa Cælum minui vel augeri, neque ullam sustinere de ordinatam affectionem, sed congruam illius motionem ac bene optatum ordinem, definitas quoque leges Luna, definitos ortus & occasus Solis, statutis semper temporibus, merito Deum & Dei solium suspicabantur*: seeing no part of heaven to be diminished or decreased, to suffer no irregular affection,



De consol. ad  
Albimum. c. 6.

Psal. 148. 6.

Lib. 2. de natura  
Deorum.

Gen. 1. 14.

Lib. 4. de consol.  
Philosophia.  
Met. 6.

tion, but the motion thereof to be as duly and orderly performed as could be desired, the waxing and waning of the Moone, the rising and setting of the Sunne to be settled and constant at fixed & certaine times; they deservedly admired it as *God*, or as the throne of *God*. The order and regularitie of which motion wee shall easily perceive, by taking a particular view of them. I will touch onely those of the *Planets*. The proper motion of *Saturne* was by the Ancients observed, and is now likewise found by our moderne *Astronomers*, to be accomplished within the space of thirty yeares, that of *Iupiter* in twelve, that of *Mars* in two, that of the *Sunne* in three hundred sixty five dayes; that of *Venus* and *Mercury* in very neare the same space of time, that of the *Moone* in twenty seven dayes, and almost eight houres: Neither doe wee find that they have either quickned or any way slackned these their courses, but that in the same space of time they alwayes run the same races, which being ended, they begin them againe as freshly as the first instant they set forth; *Cum per certa annorum spacia orbes suos explicaverint, iterum ibunt per quae venerant*, saith *Seneca*, when in certaine termes of yeares they shall have accomplished their courses, they shall againe run the same races they have passed. These then bee the bounds and limits, to which these glorious bodies are perpetually tyed, in regard of their motion, these bee the unchangeable lawes like those of the *Medes* and *Persians*, whereof the *Psalmist* speaks, *He hath given them a law which shall not bee broken*: which *Seneca* in his booke of the *Divine Providence*, well expresses in other words, *Aeterna legis imperio procedunt*, they moove by the appointment of an eternall law, that is, a law both inviolable and inviolable. That which *Tully* hath delivered of one of them is undoubtedly true of all: *Saturni stella in suo cursu multa mirabiliter efficiens, tum antecedendo, tum retardando, tum vespertinis temporibus delitescendo, tum matutinis rursum se aperiendo, nihil tamen immutat sempiternis seculorum aetatibus, quin eadem iisdem temporibus efficiat*: The Planet *Saturne* doth make many strange & wonderfull passages in his motion, sometimes going before, and sometimes comming after, sometimes withdrawing himselfe in the evening, and sometimes againe shewing himselfe in the morning; and yet changeth nothing in the continuall duration of all ages, but still at the same season worketh the same effects. And in truth, were it not so, both in that Planet, and in all the other *Starres*, it is altogether impossible they should supply that use which *Almighty God* in their *Creation* ordained them unto, that is, to serve for signes and seasons, for dayes and for yeares, to the worlds end. And much more impossible it were that the yeare, the moneth, the day, the houre, the minute of the *Oppositions*, *Conjunctions* and *Eclipses* of the *Planets*, should be as exactly calculated & foretold one hundred yeares before they fall out, as at what houre the *Sunne* will rise to morrow morning. Which perpetuall equability and constant uniformity in the *Celestiall motions*, is both truely observed, and eloquently described by *Boetius*.

*Si vis celsi jura Tonantis  
Purâ solers cernere mente,*

*Aspice*



*Aspice summi culmina Cæli ;  
 Illic iusto fœdere rerum  
 Veterem servant sydera pacem.  
 Non sol rutilo concitus igne  
 Gelidum Phæbus impedit axem.  
 Nec quæ summo vertice mundi  
 Flectit rapidos ursa meatus,  
 Vnquam occiduo lota profundo,  
 Cetera cernens sydera mergi  
 Cupit Oceano tingere flammæ.  
 Semper vicibus temporis æquis  
 Vesper seras nunciat umbras  
 Revehitque diem Lucifer alnum.  
 Sic alternos reficit cursus  
 Alternus amor, sic astrigeris  
 Bellum discors exulat oris.*

If thou with pure and prudent minde,  
 The lawes of God wouldst see,  
 Looke up to Heaven and thou shalt finde  
 How all things there agree.  
 In peace the Starres their courses runne,  
 Nor is the Moones cold sphere  
 Impeached by the scorching Sunne,  
 Nor doth the Northerne beare,  
 Which swift about the Pole doth move  
 Though other Starres he see  
 Drencht in the Westerne Ocean, love  
 His flames there quenched bee.  
 Nights late approach by courses due,  
 The evening-starre doth show:  
 And morning starre with motion true,  
 Before the day doth goe.  
 Thus still their turnes renewed are  
 By interchanging love:  
 And warre and discord banisht farre  
 From starry skies above.

And no lesse wittily by *Manilius*,

*Nec quicquam in tanta magis est mirabile mole  
 Quam ratio; & certis quod legibus omnia parent,  
 Nusquam turba nocet, nihil ullis partibus errat.*

*Lib. 1.*

There is not ought that's to be seene in such a wondrous masse,  
 More wonderfull and strange then this that Reason brings to passe:  
 That all obey their certaine lawes which they doe still preferre,  
 No tumult hurteth them, nor ought in any part doth erre.

Wherewith the *Divine Plato* accords, *Nec errant nec præter antiquum or-* *In Epitoma*  
*dinem revolvuntur*, neither do they run at randome, nor are they rolled  
 beside their ancient order. And *Aristotle* breaketh out into this passio- *Arist. de Munda-*  
 nate admiration thereof, *Quid unquam poterit æquari cælesti ordini, & vo-* *do.*  
*lubilitati,*



*lubilitati, cum sydera convertantur exactissima norma de alio in aliud seculum*: What can ever be compared to the order of the Heavens, and to the motion of the Starres in their severall revolutions, which move most exactly as it were by a rule and square, by line and levell from one generation to another.

There were among the *Ancients* not a few, nor they unlearned, who by a strong fancie conceived in themselves an excellent melody made up by the motion of the *Celestiall Spheres*. It was broached by <sup>a</sup>Pythagoras, entertained by <sup>b</sup>Plato, stiffely maintained by <sup>c</sup>Macrobius and some Christians, as <sup>d</sup>Beda, <sup>e</sup>Boetius, and <sup>f</sup>Anselmus Archbishop of Canterbury: but Aristotle puts it off with a jest, as being *Lepide & musice dictum*, *fabile, inas much as those bodies in their motions make no kinde of noise at all*: Howsoever it may well be that this conceit of theirs was grounded upon a certaine truth, which is the *Harmonicall* and proportionable motion of those Bodies in their just order, and set courses, as if they were ever dauncing the rounds or the measures. In which regard the Psalmist tels us that *the Sun knoweth his going downe, he appointed the Moone for seasons, and the Sunne knoweth his going downe*. Which words of his may not be taken in a proper, but in a figurative sense; The Prophet thereby implying, that the Sunne observeth his prescribed motion so precisely to a point, that in the least jot he never erreth from it: And therefore is he said to doe the same upon knowledge and understanding, *Non quod animatus sit aut ratione utatur*, saith Basill upon the place, *sed quod juxta terminum divinitus praescriptum ingrediens, semper eundem cursum servat, ac mensuras suas custodit*: Not that the Sun hath any soule, or use of understanding, but because it keepeth his courses and measures exactly according to Gods prescription.

<sup>a</sup> Arist. lib. 2. de celo. cap. 9.

<sup>b</sup> Lib. 10. de Rep.

<sup>c</sup> In lib. 2. de Somnio Scipionis

cap. 3.

<sup>d</sup> Lib. de musica.

<sup>e</sup> Lib. de musica.

cap. 2.

<sup>f</sup> Lib. de imag.

Mundi. cap. 24.

Psalm. 104. 19.

### SECT. 3.

*The same truth farther proved from the testimony of Lactantius and Plutarch.*

Lib. 2. de Provid. c. 5.

**L**actantius from hence gathereth two notable Conclusions, the one that the Starres are not Gods as the Gentiles commonly imagined, the other, that they are governed by God, which the Epicurians denied: for the former of those, saith he, *argumentum illud quo colligunt universa caelestia Deos esse, in contrarium valet. Nam si Deos esse idcirco opinantur, quia certos & rationabiles cursus habent, errant: Ex hoc enim apparet Deos non esse quod exorbitare illis a praestitutis itineribus non licet; ceterum si Dij essent huc atque illuc passim sine ulla necessitate ferrentur, sicut animantes in terra, quorum quia libera sunt voluntates, huc atque illuc vagantur ut libet, & quocunque mens duxerit eo feruntur*. That argument from whence the Heathen doe collect that the Starres must needs be Gods, doth most plainly prove the contrary. For if they take them to be Gods, because of the certainty of their courses, they bee therein much deceived: for this plainly proveth, that indeed they be no Gods, because they be not able



able to depart from their set courses. Whereas if they were Gods, they would move both this way and that way in the Heavens, as freely as living Creatures doe upon the earth, who because they have the liberty and freedome of their will, they wander up and downe whither they themselves please. And for the latter, *tanta rerum magnitudo, faith he, tanta dispositio, tanta in servandis ordinibus, temporibusque constantia, non potuit aut olim sine provido Artifice oriri, aut constare tot seculis sine incola potente, aut perpetuum gubernari sine perito & sciente rectore, quod ratio ipsa declarat.* Such a greatnesse in their creation, such a comelinesse in their order, such a constancie in observing both their courses and their seasons, could never either at first have beene framed without a cunning hand, or so long have beene preserved without a powerfull inhabitant, or so wisely have beene governed without a skilfull Regent, as even reason it selfe maketh it plaine and evident. And *Plutarch* affirmeth generally of all men, that the very first motive that lead them unto God, was that orderly motion whereby the Starres are carried. *Homines ceperunt Deum agnoscere cum viderent stellas tantam concinnitatem efficere, ac dies, noctesque aestate ac hyeme, suos servare statos ortus atque obitus.* Men began first to acknowledge a God when they considered the starres to maintain such a comelinesse, and both day and night, in Summer and Winter to observe their designed risings and settings.

Lib. 1. de Placitis Philosophorum. c. 6.

## S E C T. 4.

*An objection of Du Moulin touching the motion of the Polar Starre answered.*

**A**Nd thus I hope the Heavens are sufficiently discharged from any imputation of Decay in regard of their motion, the constant regularity whereof, we finde to have beene observed and admired by the most learned of all ages: It remains now that I should proceede to the examination of the other qualities thereof, which before I attempt, it shall not bee amisse to remove a rub cast in our way by *Du Moulin*, a famous French Divine, in his Booke intituled, *The accomplishment of Divine Prophecies*, touching the motion of the Polar starre, his words are these or to this purpose, *Astrologie also doth lend us some light in this matter; For in the yeare of the World three thousand six hundred sixty five, Ptolomæus Philadelphus reigning in Egypt, some foure hundred sixty nine yeares after the building of Rome, there lived one Hipparchus a famous Astrologer, who reports that in his time the Starre commonly called the Polar starre, which is in the tayle of the lesser Beare, was 12 degrees and two fifths distant from the Pole of the Equator. This starre from age to age hath insensibly still crept nearer to the Pole, so that at this present it is not past three degrees distant from the Pole of the Equator. When this starre then shall come to touch the Pole, there being no farther space left for it to goe forward (which may well enough come to passe within five or six hundred yeares) it is likely that then there shall bee a great change of things, and that this time is the period which God hath prefixed to Nature.* A bold conjecture of a man so well versed in  
I holy

In cap. 3. Apocal. part. 5.



Act 1. 7.

holy Scriptures, and in other matters so modest, as if God had written in the Heavens the period of times, or had so written it as any mortall eye could discern it, his beloved Son professing, *that it is not for us to know the times and seasons, which the Father hath put in his owne power.* And as the Conjecture is bold, so is it built upon as *sandie a foundation*, which is that the *Pole-Star* shall draw so neare the *Pole* as to touch it, or shall ever be brought to those straits, as it shall finde no passage to goe forward, whereas it is certaine, it shall ever remaine in some certaine distance from the *Pole*, twenty six or twenty seven minutes at the least. True indeed it is, that about five hundred yeares hence, if the World last so long, it shall then approach the nearest, but then shall it with-draw it selfe againe by degrees to as remote a distance as it ever was before, as it heretofore hath beene the most *Southerly* star in that *Asterisme*, and is now become the most *Northerly*: so in procelle of time it may become the most *Southerly* againe, But from hence to inferre that the *Poles* of the *Aequator* are moveable, is *inconsequent*, and *incompatible* with the most received and best approved grounds of *Astronomy*. Besides other *fixed starres* have their times of *accesse* and *recesse*, to and from the *Pole*, as well as this: so that the motion of this can no more point out the *period of Nature*, then of those: All which *Du Moulin* himselfe either by his owne observation or advertisement from others well perceiving, in a *latter Edition* of that booke printed at *Sedane*, in the yeare one thousand six hundred twenty one, hath well mended the matter, by changing some words. For instead of this in the *first Edition*. *From hence it appeareth that the Poles of the Aequator are moveable*, in the *second*, he hath thus changed it. *It being certaine and observed by long experience, that the fixed stars move from the West to the East, in a motion parallel to the Ecliptique.* In his *first Edition* he sayes: *When this signe shall come to touch the Pole, there being no further space left for it to goe forward*, but in his *second* he changeth it thus, *when this starre shall approach the Pole as neere as it can.* Againe in his *first* thus, *which may well come to passe within these five or six hundred yeares*, in his *second* thus, *which may well come to passe within five hundred yeares*: Lastly in his *first* thus, *it seemes that this time is the period which God hath prefixed to Nature*, in his *second* thus, *it seemes that some notable period shall then expire.* And surely I cannot but as much commend his modesty in this *second* change, as I found it wanting in his *first* conjecture, and I am of opinion that *S. Augustine* never purchased more true honour by any booke that ever hee writ, then that of his *Retractions*, the shame is not so much to erre, as to persevere in it being discovered. Specially if it bee an errour taken up and entertained, by following those, whom for their great gifts wee highly esteeme and admire, as it seemes *Du Moulin* tooke his errour at leastwise touching the moveablenesse of the *Poles* of the *Aequator*, from *Ioseph Scaliger*: But the motion of the Heavens puts mee in minde of passing from it to the light thereof.



## CHAP. 3.

*Touching the pretended decay in the light of the heavenly bodies.*

## SECT. 1.

*The first reason that it decays not, taken from the nature of that light, and those things whereunto it is resembled.*

**A**S the waters were first spread over the face of the earth: so was the light dispersed thorow the firmament: & as the waters were gathered into one heape, so was the light knit up, and united into one body: As the gathering of the waters was called the Sea, so, that of the light was called the Sunne. As the rivers come from the Sea, so is all the light of the starres derived from the Sunne: And lastly, as the Sea is no whit lessened though it furnish the Earth with abundance of fresh rivers: So though the Sunne have since the Creation, both furnished, and garnished the world with light, neither is the store of it thereby diminished, nor the beauty of it any way stained. What the light is, whether a substance or an Accident, whether of a Corporall or incorporall nature, it is not easie to determine. Philosophers dispute it, but cannot well resolve it. Such is our ignorance, that even that by which wee see all things, we cannot discern what it selfe is. But whatsoever it bee, wee are sure that of all visible Creatures, it was the first that was made, and comes nearest the nature of a Spirit, in as much as it moves in an instant from the East to the West, and pearcing through all transparent bodies, still remaines in it selfe, unmixed and undivided; it chaseth away sad and melancholly thoughts, which the darknesse both begets and main- taines; it lifts up our mindes in meditation to him who is the true light, that lightneth every man that cometh into the world, him selfe dwelling in light unaccessible, and cloathing himselfe with light as with a garment. And if wee may behold in any Creature any one sparke of that eternall fire, or any farre off-dawning of Gods glorious brightnesse, the same in the beau- ty, motion, and vertue of this light may best be discerned. *Quid pulchri- us luce, saith Hugo de Sancto Victore, quæ cum in se colorem non habeat, om- nium tamen rerum colores ipsa quodammodo colorat.* What is more beau- tifull then the light, which having no colour in it selfe, yet sets a luster upon all colours. And S. Ambrose, unde vox Dei in Scriptura debuit incho- are nisi à lumine? unde mundi ornatus nisi à luce exordium sum re? frustra enim esset si non videretur. From whence should the voyce of God in holy Scripture begin, but from the light? From whence should the ornament of the world begin, but likewise from the same light? For in vaine it were, were it not seene.

O Father of the light, of wisdom fountaine,  
Out of the bulke of that confused mountaine  
What should, what could issue before the light,  
Without which, Beauty were no Beauty hight.

BARTAS.



## SECT. 2.

The second, for that it hath nothing contrary unto it, and here Pareus and Mollerus are censured for holding that the light of Heaven is impaired.

1. Cor. 4. 6.

Hom. 10. ad  
popul. Antioch.Pareus in Epi-  
stolam ad He-  
braeos, cap. 1.  
v. 11.Moller. in Psal.  
101. v. 27.

v. 6.

**S** Augustine in diverse places of his workes is of opinion, that by the first created light were understood the *Angells*, and herein is hee followed by Beda, Encherius, Rupertus and diverse others. Which opinion of his, though it be questionlesse unsound, in as much as wee are taught that that light, sprang out of darkenesse, which of the *Angells* can in no sort bee verified, yet as it shewes the lightsome nature of *Angells*, so likewise the Angelicall nature of light, still flourishing in youth, or no more subject to decay or old age, then the *Angells* are. *Cogita mihi Caeli pulchritudinem* (saith Chrysostome) *quantum temporis agit, nec offuscata est, sed velut hodie fabricatum ita est nitens & splendidum.* Behold the beauty of the heavens how long it hath lasted, nor is yet any way blemished, but is still as fresh and bright as if it had beene made but this very day. Since then in the properties thereof, it comes so neare the nature of *Spirits*, of *Angells*, of *God*, mee thinkes they who dare accuse the heavens, as being guilty of decay and corruption in other respects, should yet have spared the light thereof. The more I wonder that men revered for their learning, & reputed lights of the Church, should by their writings goe about to quench or blemish this light. *Videntur haud parum elanguisse minusque nitidi esse quam fuerant initio*, saith one speaking of the heavenly bodies. They seeme to have suffered not a little defect, and to have lost of that brightnesse, in which they were at first created. And another: *Non est nunc illa claritas luminis, nec sunt illa stellarum vires quae fuerunt.* There is not now that brightnesse of the light, nor those vertues of the starres that have beene. Venturous assertions, and such I beleeve, as would have puzzled the Authours of them to have made them good, specially considering that as there is nothing contrary to the Quintessentiall matter, and circular figure of the Heavens: So neither is there to the light thereof. Fire may be quenched with water, but there is nothing able to quench the light of Heaven, save the power of him that made it. Againe, fire may be extinguished by with-drawing or with-holding the fewell upon which it feedes: But the light of heaven having no matter by which it is nourished: there is no feare of the failing thereof thorow any such defect, & for the matter of the Celestiall spheres and starres, in which it is planted, it hath already sufficiently appeared, that it neither is, nor in the course of Nature, can be subject to any impairing alteration: And so much Pareus himselfe hath upon the matter confessed in two severall places in his Commentaries upon the first of Genesis, whereof the first in this, speaking of the firmament and the Epithites of iron and brasse, given it in holy Scriptures, and by prophane Authours, *Hae Epitheta*, saith hee, *Metaphoricè notant Caeli firmitatem, quia tot millibus annorum immutabili lege*



*lege circumvolvitur, nec tamen atteritur motu aut absumitur, quia à Deo sic est firmatum initio.* These *Epethites* metaphorically signifie the firmesse and stablenesse of heaven, because by an unchangeable law it hath now wheeled about so many thousand yeares, and yet is not wasted or worne by the motion thereof, because it is established by God. And againe within a while after, hee useth almost the same words, *firmamentum non dicitur de duritie aut soliditate, impermeabili, sed de firmitate quâ perpetuo motu circumactum cælum non atteritur nec absumitur, sed manet quale à Deo initio fuit firmatum.* Nay a little before that last passage, dividing the whole *firmament* or *Expansum*, containing all the Celestiall Spheres and regions of the aire, into two parts; The higher, saith hee, (thereby intending the heavenly bodies) is *purissima, & incorruptibilis, & inalterabilis*; most pure, incorruptible, and inalterable. Now if it shall be demanded, how the Heavens may be said to *languish*, and to have lost of their *naturæ brightnesse*, and yet still to remaine *incorruptible* and *inalterable*: for mine owne part I must professe, I cannot understand it, nor know which way to reconcile it. A number of the like passages may bee observed in the writings of our later Divines: but I spare their names for the reverence I beare their gifts, and places, and persons, and so proceed.

## SECT. 3.

*Heereunto some other reasons are added, and the testimony of Eugubinus vouched.*

**I**n Remember Master *Camden* reports, that at the demolition of our *Monasteries*, there was found in the supposed monument of *Constantinus Chlorus*, father to the Great *Constantine*, a burning Lampe, which was thought to have burnt there ever since his buriall, about three hundred yeares after *Christ*, and withall hee addes out of *Lazius*, that the ancient *Romans* used in that manner to preserve lights in their *Sepulchers* a long time by the oylineffe of *Gold*, resolved by Art into a liquid substance. Which if it bee so, how much more easie is it for the Father of lights to preserve those naturall lights of *Heaven*, which himselfe hath made without any diminution. In artificiall lights wee see, that if a thousand Candles bee all lighted from one, yet the light of the first is not thereby any whit abated, and why should wee then conceive that the Sun by imparting his light so many thousand yeares, should loose any part thereof? They who maintaine that the soule of man is derived *ex traduce*, hold withall that the Father in begetting the *Sonnes* soule looses none of his owne, it being *tanquam lumen de lumine*, as one light from another, nay more then so, it is the very resemblance that the *Nicene Fathers* thought not unmeet to expresse the *unexpressable* generation of the second person in *Trinity* from the first, who is therefore termed by the *Apostle*, *the brightnesse of his glory*. As then the Father by communicating his substance to his sonne, looses none of his owne, so the Sunne by communicating his light to the world, looses no part nor degree thereof. Some things there are of that nature, as they

In Yorke-shire.

Heb. 1. 3.



may bee both given and kept, as *knowledge*, and *vertue*, and *happinesse*, and *light*, which in holy *Scripture* is figuratively taken from them all. whether the same *individuall light* bee still resident in the body of the *Sunne*, which was planted in it at the first *Creation*, or whether it continually empty and spend it selfe, and so like a river be continually repaired with fresh supplies; for mine owne part I cannot certainly affirm, though I must confesse, I rather incline to the former: But this I verily beleeeve, that as the body of the *Sunne* is no whit lessened in *extension*: So neither is the light thereof in *intention*, Men being now no more able to fixe their eyes upon it, when it shines forth in its full strength, then they were at the first *Creation* thereof. I will conclude this Chapter with that of *Eugubinus* in his tenth book *De Perenni Philosophia*. *Si futuri interitus, ac senescencia aliqua jam indicia precessissent, non constaret idem Sol, non eadem fulgoris esset plenitudo, idem radiorum vigor, hac igitur Senectus nusquam est*: Had there beene in the heavens any such decay or waxing old, as is supposed, we should have seene some fore-running tokens thereof. The *Sunne* would not have beene like himselfe, he would not have retained the same fulnesse of brightnesse, nor the same vigour in his beames: This old age then is no where to be found. Where hee takes it as granted, that none would bee so *unreasonable*, as to affirme that the strength and clearenesse of the *light of heaven* is any way abated. Now what hath beene spoken of the *light*, may no lesse truely bee verified of the *warmth* and *influence* thereof, which spring there-from, and now succeed in their order to be examined.

## CHAP. 4.

*Touching the pretended decay in the warmth of the heavenly bodies.*

## SECT. 1.

*That the Starres are not of a fiery nature, or hot in themselves.*

**T**He *light of Heaven*, whereof wee have spoken, is not more comfortable and usefull, then is the *warmth* thereof; with a masculine vertue it quickens all kinde of seedes, it makes them vegetate, & blossome, and fructifie, and brings their fruit to perfection for the use of man and beast, and the perpetuating of their owne kindes, nay it wonderfully refresheth and cheares up the spirits of men and beasts, & birds, and creeping things, and not only imparts the life of vegetation, but of sense and motion, to many thousand creatures, and like a tender parent fosters and cherisheth it being imparted. Some there are that live without the *light of heaven*, searching into, & working upon, those bodies which the light cannot pierce, but none without the *warmth*, it being in a manner the *universall instrument of Nature*, which made the *Psalmist* say, that *there is nothing hid from the heate of the Sun*. Few things are hid from the *light*, but from the heate thereof nothing. Our life without the *light of heaven* would bee tedious and uncomfortable: but without the *warmth* impossible. Since then such is the continuall and necessary



necessary use of the *Celestiall warmth*, as well in regard of the generation, as the preservation of these inferiour bodies, accommodating it selfe to their severall tempers and uses, in severall manners and degrees, it may easily be conceived to be a matter of marvailous great importance in deciding the maine question touching *Natures decay*, to inquire thoroughly into the state and condition of it (upon which so many and great workes of *Nature* wholly depend) whether it be decayed or no, or whether it still abide in the fullnesse of that strength and activity in which it was created. For the better clearing of which doubt, it will bee very requisite first to inquire into the efficient cause thereof, which being once discovered, it will soone appeare whether in the *course of nature* it be capable of any such *diminution* or no.

I am not ignorant that S. *Augustine*, S. *Basil*, S. *Ambrose*, and generally as many *Divines*, as held that there were waters, properly so termed, above the *starry firmament*, held withall that the *Sunne* and *Starres* caused *heate* as being of a *fiery Nature*, those waters being set there, in their opinion, for cooling of that *heate*: which opinion of theirs seemes to be favoured by *Syracides* in the forty third of *Ecclesiasticus*, where hee thus speakes of the *Sun*. *At noone it parcheth the countrey, and who can abide the burning heate thereof? A man blowing a furnace is in workes of heate: but the Sun burneth the mountaines three times more, breathing out fiery vapours.* Neither were there wanting some among the ancient *Philosophers* who maintained the same opinion, as *Plato* and *Pliny*, and generally the whole sect of *Stoicks*, who held that the *Sunne* and *Starres* were fed with *watery vapours*, which they drew up for their nourishment, and that when these *vapours* should cease and faile the whole world should be in danger of *Combustion*: and many things are alleaged by *Balbus* in *Ciceroes* second booke of the *nature of the Gods*, in favour of this opinion of the *Stoicks*. But that the *Sunne* and *Starres* are not in truth and in their owne nature *fiery* and *hot*, appeares by the ground already layd touching the matter of the heavens, that it is of a nature *incorruptible*, which cannot be, if it were *fiery*, inasmuch as thereby it should become lyable to *alteration* and *corruption* by an opposite and professed enemy. Besides all *fiery* bodies by a naturall inclination mount upwards, so that if the *starres* were the cause of *heate*, as being *hot* in themselves, it would consequently follow that their circular motion should not bee *Naturall* but *violent*. Whereunto I may adde, that the noted *starres* being so many in number, namely, one thousand twenty and two, besides the *Planets*, and in *magnitude* so great that every one of those, which appeare fixed in the *firmament*, are said to bee much bigger, then the whole *Globe* of the water and earth, and the *Sunne* againe so much to exceede both that globe, and the biggest of them, as it may justly bee styled by the sonne of *Syrach*, *instrumentum admirabile* a wonderfull instrument; which being so, were they of *fire*, they would doubtlesse long ere this have turned the world into ashes, there being so infinite a *disproportion* betweene their *flame* and the little quantity of matter supposed to bee prepared for their *Fewell*. That therefore they should bee fed with *vapours*, *Aristotle* deservedly laughs as it, as a childish and ridiculous

De Civit. Dei.

l. 11. c. ult.

Hom. 3. in

Genes. Hexam.

2. 2.

v. 3. 4.

In Tim.

Nat Hist. 2. 9.

The least 18.

times,

167. times.

Ecclesiasticus

43. 2.



culous device, in as much as the vapours ascend no higher then the middle region of the ayre, and from thence distill againe upon the water and earth from whence they were drawne up, and those vapours being *uncertaine*, the flames likewise feeding upon them, must needs be *uncertaine*, and daily vary from themselves both in *quantity* and *figure*, according to the proportion of their fewell.

## S E C T. 2.

*That the heate they breed springs from their light, and consequently their light being not decayed, neither is the warmth arising there-from.*

**T**He absurdity then of this opinion being so foule and grosse, it remaines that the *Sun & Starres* infuse a *warmth* into these *Sub-celestiall* Bodies, not as being *hot* in themselves, but only as being ordained by *God* to *breed heate* in matter capable thereof, as they impart life to some creatures, and yet themselves remaine voide of *life*, like the *braine* which imparts *Sense* to every member of the body, and yet is it selfe utterly voide of all *Sense*. But heere againe some there are which attribute this effect to the *motion*, others to the *light* of these glorious Bodies. And true indeed it is, that *motion* causes heat, by the attenuation and rarefaction of the ayre: But by this reason should the *Moone* which is neerer the Earth, warme more then the *Sunne*, which is many thousand miles farther distant, & the *higher* Regions of the Aire should be alway hotter then the *lower*, which notwithstanding if we compare the *second* with the *lowest*, is undoubtedly false. Moreover the *Motion* of the *celestiall* Bodies being *uniforme*, so should the heat derived from them in reason likewise bee, and the *motion* ceasing, the heat should likewise cease; and yet shall I never beleieve, that when the *Sun* stood still at the prayer of *Ioshua*, it then ceased to warme these inferiour Bodies. And we finde by experience, that the *Sun* workes more powerfully upon a Body which stands still, then when it moves, and the reason seemes to bee the same in the rest or motion of a Body warming or warmed, that receiveth or imparteth heat.

The *motion* being thus excluded from being the cause of this effect, the *light* must of necessity step in, and challenge it to it selfe; the *light* then it is, which is undoubtedly the cause of celestiall heat, in part by a *direct* beame, but more vehemently by a *reflexed*: for which very reason it is, that the *middle* Region of the Aire is alwayes colder then the *lowest*, and the *lowest* hotter in Summer then in Winter, and at noone then in the morning and evening, the beames being then more *perpendicular*; and consequently in their *reflexion* more narrowly united; by which *reflexion* and union, they grow sometimes to that fervencie of heate, that fire springs out from them, as wee see in burning glasses, and by this artificiall device it was that *Archimedes*, as *Galen* reports it, in his third booke *de Temperamentis*, set on fire the Enemies Gallies, and *Proclus* a famous *Mathematician*, practised the like at *Constantinople*, as witnesseth



nesseth Zonaras in the life of *Anastasius* the Emperour. And very reasonable mee thinkes it is, that *light* the most *Divine* affection of the *Celestiall* Bodies, should be the cause of *warmth*, the most *noble*, *active*, and *excellent* quality of the *subcelestiall*. These two like *Hypocrates* *Twinnes*, *simul oriuntur & moriuntur*, they are borne and dye together, they increase and decrease both together, the greater the *light* is, the greater the *heate*, and therefore the *Sun* as much exceeds the other *starres* in *heate*, as it doth in *light*. To drive the argument home then to our present purpose, since the *light* of the *Sun* is no way *diminished*, and the *heate* depends upon the *light*, the consequence to me seemes marvaillous faire and strong, which is that neither the *heate* arising from the *light*, should have suffered any *decay* or *diminution* at all.

Eugubinus indeed seemeth to be of opinion, that the waters after the flood were so soone dried up not by Gods supernaturall power but by a naturall force of the *Sunne* at that time, which according to his opinion was at the first Creation much more vigorous then now it is, but, Pererius justly takes him short. *Risum profecto moveret philosophis quibus in Confesso est vim & facultatem solis (quod ipse sit incorruptibilis & impassibilis,) nulla ex parte remitti ac minui, vel intendi & augeri posse.* Truly it would but move laughter in the philosophers who with one Consent acknowledge that the power of the *Sunne* (it selfe being incorruptible and impassible) can neither be increased nor diminished.

Lib. 1. in gen.  
Cap. 1.

### SECT. 3.

*Two objections answered, the one drawne from the present habitableness of the Torrid Zone, the other from a supposed approach of the Sunne neerer the earth then in former ages.*

**N**Otwithstanding the evidence of which trueth, some have not doubted to attribute the present habitableness of the *Torrid Zone*, to the weakenesse and old age of the *Heavens*, in regard of former ages. But they might have remembred that the *Cold Zones* should thereby have become more inhabitable by cold, as also that holding as they do, an *universall decay* in all the parts of nature, and men according to their opinion, *decaying* in strength as well as the *Heavens*, they should now in reason be as ill able to indure the present *heate*, as the men in former ages were, to indure that of the same times wherein they lived, the proportion beeing alike betweene the *weakenesse*, as betweene the *strength* of the one and the other. But this I onely touch in passing, having a fitter occasion to consider more fully of it hereafter, when wee come to compare the *wits* and *inventions* of the *Ancients* with those of the present times.

That which touches neerer to the quicke, and strikes indeede at the very throate of the cause, is an opinion of very many, and those very *learned* men, that the *Body* of the *Sunne* is drawne nearer the *Earth* by many degrees then it was in former ages, & that it daily makes descents & approaches towards it, which some ascribe to a deficiency of strength in the

Method. Hist.  
Cap. 8.



the Earth, others in the Sun, most in both. Bodin out of Copernicus, Reinoldus and Stadius, great Mathematicians tells us, that since Ptolomies time, who lived about an hundred and forty yeares after Christ, the Sunne by cleare demonstrations is found to have come neerer us by one hundred & thirty semidiameters of the earth, which make twenty six thousand six hundred and sixty German miles, which are double to the French, as the French are to the Italian and ours. This wonderfull change, Philip Melancthon, saith he, *ad caelestium, terrestriumque corporum tabescentem naturam referendum putavit*, thought fit to impute to the declining estate of the celestiall and terrestriall Bodies. But if the terrestriall depend upon the celestiall, (as hath already beene prooved; & is the common opinion of all, both Divines and Philosophers) then what is wanting in the wonted vigour of the celestiall, being supplied by the approach therof, the terrestriall should still without any decay remaine unimpaired in their condition. The force of which reason serves also strongly against them who maintaine an habitableness under the Torride Zone, through the weakenesse of the Sun, and yet withall hold a supply of that weakenesse by the neerer approach thereof.

But consulting in this point with both the learned Professours in the Mathematickes at Oxford, they both joyntly agree, that this assertion of the Sunnes continuall declination, or neerer approach to the Earth, is rather an idle dreame, then a sound position, grounded rather upon the difference among Astronomers, arising from the difficulty of their observations, then upon any certaine and infallible conclusions. Ptolomy who lived about the yeare of Christ one hundred and forty, makes the distance of the Sun from the Earth to bee one thousand two hundred & ten semidiameters of the Earth. Albategnius about the yeare eight hundred & eighty, makes it one thousand one hundred forty sixe. Copernicus about the yeare one thousand five hundred and twenty, makes it one thousand one hundred seventy nine. Tycho brahe about the yeare one thousand sixe hundred, makes it one thousand one hundred eighty two. Now I would demand, whether the Sun were more remote in Ptolomies time, & neerer in the time of Albategnius, & then againe more remote in the latter ages of Copernicus & Tycho: which if it were so, then one of these two must needs follow, that either their observations were not grounded upon so certaine principles as they pretend, or that the declination of the Sunne is uncertaine & variable, not constant & perpetuall, as is pretended. But what would Bodin say, if he lived to heare Lansbergius, Kepler, and other famous Astronomers of the present age, teaching that the Sun is now remote above two thousand & eight hundred, nay three thousand semidiameters from the Earth, affirming that Copernicus & Tycho neglected to allow for refractions, which (as the Opticks will demonstrate) doe much alter the case.

Exercit. 99.

I will close up this point with the censure of Scaliger upon the Patrons of this fancy, *Qua verò nonnulli prodere ausi sunt, Solis corpus longè propius nos esse, quàm quantum ab Antiquis scriptum sit, ita ut in ipsa deferentis corpulentia locum mutasse videatur, vel ipsa scripta spongijs, vel ipsi Authores scuticis sunt castigandi.* In as much as some have dared to broach, that the body of the Sun is neerer the Earth then by the Ancients it was observed



observed to be, so that it might seeme to have changed place in the very bulke of the Spheare, either the Authors themselves of this opinion deserve to be chastned with stripes, or surely their writings to be razed with sponges.

Since the writing hereof I fell upon *Bodins Theatrum Naturæ*, where Lib. I. in plaine terms he recants what formerly he had delivered in this point in his methode of Historie *Huic opinioni propter Melanchthonis & Copernici auctoritatem aliquando acquievimus, sed rationibus in Contrarium adductis discessimus*, His reasons are for that *Naturæ leges in Cælestium orbium situ motu, Concentu, figura, semper sui similes videmus, ac solis Eclipses easdem quæ olim fuerunt ex antiquorum observatione*, we see the same lawes of nature in the Situation, the motion, the harmonie the figure of the Cælestiall spheres, and the *Eclipses* of the *Sunne* the very same which by the ancients were observed; wherevnto hee adds that in Case the *Sunne* approached neerer the earth then in former ages, all the other heavenly bodies must of necessitie doe the like, or *vacuum* be admitted in regard of those which are above the *Sunne*, and *penetratio Corporum* in regard of those which are below it.

#### S E C T. 4.

*A third objection answered, taken from a supposed removeall of the Sun more Southerly from us then in former ages.*

**A**S some have inferred a diminution in the Heavenly warmth from a supposed neerer approach of the *Sunne* to the Earth, so have others (at leastwise in regard of the Earth) from the removeall thereof more Southerly then in former ages. But craving in this point likewise the opinion of my worthy friend Master *Doctour Bainbridge*, Professour in *Astronomie* at *Oxford*, hee returned mee this answer.

‘It is the generall opinion of *Moderne Astronomers*, that the *Sun* in our time goeth not so farre Southerly from us in Winter, as it did in the time of *Ptolomy* and *Hipparchus*, neither in Summer cometh so much Northerly towards us, as then.

‘For *Ptolomy* (about *ann. Christi* 140) observed the greatest declination of the *Sunne* from the *Æquinoctiall* towards either *Pole* 23. 51. 20. agreeable to the observations of *Hipparchus* 130 yeares before *Christ*, and of *Erasthenes* before *Hipparchus*. Whereupon *Ptolomy* thought the *Sunnes* greatest declination immutable.

‘But succeeding Ages have observed a difference; for about *Anno Christi* 830, many learned Arabians observed the greatest declination of the *Sunne* to be 23. 35. to whom agreeth *Albategnius*, a Syrian, about *an. Christi* 880. Yet did not *Albategnius* from hence conclude any mutation in the greatest declination of the *Sunne*, for so small a difference might well happen by error of observations.

‘Afterwards about *ann Christi* 1070. *Arzachel* a *Moore* of *Spaine*, observed the greatest declination of the *Sunne*, 23, 33. 30. who to salve these



these different observations, invented a new *Hypothesis*, which yet was not received by *Astronomers* of after-times, who for many ages followed the greatest declination of *Arzachel*, without any alteration till the times of *Regiomontanus* and *Copernicus*: for *Copernicus* by his observations some yeares before, and after ann. *Christi* 1520. affirmed the greatest declination of the Sunne, to bee no more then 23. 28. 24. agreeable to the observations of *Regiomontanus*, and *Purbachius* some yeares before him. *Copernicus* collating his observations with those of former ages, renewed the *Hypothesis* of *Arzachel*, that the Sunnes greatest declination was mutable: yet so, that it was never greater then 23. 52. nor lesse the 23. 28. The difference being onely 24. And that in 1717 yeares it decreaseth from the former to the latter, and in other 1717 yeares encreaseth from this to that againe.

According to which *Hypothesis* of *Copernicus*, above 65 yeares before *Christ* the greatest declination of the Sunne was 23. 52. From which time accounting backward, it was lesse and lesse: so that about 1712 yeares before *Christ*, the greatest declination of the Sunne was but 23. 28. from which time accounting still backwards, it was more and more, till about 3499 yeares before *Christ*, it was againe 23. 52.

So after *Christ*, about the yeare 1652, the greatest declination of the Sunne by this *Hypothesis* shall be but 23. 28. and from thence againe encrease till it become 23. 52. about the yeare 3369. after *Christ*. This opinion of *Copernicus* is received by most of this time, some following him *κατὰ πᾶσι*, others somewhat varying in the difference of the greatest declination, making it when it is least (as in our time) no lesse then 23. 33. and in the *Periodicall* restitution thereof.

But to speake freely, I cannot so easily bee drawne into this opinion, but rather thinke the greatest declination of the Sun to be *ἀμετέωλον*, immutable, and for ever the same; For the little difference of a few minutes betwixt us, and *Ptolomy* may very well arise (as I formerly said) from the error of observations by the Ancients. The greatest declination of the Sun from the *Equinoctiall* towards either *Pole*, being alwayes the same; the Sunne cannot goe more *Southerly* from us, nor come *Northerly* towards us, in this, then in former ages.

But supposing a mutability in the Sunnes greatest declination, according to the former *Periods*, it followeth that as the Sunne about 65. yeares before the *Epöche* of *Christ* went from our verticall point more *Southerly* then now it doth; So, many Ages before *Christ*, it went no more *Southerly*, then now it doth; and that many ages after our time, it shall goe as farre *Southerly*, as at the *Epöche* of *Christ*.

Secondly when the the greatest declination was most. As then in Winter the Sunne went more *Southerly* from us then now, so in Summer it came more *Northerly* and nearer us then now.

Again, when the greatest declination is least, (as in our Age) it goeth not so farre *Southerly* from us in Winter, as formerly, neither in Summer comes so farre *Northerly*.

From



From which answer it may (as I conceive) bee fitly and safely inferred, first that either there is no such removeall at all of the Sunne, (as is supposed) or if there be, as wee who are situate more Northernly, feele perchance the effects of the defects of the warmth thereof, in the unkindly ripening of our fruites, and the like: so, likewise by the rule of proportion, must it needes follow, that they who lie in the same distance from the *South-pole*, as wee from the *North*, should enjoy the benefit of the nearer approach thereof: and they who dwell in the hottest *Climates* interjacent of the abating of the immoderate fervency of their heat; and consequently, that to the Universall, nothing is lost by this exchange. And as in this case it may happily fall out, so undoubtedly doth it in many other, from whence the *worlds* supposed decay is concluded. Wee understand not, or at least-wise we consider not, how that which hurts us, helps another nation, wee complaine (as was before truly observed out of *Arnobius*) as if the World were made, and the government thereof administred, for us alone; and hereby it comes to passe, that as hee who looks onely upon some libbat or end of a peece of *Arras*, conceives perhaps an hand or head which hee sees to bee very unartificially made; but unfolding the whole, soone findes, that it carries a due and just proportion to the body: So, *qui ad pauca respicit de facili pronuntiat*, (saith *Aristotle*) hee that is so narrow-eyed, as he looks onely to his owne person or family, to his owne corporation or nation, will peradventure quickly conceive, and as soone pronounce, that all things decay and goe backward, whereas hee that as a Citizen of the world, and a part of mankind in generall, takes a view of the Universall, and compares person with person, family with family, nation with nation, suspends his judgement, or upon examination clearely findes, that though some members suffer, yet the whole is thereby no way indammaged at any time, and at other times those same members are againe releived. And from hence my second inference is; that supposing a mutability in the Suns greatest declination; looke vvhath damage vvee suffer by his farther removall from us in Summer, is at least-wise in part recompensed by his nearer approach in Winter, and by the *Periodicall Revolutions* fully restored. And so I passe from the consideration of the *warmth*, to those hidden and secret qualities of the heavens, which to *Astronomers*, and *Philosophers* are knowne by the name of *Influences*.



## CHAP. 5.

*Touching the pretended decay of the heavenly  
bodies, in regard of their Influences.*

## SECT. 1.

*Of the first kinde of influence, from the highest immoveable  
Heaven, called by Divines, Coelum Empyræum.*

*Lib. 3. contra  
Astrolog. cap. 5.  
Lib. 4. & 5. De  
Causis subter.*

**H**owbeit Aristotle thorow those workes of his, which are come to our hands, to my remembrance, hath not once vouchsafed so much as to take notice of such qualities, which we call *Influences*; and though among the Ancients, *Averroes* and *Avicenne*, and among those of fresher date, *Picus Mirandula*, and *Georgius Agricola*, seeke to disprove them: Yet both *Scripture*, and *Reason*, and the weighty authority of many great Schollers, aswell *Christians* as *Ethnickes*, have fully resolved mee that such there are. They are by *Philosophers* distinguished into two ranks; the first is that influence which is derived from the *Empyreall* immoveable heaven, the palace and *Mansion* house of glorified *Saints* and *Angels*, which is gathered from the diversity of *Effects*, aswell in regard of *Plants*, as *Beasts*, and other commodities under the same *Climate*, within the same *Tract* and latitude, equally distant from both the *Poles*, which we cannot well referre originally to the *inbred* nature of the soyle, since the *Authour of Nature* hath so ordained, that the temper of the *inferiour* bodies should ordinarily depend upon the *superiour*; nor yet to the *Aspect* of the *moveable spheres* and *stars*, since every part of the same *Climate*, *successively*, but *equally* enjoyes the same *aspect*: It remaines then that these effects bee finally reduced to some *superiour immoveable cause*, which can be none other then that *Empyreall* Heaven; neither can it produce these effects by meanes of the *light* alone, which is uniformly dispersed thorow the whole; But by some secret quality, which is diversified according to the diverse parts thereof; and without this, wee should not onely finde wanting that *connection*, and unity of order, in the parts of the world, which make it so comely; but withall, should be forced to make one of the worthiest pieces thereof voyde of *action*, the chiefe end of every created being. Neither can this *action* mis-beseeme the worthinesse of so glorious a peece, since both the *Creator* thereof, is still busied in the workes of *Providence*, and the *Inhabitants* in the workes of *ministration*.

*Joh. 3. 17.  
Heb. 1. 14.*

## SECT. 2.



## S E C T. 2.

*Of the second kinde, derived from the Planets  
and fixed Starres.*

**T**He other kinde is that which is derived from the *starres*, the aspect of severall *constellations*, the opposition and conjunction of the *Planets*, and the like. These we have warranted by the mouth of God himselfe, in the thirty eight of *Iob*, according to our last, and most exact Translation; *Canst thou binde the sweete influences of the Pleiades, or loose the bands of Orion? Canst thou bring forth Mazzoreth in his season? Or canst thou guide Arcturus with his sonnes? Knowest thou the ordinances of heaven? Canst thou set the dominion thereof in the earth?* where by the ordinances of Heaven, it may well bee thought is meant the course and order of these *hidden qualities*, which without divine and *supernatural revelation*, can never perfectly bee knowne to any mortall creature.

Besides, as a wise man of late memory hath well and truly observed, it cannot bee doubted, but the *starres* are instruments of farre greater use, then to give an obscure light, and for men to gaze on after the Sun set, it being manifest that the diversity of seasons, the Winters & Summers, more hot or cold, more dry or wet, are not so uncertained by the Sunne and Moone alone, who alway keepe one and the same course, but that the stars have also their working therein, as also in producing severall kindes of metalls, and mineralls in the bowells of the earth, where neither light nor heat can pierce. For as *heat* pierces where *light* cannot, so the *influence* pierces where the heat cannot.

Sir W. R.

Moreover if wee cannot deny, but that God hath given vertues to springs and fountaines, to cold earth, to plants, and stones, and mineralls, nay to the very excrementall parts of the basest living creatures; why should wee robbe the beautifull *starres* of their working powers? For seeing they are many in *number*, and of eminent *beauty* and *magnitude*, wee may not thinke that in the treasury of his wisdom, who is infinite, there can be wanting even for *every starre* a peculiar vertue and operation: As every *hearbe*, *plant*, *fruite*, and *flowre*, adorning the face of the earth, hath the like. As then these were not created to beautifie the earth alone, or to cover and shadow her dusty face, but otherwise, for the use of man and beast, to feede them and cure them: so were not those incomparably glorious bodies set in the *firmament*, to none other end then to adorne it; but for *instruments* and organs of his divine providence so farre as it hath pleased his just will to determine.

I'll ne'r beleeeve that the Arch-Architect  
With all these fires the Heav'nly Arches deckt  
Onely for shew, and with these glistring shields  
T'amaye poore shepheards watching in the fields.  
I'll ne'r beleeeve that the least flowre that prances  
Our garden borders, or the common bankes,

K 2

And



And the least stone that in her warming lap  
 Our kinde nurse Earth doth covetously wrap,  
 Hath some peculiar vertue of its owne;  
 And that the glorious starres of Heav'n have none:  
 But shine in vaine, and have no charge precise,  
 But to be walking in Heav'ns Galleries,  
 And through that Palace up and downe to clamber,  
 As golden Guls about a Princes Chamber.

But how farre it hath pleased the *Divine Providence* to determine of these influences, it is hard, I confesse, to be determined of by any humane wisdom.

### SECT. 3.

*That the particular and uttermost efficacie of these influences cannot be fully comprehended by us.*

Wisdom 9. 16.

**I**F in the true and uttermost vertues of *herbes* and *Plants*, which our selves sow and set, and which grow under our feet, and wee dayly apply to our severall uses, wee are notwithstanding in effect ignorant; much more in the powers & working of *cælestiall bodies*. For (as was said before) hardly doe we guesse aright, at things that are upon the earth, & with labour doe wee finde the things that are before us: but the things which are in heaven who hath searched out? It cannot well be benyed, but that they are not signes onely, but at leastwise concurrent causes of immoderate cold or heat, drought or moisture, lightning, thunder, raging windes, inundations, earthquakes, and consequently of famine and pestilence, yet such crosse accidents, may, and often doe fall out, in the matter upon which they worke, that the prognostication of these casuall events, even by the most skilfull *Astronomers* is very uncertaine. And for the common *Almanackes*, a man by observation shall easily finde, that the contrary to their prediction is commonly truest.

Now for the things which rest in the liberty of mans will, the *Starres* have doubtlesse no power over them, except it bee led by the sensitive appetite, and that againe stirred up by the constitution and complexion of the body, as too often it is, specially where the humours of the body are strong to assault, and the vertues of the minde weake to resist. If they have dominion over *Beasts*, what wee should judge of *Men*, who differ little from *Beasts*, I cannot tell; but sure I am, that though the *Starres* incline a man to this or that course of life, they do but incline, inforce they cannot: Education and reason, and most of all Religion, may so alter and over-master that inclination, as they shall produce a cleane contrary effect. It was to this purpose a good and memorable speech of *Cardinall Poole*, who being certified, by one of his acquaintance, who professed knowledge of these secret favours of the starres, that he should be raised and advanced to great calling in the world, made answer, that whatsoever was pretended by the figure of his birth, or naturall generation, was cancelled and altered, by the grace of his second birth, or regeneration in the blood of his Redeemer.

*Dudm. in vita  
 Pol.*

Againe



Againe wee may not forget that Almighty God created the starres, as hee did the rest of the *Vniversall*, whose secret influences may be called his reserved and unwritten Lawes, which by his *Prerogative Royall* he may either put in execution, or dispense with at his owne pleasure. For were the strength of the starres such as God had quitted unto them all dominion over his Creatures, that petition of the Lords Prayer, *Lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evill*, had beene none other but a vaine expence of words and time. Nay bee hee *Pagane* or *Christian* that so beleeveeth, the onely true God of the one, and the imaginary Gods of the other, would therby be dispoyled, of all worship reverence and respects. As therefore I do not consent with them who would make those glorious Creatures of God vertueleffe: so I thinke that we derogate from his eternall and absolute power and providence to ascribe to them the same dominion over our immortall soules which they have over our bodily substances, and perishable natures. For the soules of men loving and fearing God, receive influence from that divine light it selfe, whereof the Suns clarity and that of the Starres is by *Plato* called but a shadow, *Lumen est umbra Dei, & Deus est lumen luminis*, Light is the shadow of Gods brightnesse, who is the light of light.

## S E C T. 4.

*That neither of these kindes of influences is decayed in their benigne and favourable effects, but that curious inquisition into them is to bee forborne.*

**N**OW then since the *Immoveable Heaven* by the confession of all that acknowledge it, is altogether *inalterable*; since the aspect of the fixed constellations, the conjunction and opposition of the Planets, in the course of their revolutions, is still the same, and constant to it selfe; since for their *number*, their *quantity*, their *distance*, their *substance*, their *motion*, their *light*, and *warmth*, they are no whit impaired; why should wee make any doubt but that their *influence* is now likewise as sweet (or as God in his conference with *Iob*, tearmeth it) as benigne, as gracious, as favourable as ever, in regard of the Elements, the Plants, the beasts and man himselfe: and why should we not beleeve that *education*, *reason* and *religion*, are now as powerfull as ever, to correct and qualifie their unluckie and maligne aspects? that the hand of God is no way shortned; but that he is now as able as ever to controule and checke his creatures, & make them *worke together for the best, to them that love him*: As he did sometime in this very case, for his chosen people: *they fought from heaven, the starres in their courses fought against Sisera*. He that set the Sun and Moone at a stand in their walks, and commaunded the shadow to retire in the dyall of *Ahaz*, he that made a dry path through the red sea, muffled the mouthes of the *Lions*, and restrained the violence of the fire, so as for a season it could not burne, hath he bound himselfe to the influence of a Starre, that he cannot binde it up, or divert it, or alter it at his pleasure, and upon the humble supplication of his servants? no, no,



Jan. 5. 17.

Ier. 10. 2.

July 9. 1623.

Lib. 14. c. 1.

*Sanctus dominabitur astris*: if according to *Ptolomy*, the great Master of *Iudiciary Astrology*, *Wisedome* and *fore-sight* over-rule the starres, then surely much more devotion and piety. If the *Saints* by their prayers command the *Divels*, and both shut and open Heaven for raine and drought, as did *Elias*, then may they aswell by vertue of the same prayer, stop the influences of the starres, the instrumentall causes of drought and raine. Bee not dismaide then at the signes of Heaven, for the *Heathen* bee dismaide at them. And surely they in whom corrupt *Nature* swayes and raignes, have much more reason to be dismaide at them, then others in whom *Grace* and the sense of *Godlines* prevails. And whiles they feare many times they know not what, by meanes of their very feare, they fall into that which they stand in feare of: feare being the betrayer of these succours which reason affords. Much noise there is at this present, touching the late great Conjunction of *Saturne* and *Iupiter*, and many ominous conjectures are cast abroad upon it, which if perchance they prove true, I should rather ascribe it to our sinnes then the starres, wee need not search the cause so far off, in the *Booke of Heaven*, we may finde it written neerer at home in our owne bosomes: And for the starres, I may say as our *Saviour* in the *Gospell* doth of the *Sabboth*, the starres were made for men, and not men for the starres. They were not created to governe, but to serve him; if he serve & be governed by his *Creator*; & if *God* be on our side, & we on his, *Iupiter* & *Saturne* shall never hurt us; But whatsoever the force of the starres be, upon the persons of private men, or the states of weale-publiques, I should rather advise a modest ignorance therein, then a curious inquisition thereinto, following the witty & pithy counsell of *Phavorinus* the *Philosopher* in *Gellius*, where he thus speaks: *Aut adversa eventura dicunt, aut prospera; si dicunt prospera & fallunt, miser fies frustra expectando, si adversa dicunt & mentiuntur, miser fies frustra timendo; si vera respondent, eaque sunt non prospera, jam inde ex animo miser fies antequam è fato fias; si felicia promittunt, eaque eventura sunt, tum plane duo erunt incommoda, & expectatio te spe suspensum fatigabit, & futuram gaudij fructu spes tibi defloraverit.* Either they portend thee bad or good luck; if good & they deceive, thou wilt become miserable by a vaine expectation; if bad & they lye, thou wilt be miserable by a vaine feare; if they tell thee true, but unfortunate events, thou wilt bee miserable in minde before thou art by destiny; if they promise fortunate successe, which shall indeed come to passe, these two inconveniences will follow thereupon, both expectation by hope will hold thee in suspence, and hope will defloure and devoure the fruit of thy Contents. His conclusion is, which is also mine, both for this point, and this Chapter, and this discourse, touching the *Heavenly Bodies*, *Nullus igitur pacto utendum est istiusmodi hominibus res futuras presagientibus*: wee ought in no case to have recourse to those kinde of men which undertake the fore-telling of casual events. And so I passe from the consideration of the coelestiall bodies to the subcoelestiall, which by *Gods* ordinance depend upon them, and are made subordinate unto them, touching which, and the coelestiall bodies both together, comparing each with other, the *Divine Bartas* thus sweetly and truly sings:

Things



Things that consists of th' Elements uniting;  
 Are ever tost with an intestine fighting,  
 Whence springs (in time) their life and their deceasing,  
 Their diverse change, their waxing and decreasing:  
 So that, of all that is; or may be seene  
 With mortall eyes, under Nights horned Queene,  
 Nothing retaineth the same forme and face,  
 Hardly the halfe of halfe an houres space.  
 But the Heav'ns feele not Fates impartiall rigour,  
 Yeares adde not to their stature nor their vigour:  
 Use weares them not, but their greene-ever age,  
 Is all in all still like their pupillage.

Wherein hee commeth so neare *Buchanan* in his first booke *De Sphaera*,  
 as he may well be thought to imitate him.

*At quanquam moles, omnis sibi parte coherens  
 Vna sit, & nexis per mutua vincula membris  
 Conspiret, positaque semel Rectore sub uno  
 Obseruet leges: non est tamen omnibus unum.  
 Partibus ingenium, non vis nativa: sed orbes  
 Astriferi, & nitidi sublimis regia Caeli,  
 Immunis senij, & vultu immutabilis aeo,  
 Perpetuum servat solida & sincera tenorem.  
 At quicquid gremio Luna complectitur orbis,  
 Permutat variatque vices, trepidosque tumultu  
 Aestuat, & nunquam sentit pars ulla quietem:  
 Nam ruit in sese, & civili vulnere semper  
 Aut cadit, aut perimit, alioque renascitur ore,  
 Rursus ut intereat.*

## CHAP. 6.

*Touching the pretended decay of the Elements in generall.*

## SECT. I.

*That the Elements are still in number foure, and still retaine  
 their ancient places and properties.*

**H**AVING thus proved at large, in the former Chapters, touching  
 the *Heavens*, that there neither is, nor in the course of *Nature*  
 can be any decay, either in regard of their *matter*, their *motion*, Psal. 119. v. 91.  
 their *light*, their *warmth* or *influence*, but that they all continue as they were,  
 even to this day by Gods ordinance, it remaines that I now proceed to the  
 consideration of the *sublunary bodies*, that is, such as God and *Nature* hath  
 placed under the *Moone*. Now the state of these *inferiour*, being guided  
 and governed by the *superiour*, if the *superiour* be *unimpaireable*, as hath  
 beene shewed, it is a strong presumption, that the *inferiour* are likewise  
*unimpaired*. For as in the wheelles of a Watch or clock, if the first be out  
 of order, so are the second and third, & the rest that are moved by it: so  
 if



if the higher bodies were *impaired*, it cannot bee but the lower depending upon them, should taste thereof, as on the other side the one being not impaired, it is more then probable, that the other partake with them in the same condition. Which dependance is well expressed by *Boethius*, where having spoken of the constant regularity of the *heavenly bodies*, he thus goes on.

*De consol. lib. 4.  
Met. 6.*

*Hac concordia temperat aquis  
Elementa modis, ut pignantia  
Vicibus cedant humida siccis,  
Iungantque fidem frigora flammis,  
Pendulus ignis surgat in altum,  
Terraque graves pondere sidant  
Iisdem causis Vere tepenti  
Spirat florifer annus odores,  
Æstas Cererem fervida siccet,  
Remeat pomis gravis Autumnus,  
Hyemem defluus irrigat imber,  
Hac temperies alit & profert  
Quicquid vitam spirat in orbe,  
Eadem rapiens condit & anfert  
Obitu mergens orta supremo.*

This concord tempers equally  
Contrary Elements,  
That moist things yeeld unto the dry,  
And heat with cold consents;  
Hence fire to highest places doth flie,  
And Earth doth downward bend  
And flowrie Spring perpetually  
Sweet odours forth doth send:  
Hot Summer harvest gives, and store  
Of fruit *Autumnus* yeelds,  
And showres which downe from Heav'n doe powre,  
Each Winter drowne the fields:  
What ever in the World doth breath,  
This temper forth hath brought,  
And nourished: the same by death  
Againe it brings to nought.

Among the *subcelestiall* bodies, following *Natures* methode, I will first begin with the consideration of the *Elements*, the most simple and universall of them all, as being the Ingredients of all mixt bodies, either in whole or in part, and into which the mixt are finally resolved againe, and are againe by turnes re-made of them, the common matter of them all still abiding the same.

*Barthol.*

Heere's nothing constant, nothing still doth stay;  
For birth and death have still successive sway:  
Here one thing springs not till another dye  
Onely the matter lives immortally.  
Th' Almighty's table, Body of this All,

(Of



(Of changefull chances common Arcenall,  
And like it selfe, all in it selfe contained,  
Which by times flight hath neither lost nor gained)  
Changelesse in essence, changeable in face,  
Much more then *Proteus* or the subtile race  
Of roving *Polypes*, who (to rob the more)  
Transforme them hourly on the waving shore:  
Much like the French, (or like our selves their apes)  
Who with strange habits doe disguise their shapes.  
Who loving novels full of affectation,  
Receive the manners of each other Nation.

By consent of Antiquity they are in number foure, the *Fire*, the *Aire*,  
the *Water*, and the *Earth*.

*Quatuor aeternis genitalia corpora mundus  
Continet: ex illis duo sunt onerosa, suoque  
Pondere in inferius tellus, atque unda feruntur:  
Et totidem gravitate carent: nulloque premente  
Alta petunt aër, atque aëre purior ignis.  
Qua quanquam spacio aistant; tamen omnia sunt,  
Ex ipsis, & in ipsa cadunt.*

Foure bodies primitive the World still contains  
Of which two downward bend the earth and watry plaines,  
As many weight doe want and nothing forcing, higher  
They mount, th' aire and purer streames of fire.  
Which though they distant be, yet all things from them take  
Their birth, and into them their last returnes doe make.

Three of them shew themselves manifestly in milke, the butter being  
the *Aeriall* part thereof, the whey the *watery*, and the cheese the *earth-*  
*ly*: but all foure in the burning of greene wood, the flame being *fire*;  
the smoke, the *aire*; the liquor distilling at the ends, the *water*; and the  
ashes, the *earth*. *Philosophy* likewise by reason, teaches and proves the  
same from their *motion* upward and downward, from their *second qua-*  
*lities*, of lightnesse and heavinesse, and from their *first qualities*, either *a-*  
*ctive*, as heat and cold, or *passive*, as dry and moist. For as their *motion*  
proceedes from their *second qualities*, so do their *second* from the *first*, and  
their *first* from the *heavenly bodies*, next to which, as being the noblest  
of them all, as well in *purity* as *activity*, is seated the *Element* of the  
*fire*, (though many of the *Ancients*, and some later Writers, as namely  
*Cardan*, among the rest seemes to make a doubt of it.)

*Ignis ad aethereas volucer se sustulit auras  
Summaque complexus stellantis culmina Caeli,  
Flammarum vallo natura mœnia fecit.*

The fire eftsoones up towards Heaven did flie,  
And compassing the starrie World, advanced  
A wall of flames, to safeguard Nature by.

Next the fire is seated the *aire*, divided into three regions, next the *aire*  
the *water*, and next the *water* the *earth*.

Who so (sometimes) hath seene rich Ingots tride,

When

*1. De subtil.  
Mansl. 1.  
Astronom.*

*Bartol.*



When forc't by fire their treasure they divide:  
 (How faire and softly gold to gold doth passe,  
 Silver seekes silver, brasse consorts with brasse;  
 And the whole lumpe, of parts unequall, severs  
 It selfe apart, in white, red, yellow rivers)  
 May understand how, when the mouth divine  
 Op'ned (to each his proper place t'assigne)  
 Fire flew to fire, water to water slid,  
 Aire clung to aire, and earth with earth abid.

The vaile both of the *Tabernacle* and *Temple*, were made of blew, and purple, and scarlet or crimson, and fine twisted linnen: by which foure, as *Iosephus* noteth, were represented the foure Elements; his words are these *Velum hoc erat Babylonium variegatum, ex hyacintho, & bysso, cocco-que & purpurâ, mirabiliter elaboratum, non indignam contemplatione materia commissionem habens, sed velut omnium imaginem preferens; Cocco enim videbatur ignem imitari, & bysso terram, & hyacintho aërem, ac mare purpurâ, partim quidem coloribus, bysso autem & purpurâ origine, bysso quidem quia de terra, mare autem purpuram gignit.* The vaile was *Babylonish* worke, most artificially imbroydered, with blue and fine linnen, and scarlet, and purple, having in it a mixture of things, not unworthy our consideration, but carrying a kinde of resemblance of the *Vniuersall*; for by the scarlet, seemed the fire to be represented, by the linnen, the *earth*; by the blew, the *aire*; and by the purple, the *sea*: partly by reason of the colours of scarlet and blue, and partly by reason of the originall of linnen and purple; the one comming from the earth, the other from the sea. And *S. Hierome* in his Epistle to *Fabiola*, hath the very same conceit, borrowed as it seemes, from *Iosephus*, or from *Philo*, who hath much to like purpose, in his third booke of the life of *Moses*: or it may be from that in the eighteenth of the booke of *Wisedome*. In the long robe was the whole world: And not onely the vulgar Latine, and *Arias Montanus*, but out of them and the *Greek* originall, our last *English* Translation reads it.

The fire is dry and hot, the aire hot and moist, the water moist and cold, the earth cold and dry: thus are they linked, and thus embrace they one another with their symbolizing qualities, the earth being linked to the water by coldnesse, the water to the aire by moistnesse, the aire to the fire by warmth, the fire to the earth by drought: which are all the combinations of the qualities that possibly can bee; hot and cold, as also dry and moist, in the highest degrees being altogether incompatible in the same subject: And though the earth and the fire be most opposite in distance, in substance, & in activity; yet they agree in one quality, the two middle being therein directly contrary to the two extreames, aire to earth, and water to fire.

Water, as arm'd with moisture and with cold,  
 The cold-dry earth with her one hand doth hold;  
 With th'other th'aire: The aire as moist and warme,  
 Holds fire with one; water with th'other arme:  
 As Countrey-maidens, in the moneth of May,

Merrily



Merrily sporting on a holy-day;  
 And lusty dancing of a lively round  
 About the May-pole, by the Bag-pipes sound;  
 Hold hand in hand, so that the first is fast  
 (By meanes of those betweene) unto the last.  
 But all the linkes of th' holy chaine, which tether  
 The many members of the World together,  
 Are such, as none but onely he can breake them,  
 Who at the first did (of meere nothing) make them.

*Ha vices mundi sunt nullo momento consistentes, quas natura circa terram agitat, quibusque continuo instauratur, & ad aequalitatem reducitur, legem & fœdus positum elementis servans.* These are the changes of the World, not standing still so much as for a moment, which Nature exerciseth here below, and by meanes of which shee is continually repaired and reduced to equality, by observing the law and covenant made with the Elements.

*Simon Grynaeus  
 Annot. in Arist.  
 de mundo.*

## S E C T. 2.

*That the Elements still hold the same proportions each to other, and by mutuall exchange the same dimensions in themselves.*

**T**Hese foure then, as they were from the beginning, so still they remaine the radicall and fundamentall principles of all subcelestiall bodies, distinguished by their severall and ancient *Situations, properties, actions, and effects*; and howsoever after their old wont they fight and combate together, being *single*; yet in *composition* they still accord marvailous well.

*Tu numeris elementa ligas; ut frigora flammis,  
 Arida convenient liquidis, ne purior ignis  
 Evolet, aut mersas deducant pondera terras.*

*Boetius. lib. 3.  
 Met. 9.*

To numbers thou the Elements dost tie,  
 That cold with heat may symbolize, and drie  
 With moist, least purer fire should fore too high,  
 And earth through too much weight too low should lie.

The *Creator* of them, hath bound them as it were, to their good behaviour, and made them in every mixt body to stoope and obey *one predominant*, whose sway and conduct they willingly follow. The *aire* being predominant in some, as in oyle, which alwayes swimmes on the toppe of all other liquors; and the earth in others, which alwayes gather as neare the Center as possibly they can. And as in these, they vary not a jot from their native and wonted properties, so neither doe they in their other conditions. It is still true of them, that *nec gravitant nec levitant in suis locis*, there is no sense of their weight or lightnesse in their proper places, as appears by this, that a man lying in the bottom of the deepest *Ocean*, hee feeles no burden from the weight thereof. The *fire* still serves to warme us as it did, the *aire* to maintaine our breathing, the *water* to cleanse and refresh us, the *earth* to feede and support



2. De Generat.  
cap. 6.

Clavius in Sa-  
croboſc. cap. 1.  
Lib. de Crepusc.  
Lib. 1. prop. 60.  
7. Perſpect.

Lib. de Mundi  
incorruptibili-  
tate.

port us, and which of them is most necessary for our use is hard to determine: Likewise they still hold the same proportion one toward another, as formerly they have done: For howbeit the *Peripatetickes* pretending herein the Authority of their Master *Aristotle*, tell us, that as they rise one above another in situation, so they exceed one another, *proportione decupla*, by a tenne-fold proportion, yet is this doubtlesse a foule error, or at least-wise a grosse mistake, whether we regard their *intire bodies*, or their *parts*; in their *intire bodies*, it is certaine that the earth exceeds both the water and the aire by many degrees: The depth of the waters, not exceeding two or three miles, and for the most part not above halfe a mile, as *Marriners* finde by their line and plummet, whereas the *diameter* of the earth, as *Mathematicians* demonstrate, exceeds seaven thousand miles. And for the *aire*, taking the height of it from the place of the ordinary *Comets*, it containes by estimation about fifty two miles, as *Nonius*, *Vitellio*, and *Albazeſen* shew by *Geometricall* proofes. Whence it plainly appears that there cannot be that proportion betwixt the *intire Bodies* of the *Elements* which is pretended, nor at any time was since their Creation. And for their *parts*, tis as cleare by experience, that out of a few drops of *water* may be made so much *aire* as shall exceed them five hundred or a thousand times at least.

But whatsoever their *proportion* be, it is certain that notwithstanding their continuall *transmutation* or *trans-elementation*, as I may so call it, of one into another, yet by a mutuall *retribution* it still remaines the same that in former ages it hath beene, as I have already shewed more at large in a former chapter: and *Philo* most elegantly expresseth, *Egregia quidem est in elementis quaternarum virium compensatio, equalibus, justisque regulis ac terminis vices suas dispensantium: sicut enim anni circulus quaternis vicibus distinguitur alijs partibus post alias succedentibus, & per ambitus eosdem usque recurrente tempore: pari modo & elementa mundi vicissim sibi succedentia mutantur, & quod diceret incredibile, dum mori videntur, redduntur immortalia, iterum atque iterum metiendo idem stadium, & sursum atque deorsum per eandem viam cursitando continuè, à terrâ enim a clivis via incipit, quæ liqueſcens in aquam mutatur, aqua porro evaporat in aerem, aer in ignem extenuatur, ac declivis altera deorsum tendit à Capite, igne per extinctionem subsidente in aerem, aere verò in aquam se densante, aqua verò liquere in terram crassescere.* There is in the *Elements* a notable compensation of their fourefold qualities, dispensing themselves by even turnes and just measures. For as the circle of the year is distinguished by foure quarters, one succeeding another, the time running about by equall distances: In like manner, the foure *Elements* of the World by a reciprocall vicissitude succeed one another: & which a man would thinke incredible, while they seeme to die, they become immortall: running the same race, and incessantly travailling up and downe by the same path. From the Earth the way riseth upward, it dissolving into water, the water vapours forth into aire, the aire is rarified into fire; againe they descend downward the same way, the fire by quenching being turned into aire, the aire thickneth into water, and the water into earth. Hitherto  
*Philo*



*Philo*, wherein after his usuall wont he *Platonizes*, the same being in effect to be found in *Platoes Timæus*, as also in *Aristotles booke de Mundo*, if it be his, in *Damascene*, and *Gregory Nyssen*. And most excellently the wittiest of Poets.

*Lib. 1. de fid.  
orth. cap. 3.  
De operibus sex  
dierum.*

*Ovid. Met. 154*

----*resolutaque tellus*

*In liquidas rarescit aquas, tennatur in auras,  
Aeraque humor habet, dempto quoque pondere rursus  
In superos aer tenuissimus emicat ignes.  
Inde retrò redeunt: idemque retexitur ordo,  
Ignis enim densum spissatus in aera transit,  
Hinc in aquas tellus glomeratâ cogitur undâ.*

The Earth resolv'd is turned into streames,  
Water to aire, the purer aire to flames:  
From thence they back returne, the fiery flakes  
Are turn'd to aire, the aire thickned, takes  
The liquid forme of water, and that earth makes.

The foure Elements herein resembling an instrument of Musicke with foure strings, which may be tuned diverse wayes, and yet the harmony still remains sweet, and so are they compared in the booke of *Wisdomes*, *Cap. 12. v. 17.* The Elements agreed among themselves in this change, as when one tune is changed upon an instrument of Musicke, and the melody still remaineth.

Sith then the knot of sacred marriage,  
Which joynes the Elements, from age to age  
Brings forth the worlds babes: sith their enmities,  
With fell divorce, kill whatsoever dies:  
And sith but changing their degree and place,  
They frame the various formes, wherewith the face  
Of this faire world is so imbellished,  
As six sweet notes, curiously varied  
In skilfull musick, make a hundred kindes  
Of heav'nly sounds, that ravish hardest mindes;  
And with division of a choyce device,  
The hearers soules out at their eares entice:  
Or as of twice-twelve letters thus transpos'd,  
This world of words is variously compos'd,  
And of these words, in diverse order sowne,  
This sacred volume that you read is growne.  
Who so hath seene, how one warme lump of waxe,  
(Without increasing or decreasing) takes  
A hundred figures, well may judge of all  
Th' incessant changes of the neather ball:  
Yet thinke not that this changing oft remises  
Ought into nought: it but the forme disguises  
In hundred fashions, and the substances  
Inly or outly, neither win nor leese.  
For all that's made, is made of the first matter,  
Which in th'old nothing made the All-creator  
All that dissolves, resolves into the same,

*Barth.*

L

Since



Since first the Lord, of nothing made this frame:  
 Nought's made of nought, and nothing turnes to nothing,  
 Things birth or death change but their formall cloathing:  
 Their formes doe vanish but their bodies bide,  
 Now thick, now thin, now round, now short, now fide.

*Vtique novis facilis signatur cera figuris,  
 Nec manet ut fuerat, nec formam servat eandem,  
 Sed tamen ipsa eadem est.*

They be the verses of *Ovid* in the 15. of his *Met.* but may well be rendered by those of *Bartas* touching severall prints stamped upon the same lumpe of waxe.

### SECT. 3.

*An objection drawne from the continuall mixture of the Elements, each with other answered.*

**T**HUS then wee see that the *Elements* are still the same, no way impaired in regard of their *portions* or *proportions*. Neither doe I finde any objection against this of any moment, or worthy our notice: Let us now examine whether or no they be impaired in their *qualities*, for which I have often heard it alleaged, that their frequent *interchange*, their continuall blending and mixing together, now for the space of so many hundred yeares, cannot in reason but much have altered their *inbred vigour* and originall constitution, as *Ilanders*, and in them specially their maritime parts are thought by *Aristotle*, and commonly by experience are found to be most tainted in their manners, by reason that lying open to trade, they draw on the commerce and intercourse of sundry forraine Nations, who by long conversation, debauch them in regard of their *customes*, their *language*, their *habit* and naturall *disposition*. But this allegation is in truth a bare and naked supposition. For though it bee true that such a continuall traffique and inter-change there is betwixt the *Elements*, yet doth it not therefore follow that their *qualities* should thereby degenerate, or become more impure, inasmuch as that impurity which by intercourse they have contracted, by perpetuall agitation they purge out againe, and by continuall generation each out of other renew their parts, and so by degrees returne to their former estate and purity.

Dr. Dee, de  
 praestant. natu-  
 ra virtut. A-  
 phor. 12.

*Sicut lyra, constitutio quadam est tonorum consonantium atque dissonantium, aptissima tamen ad suavissimam & infinita varietate mirabilem exprimendam harmoniam: sic mundus iste partes intra se complectitur inter quas artissima conspiciatur sympathia: alias autem inter quas dissidium acre atque antipathia notabilis; ita tamen ut tum illarum conspiratio mutua, tum istarum lis atque dissensio, ad totius consensionem atque unionem admirandam: (or as he speakes in another Aphorisme, ad naturae perpetuandam incolumitatem) egregie faciat. As a Harpe is a certaine instrument of sounds agreeing and disagreeing, yet most fit for the expressing of a most pleasant harmony, admirable for the infinite variety*



riety thereof: so this World contains in it some parts, among which a neare sympathy appeares, but others among which is a fierce combat, and a notable antipathy; yet so as both the mutuall agreement of the one, and the continuall disagreement of the other, make not only for the wonderfull union, but the perpetuall conservation of the whole.

And againe, for the *fire*, if we consider it in its owne spheare, (though as the rest of the *Elements*, it bee indeed subject to a successive generation and corruption, in regard of the parts thereof) yet is it alwayes most pure, which is the reason that it neither can bee seene, as fiery *Meteors* are, neither can any creature either breed or live in it. And as for the *Aire*, *Water*, and *Earth*, if they were pure, it is certaine they could not be so serviceable as they are. If the *Aire* were pure, neither men, nor birds, nor beasts could breath in it, as S. *Augustine* reports of the hill *Olympus*: *Perhibetur in Olympi vertice aer esse tam tenuis ut neque sustentare alites possit, neque ipsos qui forte ascenderint homines, crassioris aere spiritu alere sicut in isto aere consueverunt*: It is said that upon the top of the hill *Olympus*, the *aire* is so thin and pure, that it can neither beare up the birds that offer to flie in it, nor be usefull for the breathing of men, if any come thither, being used to thicker *aire*. Neither could any *Meteors*, did it still continue pure, be bred in it: as *raine*, and *snow*, and *dewes*, and *frosts* and the like, which notwithstanding are many wayes commodious and profitable for the use of all living creatures, so as they could not live without them. And for the *water* if it were pure, it could neither feed the fishes, nor beare up vessels of burden. As likewise if the *earth* were pure, it would bee altogether barren and fruitlesse, like sand or ashes, not able to nourish the plants that hang upon the breasts of it. The *Elements* then being ordained for the ornament of the World, but chiefly to serve the mixt bodies, there is nothing lost but much gained to the whole, by the losse of their purity, nay the restitution and recovery thereof (if so they were created) would undoubtedly prove the utter undoing of the whole, as the untainted virginity of either sexe would of the race of mankind; yet for farther satisfaction, it shall not bee amisse to consider these three asunder, in reference to the *mixt bodies*, the *aire* I meane, the *water*, and the *earth*, that so it may appeare whether the *aire* be decayed in its temper, the *water* in its goodnesse and vertue, the *earth* in its fatnesse and fruitfulnessse.

*De Gen. a. 11. c. 2.  
ram. lib. 3. c. 2.*



## CHAP. 7.

*Touching the pretended decay of the aire, in  
regard of the temper thereof.*

## SECT. I.

*Of excessive drought and cold in former ages,  
and that in forraine Countries.*

**T**Hat the aire is not distempered, more then in former ages, will as I conceive appeare by this, that unseasonable weather, for excessive heat and cold, or immoderate drought and raine, thunder and lightning, frost and snow, haile and windes, yea and contagious sicknesses, pestilentiall, Epidemicall diseases, arising from the infection of the aire, by noysome mists and vapours, to which we may adde, earthquakes, burning in the bowels of the earth, blazing Comets, and the like; were as frequent, if not more, in former ages, then in later times, as will easily appeare to such who please to looke either into the *Generall History* of the World at large, or the severall *Chronicles* of particular nations. Such burnings like that of *Phaeton*, such floods like that of *Ogyges* and *Deucalion*, recorded by *Orosius*, *Pliny*, *S. Augustine*, and *Varro*, the World hath not felt or knowne since those times. To like purpose I remember *Iustus Lipsius*, a man rather partiall for *Antiquity* then for the present age, hath written an *Epistle* upon occasion of a great drought which happened in the yeare one thousand sixe hundred and one, and lasted by the space of above foure moneths, to which he makes this entrance, *Non tamen nimis insolens aut nova, etsi nobis sic visa*: It is no new or unusuall thing, though to us so it seeme: whereupon he produceth sundry instances of excessive heat and drought in former ages as well from the *Roman History*, as the *Germane Annals*. Among which the most remarkable are, that in the yeare one thousand two hundred twenty eight, the heat was such, that their harvest was fully ended at *Midsummer*, or to speake in his words, before the *Festivall* of *S. Iohn the Baptist*, which we commonly call *Midsummer day*. And againe two yeares after, in the moneth of *Iuly* and *August*, it continued so fervently hot, that men roasted egges in the sand.

And least we should thinke that their immoderate cold, was not answerable to their heat, he goes on and tells us that in the reigne of *Lewis* son to *Charlemaigne*, in the yeare eight hundred twenty one, the winter was so long and sharpe, that not onely small brookes and streames, but the *Rhene*, *Danubius*, *Albis*, the *Sene*, and generally all the great rivers both of *France* and *Germany* were so hard frozen, that for the space of thirty dayes or more, loaden Carts passed over them, as it had beene upon Bridges.

*Virgil's Georgicks. 3.*

*Vndaque jam tergo ferratos sustinet orbes,  
Puppibus illa prius, patulis nunc hospita plaustris.*

The



The river on it's backe now iron wheelles sustaines,  
And what did ships ere while, now Wagons entertaines.

But in the yeare one thousand eighty six, the winter continued so bitter, that from *S. Martyns* day, which is the eleventh of *November*, to the first of *April*, the *Rheine* was passable on foote. And for unseasonable cold, in regard of the time of the yeare, he reports out of *Hermannus Contractus*, that in the yeare one thousand sixty three, in the midst of *April* for the space of foure dayes the weather was so cruell with raging windes and abundance of snow, that it kild their cattle and birds, and destroyed their vines and trees. And lastly he vouches out of *Robertus de Monte*, that in the yeare one thousand one hundred twenty five, it was so fore and biting a winter, that innumerable *Eeles* by reason of the long continuance of the *Ice*, came creeping out of the ditches & hiding themselves in the meddowes, were there found dead, and rotten by the wonderfull excesse of *Cold*, and upon the trees scarce appeared there any leaves till the moneth of *May*: his conclusion is, *Quorsum ego ista? ut opinio illa novitatis eximatur, quæ male in omni dolore aut querelâ blanditur, nunquam tale, nemini tantum: nugæ & plebey sermone, quos historia refutent, & serio lecta hunc quoque constantia fructum in animo gignant.* But now to what end are these examples alleaged by me? Surely to no other purpose but to worke out of mens mindes that opinion of novelty and strangenesse, wherewith wee usually flatter our selves in our griefe and complaints, never was the like, no age ever saw or felt it, in such a measure: Trifling speeches, befeeming the vulgar, but confuted by history which being accurately read, may serve to arme us with constancy against these and the like accidents.

*Seneca* in the entrance of 2. of his *Epistles* to *Lucilius*, complains of unseasonable & unkindly springs by reason of their cold, in the one he calls it *malignum ver & praposterum frigus*, a malignant Spring and preposterous cold; and in the other, *jam inclinatum in astatem, quo tempore calere debebat, intepuit: nec adhuc illi fides est, sæpe enim in hyemem revolvitur*: it now growing on upon Summer; when for the season of the yeare it should bee hot, the weather is but warme, neither yet is any trust to be given to it, for that it often relapses backe into winter: so as the complaint of unseasonable weather is not new.

I thinke wee shall hardly reade or heare of a sharper frost in later ages, then that which *Ovid* mentions in the place whither he was banished, at his being there.

*Nudaque consistunt formam servantia testæ*

*Vina, nec hausta meri sed data frustra bibunt.*

*Ovid. de Trist.*

Bare Wines still keeping forme of Caske stand fast,

Not gulses, but gobbets of their Wine they tast.

*Georg. 3.*

Agreeable whereunto is that of *Virgil*,

*Caduntque securibus humida vina,*

And liquid Wines with axes doe they cleave.

*Serres* in the life of *Francis* the first reports, that at the siege of *Luxemburge*, in the yeare 1543, the weather was so cold, that the provant wine ordained for the Army being frozen, was divided with hatchets, and



Annal. 13. 8.

by the souldiers carried away in baskets. And *Tacitus* speaking of the *Romans* warre in *Armenia*, tells us that the Winter was so sharpe, and the earth so long covered with ice, that they could not pitch their tents, unlesse they had first digged the ground; many of their limmes grew starke with extremity of cold, and many died in keeping the watch, and there was a souldier noted carrying a fagot, whose hands were so stiffe frozen, that sticking to his burthen, they fell from him as though they had beene cut from his armes.

## S E C T. 2.

*Of excessive drought and cold and raine in former ages here at home,  
and of the common complaint of unseasonable weather in  
all ages, together with the reason thereof.*

Survey of Lon-  
don. ex lib.  
Bermum.

**A**Nd if wee looke nearer home, wee shall finde that in the yeare one thousand one hundred & fourteene, in the fourteenth yeare of King *Henry* the first, the river of *Thames* was dried up, & such want of water there betweene the Tower of *London* and the Bridge, and under the Bridge it selfe, that not onely horse, but a great number of men, women and children, did daily wade over on foote. And for excessive and unseasonable frosts, raine, snow, haile, windes, & the like, our stories are full, specially *Stowes Chronicles*: and many of them were so immoderate, as wee have had none in latter times comparable thereunto.

Holkensbed.

It is true indeed that in generall, all *Ilands*, and ours, I beleeeve, above any other in the world, is subject to such uncertainty of weather, that many times wee can hardly distinguish *Christmas* from *Mid-summer*, but onely by the length of dayes: So warme it is at *Christmas*, and againe so stormy and cold at *Mid-summer*. And for raine, thorow the yeare, I thinke, we have more then any where upon the *Continent*. So that I may justly call our *Iland Matulam Planetarum*, the Urinall of the Planers. I will give one instance for all: In the two and twentieth yeare of *Edward* the third, from *Mid-summer* to *Christmas*, for the more part, it continually rain'd: so that there was not one day and night dry together. But this I take to bee, specially for that it is environed by the *Sea*, and withall stands so farre to the *North-west*. Since then it is still situate where it was, it is likely that the aire was here for the most part, tempered or distempered in former ages, as now it is: Yet I know the complaint is common, that our summers by reason of cold and moist, are not so kindly as they have beene:

*Sternuntur segetes, & deplorata colonis*

*Vota jacent, longique perit labor irritus anni:*

The corne lyes downe, the plow man doth complaine,  
His hopes are voide, and toying all the yeare,  
Hee onely hath his labour for his paine.

Neither will I altogether deny it, it may bee *God* hath a quarrell to us for our sinnes, or seekes by this chastisement to draw us nearer to himselfe:



selfe: But what is this to the universall decay of Nature? Doubtlesse the same complaint hath still beene in the times of our *Fathers* and *Grand-fathers*, and *Great Grand-fathers*, and so upward in regard of the *Generations* before them. The Husband-men I am sure so complained in *Virgils* time,

*Æstatem increpitant seram, Zephyrosque morantes.*

And so did they in *S. Augustines* *Nonne quotidie hoc murmuratis, & hoc dicitis, quamdiu ista patimur! quotidie pejora & pejora, apud parentes nostros fuerunt dies latiores, fuerunt dies meliores. O si interrogares ipsos parentes tuos, similiter tibi de diebus suis murmurarent: Fuerunt beati Patres nostri, nos miseri sumus; malos dies habemus.* Doe you not daily mur-  
mure, and thus say, how long shall wee suffer thele things! All things grow worse and worse: Our *Fathers* saw better and merrier dayes: But I wish thou would'st aske the question of thy *Fathers*, & thou shalt finde them murmur likewise in regard of their dayes: saying, Oh our *Fathers* were happy, we miserable: we see nothing but bad dayes. But had this complaint beene as true as ancient, as just as usuall in all ages, we had not beene left at this day to renew it: wee should by this time have had no weather to ripen our corne or fruites, in any tolerable manner. For my selfe then, mine opinion is, that men for the most part, being most affected with the present, more sensible of punishments then of blessings, and growing in worldly cares, and consequently in discontent, as they grow in yeares & experience; they are thereby more apt to apprehend crosses then comforts, to repine and mur-  
mure for the one, then to returne thanks for the other. Whence it comes to passe that unseasonable weather, and the like crosse accidents are printed in our memories, as it were with red letters in an *Almanacke*: but for seasonable and faire, there stands nothing but a blanke: the one is graven in brasse, the other written in water,

*Augustinus in Psal. 33. in illa verba: Quis est homo qui vult vitam & diligit dies videre bonos.*

### SECT. 3.

*Of contagious diseases, and specially the Plague, both here at home, and abroad in former ages.*

**N**OW for *contagious diseases*, and specially the *Plague* it selfe, it is well knowne, that this land hath now by *Gods* favour beene in a manner altogether free from it since the first yeare of his *Majesties* raigne; whereas heretofore, it hath commonly every seaven or eight yeares at furthest, spread it selfe through the greatest part of the land, and swept away many thousand. In the yeare one thousand three hundred forty eight, it was so hot in *Wallingford*, a Towne of *Barke-shire*, that in a manner it dis-peopled the Towne reducing their *twelve Churches* to one or two which they now onely retaine. In *London* it had so sharpe and quicke an edge, and mowed downe such multitudes, that within the space of twelve moneths, there were buried in one *Church-yard*, commonly called the *Cisterians* or *Charterhouse*, above fifty thousand. They write further, that through the Kingdome it made such

This was written in the last yeare of King James.

*Camden in Barke-shire.*

*Rob. Auesbury & Fabian. Sam. Daniell. Ann. 21. Ed. yards. 3.*



a ravage, as it tooke away more then halfe of men; Churchyards could not suffice to bury the dead, new grounds were purchased for that purpose: And it is noted that there died, onely in London betweene the first of January and the first of July 57374. Other Cities and townes suffering the like according to their proportions: The earth being every where filled with graves, and the aire with cries. In the tenth yeare likewise of Edward the second, there was so great a pestilence, and generall sicknesse of the common sort, caused by the ill nutriment they received, as the living scarce sufficed to bury the dead.

Ann. 1317.

Pompon. Letin  
Zonaras, tom. 2.

Ensebius, l. 7. c.

De constant, l.  
2. c. 22.

Procopius, l. 11.  
de bello Persico.  
Agathias, lib. 5.  
Lib. 5. c. 8.

Lipsius, ut su-  
pra.

Now if we cast our eyes abroad, such strange pestilences as Virgil describes in the third of his Georgicks, and Ovid in the seaventh of his Metam: wee nowadayes no where heare of, nor yet such as Thucydides a grave Historian mentions in his second booke, which was at Athens, and some other parts of Greece, so contagious that the birds being infected with it as they flew in the aire, fell down dead to the earth, & the beasts of pray which fed vpon carrion, abstained from eating the dead bodies. Under the Emperors Vibius Gallus, & Volutianus his son about two hundred & fifty yeares after Christ, there arose a plague in Ethiopia, which spread it selfe into all the provinces of the Roman Empire & lasted by the space of fifteene yeares together, without any intermissiō; & so great was the mortality, that in Alexandria, as Dionysius himselfe, at that very time Bishop of that See reports it, there was not one house of the whole city free, & the whole remainder of the inhabitants did not equall the number of old men in former times: By meanes whereof of S. Cyprian, Bishop of Carthage, who lived in the same age, tooke occasion to write, that his excellent Treatise de Mortalitate: And Lipsius his censure of this pestilence is, *Non alia unquam major lues mihi lecta, spatio temporum sive terrarum*: I never read of a more grievous contagion, whether wee regard the long lasting or the large spreading thereof: Yet was that certainly for the time more impetuous and outrageous under Justinian, the fiercenesse whereof was such that only in Constantinople and the places neere adjoyning thereunto, it cut of at least five thousand and some times tenne thousand persons in the day: Which my selfe should hardly bee drawne, either to report or to beleeve, but that I finde it recorded by faithfull Historiographers of those times. Neither lesse wonderfull was that pestilence in Africa, which snatcht away onely in Numidia, Octingenta hominum millia, sayth Orosius, eight hundred thousand men. Or that under Michael Duca in Greece, which was so sharpe and violent, *Vi vivi prorsus pares non essent mortuis sepeliendis* (they bee the words of Zonaras) the living were no way sufficient to bury the dead. But that which scourged Italy in Petrarchs time, in the yeare one thousand three hundred fifty nine, as himselfe relates it, in my minde exceeds all hitherto spoken of, there beeing scarce left alive tenne of a thousand thorow the whole Countrey, and if wee credit Boccace, there dyed thereof onely in Florence from March to July about one hundred thousand persons. Of 70000 inhabitants in Dalmatia scarce 3000 were left alive by reason of the plague *lues ingens Romæ facta ita ut per multos dies in ephemeriden 10000 ferme mortuorum hominum referrentur*. Where by



by the way I cannot let passe, that under *David*, though by most Divines held to bee supernaturall and miraculous, in which there died of the people seventy thousand men within the space of three dayes: but hee that desires more fully to informe himselfe of the grievous pestilences in ancient times, let him reade *Lancelot* in his *L'Hoggidi*: Cap. 47. 2. Sam. 24. 15.

Now for other infectious Epidemicall diseases in former ages, *Pasquier* assigns a whole chapter to them, which he thus entitles, *Des maladies qui ont seulement unifoies Cours par La disposition de L'air*. Lib. 4. c. 25. Of those diseases which have but once had their course through the distemper of the aire. And *Plutarch* in the eighth booke and ninth question of his *Symposiacks*, discoursing upon the same subject, tells us of these new unheard of diseases: *mirari non debemus si quadam existant quæ olim non fuerunt, aut interciderunt quæ antiqui habuerunt*: wee neede not wonder if some bee now rife, which in former ages were not heard of, and others againe be growne out which vexed the ancients: to which purpose hee mentions out of *Agatharcides*, a very wonderfull & grievous disease torturing the inhabitants bordering upon the *Red Sea*, which notwithstanding, *prius aut posterius ullis alijs obtigisse, nemo comperit*, no man ever observed to befall any other before or since. Heere with us, we have not heard of late dayes of any such diseases, as the shaking of the sheetes, or the sweating sicknesse, touching which, it is very memorable that *Mr Camden* hath delivered in his description of *Shrewesbury*, as for the cause thereof, saith he, let others search it out, for mine owne part I have observed that this malady hath runne through *England* thrice in the ages afore going, and yet I doubt not but long before also it did the like, although it were not recorded in writing. First, in the yeare of our Lord 1485, in which King *Henry* the seaventh first began his raigne, a little after the great Conjunction of the superiour Planets in *Scorpio*. A second time yet more mildely, (although the plague accompanied it) in the 33 yeare after, Anno 1518, upon a great opposition of the same Planets in *Scorpio* and *Taurus*, at which time it plagued the *Netherlands* and high *Almany* also. Last of all, 33 yeares after that againe, in the yeare 1551, when another Conjunction of those Planets in *Scorpio* tooke their effects: so that by Gods goodnes, for the space now of these last seventy three yeares, wee have not felt that disease. Twise thirty three yeares and more, and the same Conjunction and opposition of the Planets have passed over, and yet it hath not touched us. In the 31 yeare of King *Henry* the first, a terrible murraine of cattell spread through the whole kingdome, insomuch as whole sties of hogges, and whole stalls of oxen were every where suddenly emptied, and it continued so long, *ut nulla omnino huius regni villa huius miseria immunis alterius incommoda ridere potest*, (saith *Malmesburiensis*) so as no one village was so free from this misery, that it could laugh at the mishap of others. Novel. hist. l. 2.

Now adayes wee heare not of so frequent, of such foule and fretting kindes of Leprosies any-where in the world, as were anciently among the *Iewes*; they had the Leprosie of the skin, of the flesh, of the scab, of the running sore, of the haire, of the bead, and beard: their garmens both



Ibid. 55.

Lev. 14. 33.

Num. 12. 10.

2 Kings. 5. 27.

2 Kings. 5. 5.

2 Chron. 26.

19.

2 Kings. 7. 4.

Luk. 17. 12.

both linnen and wollen were infected with it, so as sometimes it increased and spread it selfe in the very garment, though separated from the body of the diseased. Nay, which is more strange, the walles of their houses were not free from it: it atainted the very stones and the mortar with greenish & reddish spots, so as they were forced sometimes to plucke downe a part of the house, sometimes the whole, whē no other meanes was found to cleanse it. Now their great multitudes of *Lepers* appeares in this, that they had so many, and solemne *Laves* for their triall, for their cleansing, and for the shutting of them up without the campe. And though wee may well conceive, that some of them were stricken with this disease immediatly by the finger of God, as <sup>a</sup> *Myriam*, *Moses* sister for her murmuring, <sup>b</sup> *Gehazi* for his bribery, <sup>c</sup> *Azariah* for his backwardnesse in reformation of Religion, <sup>d</sup> *Vzziah* for his presumptuous forwardnes in taking upon him the Priests office, yet those *four* that fate together expecting the charity of passengers at the gate of <sup>e</sup> *Samaria*, and those *tenne* that our <sup>f</sup> *Saviour* healed at once, shew that the number of their ordinary *Lepers* was very great. And heere with us the number of them was doubtlesse much greater, then now by Gods goodnesse wee finde them to bee, as is evident by the many hospitals which through the kingdome were built and endowed for them: in *Leicestershire* is a towne named *Burton Lazars*, so called (saith *Camden*) from a famous hospital which was there founded for the use of Leprous people, to whose Master all the lesser houses of that kinde were subordinate, as hee himselfe was to the Master of the *Lazars* at *Hierusalem*. By which order of government, it plainly appeares, that not onely in this kingdome, but through *Christendom*, the number of those houses was very great, which at this present, for the most part, are either ruined or growne altogether out of use.

Lib. 2. de morbis contag.

Lastly, none can bee ignorant, that the sicknesse which wee call the *French* disease, they the *Neapolitan*, and the *Neapolitans* the *Indian*, (because wee borrowed it from the *French*, they from the *Spaniards* at *Naples*, and they againe from the *Indians*) is neither so catching, nor so virulent, nor so contagious, nor so dangerous, as in former times it hath beene, as *Fracastorius*, a famous phylition of *Verona* in *Italie*, long since foretold: *hic idem morbus interibit & extinguetur, mox etiam & nepotibus nostris rursus videndus renascetur, quemadmodum & prateritis etatibus visum à majoribus nostris credendum est, de quo non pauca indicia etiamnum extant*: this very disease in proceffe of time shall likewise weare out and be extinguished, and shall againe in future ages be revived, as it is to be thought, that in former ages our ancestours felt it, whereof not a few tokens are extant: and that it was not unknowne to the ancient, though the name of it were lost, he elegantly expresses it in his verses

De Morbo Galli.

to *Bembus*,

*Nec semel in terris visam, sed sæpè fuisse  
Ducendum est, quanquam nobis nec nomine nota  
Hactenus illa fuit, quoniam longa va vetustas  
Cuncta situ involvens & res & nomina delet,  
Nec monumenta patrum seri videre Nepotes.*

Nor



Nor that it onely now on earth hath beene  
 May wee conceive, but often hath beene seene,  
 Though now the name unknowne bee, with rust  
 Defac'd by tract of time, and wrapp'd in dust,  
 For that the monuments of former ages  
 Are not come downe to view of latter ages.

And to this purpose doth hee tell a storie of a barber, a friend of his, who having in his keeping an ancient booke of medicinall experiments, and among the rest, one with this title: *Ad scabiem crassam, quam cum doloribus juncturarum accidit*: for the tough scabbe which comes with a paine in the joynts: hee consulted the Physitians what they thought of his receite; they, because it chiefly consisted of quicksilver and brimstone, sharply forbade it, the barber notwithstanding having a while after made tryall thereof, and finding it successfull in the use, grew discontent with himselfe that he had not used it sooner, the gaines which he might thereby well have gotten, by the curing of it at the first appearing, being now much anticipated by others. But mine Authours conclusion thereupon, is: *ex quo videre profecto possumus, alijs etatibus visum cum morbum fuisse*: from whence wee may see, that this disease hath beene in former ages.

## S E C T. 4.

*Of Earthquakes in former ages, and their terrible effects lively described by Seneca.*

**T**O the pestilences and other contagious diseases of former ages, may be added the *Earthquakes* arising likewise from the distemper of the *aire*, though in another kinde. Of these wee have beene nothing so frequent and fearefull as in the dayes of our more ancient predecessours, insomuch as they chiefly gave occasion to the composing of that *Litanie*, and therein to the petition against suddaine death, which by publicke authority is used through the *Christian* Church at this day. By the force of *Earthquakes*, contrary to the proverbe, Mountaines have met; the City of *Antioch* where the Disciples of *Christ* were first called *Christians*, with a great part of *Asia* bordering upon it, was in *Trajan's* time swallowed up with an *Earthquake*, as writeth *Dion*, reporting many marvailous things thereof. By the same meanes at one time twelve famous Cities of *Asia* (Or as *Crinus* out of *Eusebius* writes thirteen, which he there names) were overturned under the reigne of *Tiberius*. And at another time as many townes of *Campania* under *Constantine*. But that earth quake described by *Marcellinus* seems to have exceeded any yet spoken of, *Horrendi tremores* (saith hee) *per omnem orbis ambitum grassati sunt subito, quales nec fabula nec veridica antiquitates nobis exponunt; paulo post lucis exortum densitate crebra fulgurum vibratorum tremefacta concutitur omnis terreni stabilitas ponderis &c*: of the like universal earthquake I must confesse



Cap. 1.

confesse I never yet heard or read. And of the dreadfulness of this accident, above the pestilence or any other incident to mankind, Seneca excellently discourses in the sixth booke of his *Naturall questions*: *Hostem muro repellam*, saith he, *præruptæ altitudinis Castella, vel magnos exercitus, difficultate aditus morabuntur; à tempestate nos vindicant portus; nymborum vim effusam, & sine fine cadentes aquas, tecta propellunt; fugientes non sequitur incendium, adversus tonitrua & minas Cæli subterranea domus, & defossi in altum specus remedia sunt, ignis ille cælestis non transverberat terram, sed exiguo ejus objectu retunditur, in pestilentia mutare sedes licet, nullum malum sine effugio est, nunquam fulmina populos percusserunt, pestilens cælum exhaustit urbes non abstulit, hoc malum latissimè patet, inevitabile, avidum, publicè noxium, non enim domus solum & familias, aut urbes singulas haurit, sed gentes totas regionesque subvertit, & modo ruinis operit, modo in altam voraginem condit, ac ne id quidem relinquit ex quo appareat quod non est, saltem fuisse, sed supra nobilissimas urbes sine ullo vestigio prioris habitus solum extenditur. A wall will repell an enemy, rampiers rayed to a great height by the difficulty of their access will keepe out powerfull armies, an Heaven shelters us from a tempest, and the covering of our Houses from the violence of stormes and lasting raines, the fire doth not follow us if we flie from it, against thunder and the threats of Heaven, vaults under ground and deepe caves are remedies; those blastings and flashes from above, doe not pierce the earth, but are blunted by a little peece of it opposed against them; in the time of pestilence a man may change dwellings, there is no mischief but may be shunned, the lightning never stroake a whole nation, a pestilentiall ayre hath emptied Cities, not overturned them: but this mischief is large in spreading, unavoydable, greedy of destruction, generally dangerous. For it doth not onely depopulate Houses, and families, and townes, but layes waste and makes desolate whole Regions and Countries: sometimes covering them with their owne ruines, and sometimes overwhelming them, & burying them in deepe gulfes, leaving nothing whereby it may so much as appeare to posterity, that that which is not, sometimes was, but the earth is levelled over most famous Cities, without any marke of their former existence.*

Epist. 219.

*AEneas Sylvius* sometimes Pope, and knowne by the name of *Pius secundus*, in a letter of his to the Emperour *Fredericke* thus pittifully describes an Earthquake which fell out in his time, *audies ex latore presentium quàm mirabilia & incredibilia damna fecerit terra-motus in regno Apulia, nam multa oppida funditus corruerunt, alia magnâ ex parte collapsa sunt. Neapoli omnes ferè Ecclesia & maxima Palatia ceciderunt, plusquam triginta millia corpora oppressa ruinis traduntur, populus omnis habitat in tentorijs*. You shall understand by the bearer of these presents what wonderfull & incredible losses an Earthquake hath wrought in the kingdome of *Apulia*, for many townes are utterly ruined, others for the greatest part faine: in *Naples* almost all their Churches and fayrest Palaces are overthrowne, more then thirty thousand persons are said to have beene slaine, all the inhabitants dwell in tents. But that of *St. Augustine* (if the

Lib. 2. de Mir.  
SS. cap. 3.



the booke be his) is almost beyond credit, *in famoso quodam terra. motu centum Lybia urbes corruisse*, that in a famous earthquake 100 Cities of Lybia were demolished.

## SECT. 5.

*Of dreadfull burnings in the bowels of Ætna, and Vesuvius, and rising of a new Iland out of the Sea with hideous roaring neere Putzol in Italy.*

**A**S the quakings of the Earth were more terrible in former ages, so were the *burnings* in the bowels thereof no lesse dreadfull, the one being as it were the *cold*, and the other the *hot* fits thereof. The Mountaine *Ætna* in *Sicilia* hath flamed in time past so abundantly, that by reason of thicke smoake and vapours arising therefrom, the inhabitants thereabout could not see one another (if wee may give credite to *Cicero*) for two dayes together. And in the yeare of the world 3912, it raged so violently, that *Africa* was thereof an astonished witness. But *Virgils* admirable description thereof may serve for all.

Sandys his Relation. Lib. 4.

*Horrificis tonat Ætna ruinis,  
Interdumque atram prorumpit ad æthera nubem,  
Turbine fumantem piceo, & candente favillâ,  
Attollitque globos flammarum, & sidera lambit,  
Interdum scopulos, avulsaque viscera montis  
Erigit eructans, liquefactaque saxa sub auras  
Cum gemitu glomerat, fundoque exaënat imo.*

*Ætna* here thunders with a horrid noise,  
Sometimes blacke cloudes evapoureth to skies,  
Fuming with pitchie curles and sparkling fires,  
Tosseth up globes of flames, to starres aspires:  
Now belching rockes, the mountaines entrals torne,  
And groaning hurles out liquid stones there borne  
Thorow the aire in showres,

But rightly did another Poet divine of this mountaine & the burnings therein.

*Nec quæ sulphurijs ardet fornacibus Ætna  
Ignea semper erit, neque enim fuit ignea semper.*

Ovid Met. l. 3.

*Ætna* which flames of sulphure now doth raise  
Shall not still burne, nor hath it burnt alwayes.

The like may bee said of *Vesuvius* in the kingdome of *Naples*, it flamed with the greatest horror in the first, or as some say, in the third yeare of the Emperour *Titus*: where besides beasts, fishes & fowle, it destroyed two adjoyning Cities *Herculanum* and *Pompeios* with the people sitting in the Theater: *Pliny* the Naturali Historian, then Admirall of the Romane Navy desirous to discover the reason, was suffocated with the smoake thereof, as witnesseth his Nephew in an Epistle of his to *Cornelius Tacitus*.

Dion Cass. hist. lib. 66.  
Plinius Junior lib. 6. epist. 16  
Leand: Albert de Campan



*Sensit procul Africa tellus,  
Tunc ex pulverijs geminata incensia nymbis;  
Sensit & Aegyptus, Memphisque, & Nilus atrocem  
Tempestatem illam Campano à littore missam,  
Nec caruisse ferunt Asiam Syramq; tremendâ  
Peste, nec extantes Neptuni fluctibus arces,  
Cyprumque, Cretamque, & Cycladas ordine nullo  
Per Pontum sparsas, nec doctam Palladis urbem:  
Tantus inexhaustis erupit faucibus ardor  
Ac vapor.--*

They be the verses of *Hieronymus Borgius* touching the horrible roaring and thundring of this mountaine, and may thus bee Englished.

Then remote *Africke* suffer'd the direfull heate  
Of twofold rage with showers of dust replete,  
Scorcht *Egypt*, *Memphis*, *Nilus* felt amaz'd,  
The wofull tempest in *Campania* rais'd;  
Not *Asia*, *Syria*, nor the towers that stand  
In *Neptunes* surges, *Cyprus*, *Creet* *Ioves* land,  
The scattered *Cyclades*, nor the *Muses* seate  
*Minervaes* towne, that vast plague scap'd; such heate  
Such vapours brake forth from full jawes.—

*Marcellinus* farther observes that the ashes thereof transported in the ayre obscured all *Europe*, and that the *Constantinopolitans* being wonderfully affrighted therewith (in so much as the Emperour *Leo* forooke the City) in memoriall of the same, did yearely celebrate the twelfth of *November*. Who in these latter ages hath ever heard or read of such a fire issuing out of the earth, as *Tacitus* in the 13 of his *Annals*, and almost the last words, discribes? The Citie of the *Inhonians* in *Germanie* confederate with us, (saith he) was afflicted with a sodaine disaster, for fires issuing out of the earth burned Townes, fields, villages every where, and spread even to the walls of a Colony newly built, and could not bee extinguished neither by raine nor river water, nor any other liquor that could bee employed, untill for want of remedy, and anger of such a distraction, certaine peasants cast stones a far of into it; then the flame somewhat slackning, drawing neere they put it out with blowes of clubs, and otherlike, as if it had beene a wilde beast, last of all they threw in clothes from their backs, which the more worne and fouler the better they quenched the fires.

But the most memorable both *Earthquake* and burning, is that which *Mr George Sands* in the fourth booke of his *Travels* reports to have happened neere *Putzoll* in the kingdome of *Naples* likewise, in the yeare of our Lord 1538, and on the 29<sup>th</sup> of *September*, when for certaine dayes foregoing, the Country thereabout was so vexed with perpetuall *Earthquakes*, as no one house was left so intire, as not to expect an immediate ruine, after that the sea had retired two hundred pases from the shore, (leaving abundance of fresh water rising in the bottome) there visibly ascended a mountaine, about the second hower of the night, with hideous roaring, horribly vomiting stones, and such store of cinders as  
over-



overwhelmed all the buildings thereabout, & the salubrious Bathes of *Tripergula*, for so many ages celebrated, consumed the vines to ashes, killing birds and beastes; the fearefull inhabitants of *Putzoll* flying through the darke with their wives and children naked, defiled, crying out, and detesting their Calamities; manifold mischiefs had they suffered, yet none like this which nature inflicted: yet was not this the first land that thus by the force of *Earthquakes* have risen out of the sea, the like is reported both of *Delos* and *Rhodos*, and some others.

*Pliny lib. 2. cap. 85. 86. 87.*  
*Met. lib. 13. Fab. 14.*

## S E C T. 6.

of the nature of Comets and the uncertainty of predictions from them, as also that the number of those which have appeared of late yeares, is lesse then hath usually beene observed in former ages, and of other fiery and watry prodigious meteors.

**I**T remaines that in the next place I should speake somewhat of Comets or *Blazing starres*, whether in latter times more have appeared, or more disastrous effects have followed upon their appearance, then in former ages. Some tooke the Comet to have beene a *starre*, ordained and created from the first beginning of the world, but appearing only by times and by turnes, of this minde was *Seneca*, *Cardan* likewise in latter times harps much, if not upon the same, yet the like string. But *Aristotle* (whose weighty reasons and deepe judgement I much reverence) conceiveth the matter of the Comet, to be a passing hot and dry exhalation, which being lifted up, by the force & vertue of the Sun, into the highest region of the ayre, is there inflamed, partly by the Element of fire upon which it bordereth, and partly by the motion of the heavens which hurleth it about; so as there is the same matter of an *Earthquake*, the *winde*, the *lightning*, & a Comet: if it be imprisoned in the bowels of the earth, it causeth an *Earthquake*; if it ascend to the middle region of the ayre, and bee from thence beaten backe, *winde*; if it enter that region and bee there environed with a thicke cloude, *lightning*; if it passe that region, a Comet; or some other fiery Meteor, in case the matter be not sufficiently capable thereof.

*Natur. Quaest. Lib. 7. cap. 22.*  
23.

The common opinion hath beene, that Comets either as *Signes* or *causes*, or both, have alwayes prognosticated some dreadfull mishaps to the world, as outrageous windes, extraordinary drought, dearth, pestilence, warres, death of Princes and the like.

*Nunquam futilibus excaudit ignibus aether:*

*Manilius.*

Ne're did the Heaven with idle blazes flame.

But the late Lord *Privy Seale*, Earle of *Northampton*, in his *Defensive* against the *poysen of supposed propheties*, hath so strongly encountered this opinion, that for mine one part I must professe, he hath perswaded me, there is no certainty in those predictions, inasmuch as Comets doe not alwayes forerunne such events, neither doe such events alwayes follow upon the appearing of Comets. Some instances he produceth of Comets, which brought with them such abundance of all things, and abated their prices to so low an ebbe, as stories have recorded it for monuments,



ments, and miracles to posterity : And the like, faith hee, could I say of others, *Ann. Dom.* 1555. 1556. 1557. 1558. after all which yeares nothing chanced that should drive a man to seeke out any cause above the common reach: and therefore I allow the diligence of *Gemma Frisius* taking notice of as many good, as badde effects; which have succeeded after *Comets*. Moreover hee tells us that *Pecuer*, a great Mathematician of Germany, pronosticated upon the last *Comet*, before the writing of his *Defensative*, that mens bodies should bee parched and burned up with heat: But how fell it out? Forsooth, faith hee, wee had not a more unkindely summer many yeares, in respect of extraordinary cold: never lesse inclination to warre, no Prince deceased in that time, and the plague which had beene somewhat quicke before in *Lombardy*, as God would have it, ceased at the rising of the *Comet*. Besides all this, hee reports of his owne experience, as an eye witnesse, that when diverse went upon greater scrupulosity, then cause, about to dissuade *Queene Elizabeth*, lying then at *Richmond*, from looking on a *Comet* which then appeared, with a courage answerable to the greatnesse of her state, shee caused the window to bee set open, and cast out this word, *jaeta est alea*; the dice are throwne, thereby shewing that her stedfast hope and confidence, was too firmly planted in the providence of God, to bee blasted or affrighted with those beames, which either had a ground in nature whereupon to rise, or at least-wise no warrant in Scripture to portend the mishap of Princes. Neither doe I remember that any *Comet* appeared either before her death (as at her entrance there did,) nor that of Prince *Henry*, nor of *Henry the Great* of *France*, the one being a most peerelesse *Queene*, the other a most incomparable *Prince*, and the third for prudence and valour, a matchlesse *King*. And for the last *Comet* which appeared, it was so farre from bringing any excessive heat with it; that for a long time there hath not bin knowne more cold yeares then three or foure immediatly ensuing it. And though it bee true that some great *Princes* died not long after it, yet after that immediatly going before, I cannot call to minde any such effect: but as *Seneca* truly notes, *Naturale est magis nova quam magna mirari*, it is naturall unto us to bee inquisitive & curious rather about things new and strange, then those which are in their owne nature truly great: Yet even among the *Ancients*, *Charlemaigne* professed, that hee feared not the signe of the blazing starre, but the *Great* and potent *Creator* thereof. And *Vespasian*, as *Dyon* reports, when the apparition of a *Comet* was thought to portend his death, replied merrily: No said hee, *this bushy starre notes not me, but the Parthian King: Ipse enim comatus est, ego vero calvus sum*: For hee weares bushy locks, but I am bald. Lastly, some *Comets* have bin the Messengers of happy and joyfull tidings as that at the birth of our *Saviour*, and another at the death of *Nero*; *Cometes summe bonus apparuit qui praeuntyus fuit mortis magni illius Tyranni & pestilentissimi hominis*, faith *Tacitus*. There appeared a favourable and auspicious *Comet*, as an Herauld to proclaime the death of that great Tyrant and most pestilent man.

*Ann.* 1558.

*Ann.* 1618.

*Natur. Quaest.*  
*lib. 7. c. 1.*

The



The prediction then, & successe of mischievous and unfortunate accidents from the appearance of *Comets*, appearing to bee thus uncertaine; it followes in the second place to bee considered, whether more have appeared in these *latter times*, then in *former ages*. For mine owne part I remember but two, for the space of these last thirty yeares, and during his late Majesties reigne but one, whereas my Lord of *Northampton*, (as we have heard before) speakes of foure within the cōpasse of foure yeares. Before the death of *Iulius Caesar*, *Virgill* witnesseth.

Georg. l. 1.

*Non aliàs cælo ceciderunt plura sereno*

*Fulgura, nec dirî toties arsere Cometæ.*

Ne're in cleare sky more lightnings did appeare,  
And direfull comets never rîfer were.

*Beda* & *Paulus Æmilius* mention two, which by the space of fourteene dayes appeared together, in the reigne of *Charles Martell*, father to *Charlemaine*, the one in the morning going before the the *Sunne*, and the other in the evening following after it. The like whereunto I doe not remember wee any where read of. Now that which hath beene said of *Comets* may likewise bee applied to other fierie and watery *Meteors*, as *streamings*, *swords*, *flying dragons*, *fighting armies*, *gapings*, two or three *Sunnes* and *Moones*, and the like appearing in the aire many times to the great terrour and astonishment of the beholders: of all which and many more of that kinde, hee that desires to reade more, I referre him to *Vitacomercatus*, *Garzæus*, *Pontanus*, and *Lycosthenes de Prodigijs & Portentis ab orbe condito, usque ad annum 1557*. Of strange and prodigious accidents frō the beginning of the world, to the yeare of our Lord 1557. During the raigne of King *Henry* the third fivesunnes were seene at once. But the strangest apparition in the aire in this kinde that ever I heard, or read of, was that which I finde reported by Mr *Fox*, whiles the *Spanish* match with *Queene Mary* was in the heat of treating, and neere upon the concluding, There appeared in *London* on the fifteenth of *February* 1554, a *Rainebow* reversed, the bow turning downward, and the two ends standing upward: a prodigious and supernaturall signe indeed of those miserable and bloody times which quickly followed after.

Garzæus.

Speed. p. 580.

Ann. &amp; Mon. p. 1637.

## S E C T. 7.

*Of strange and impetuous windes and lightnings, in former ages  
above those of the present.*

**I**N the last place we may adde the impetuous *thunders* and *lightnings*, together with outrageous *windes* in former times; such as latter ages have scarce beene acquainted with. And because the latter of these have of late plaid their parts more fiercely both by sea & land, it shall not be amisse to remember, that even in the Prophet *Dauids* time when in likelihood they lanced not forth into the maine, but coasted along by the shore, they were notwithstanding by the violence of *tempests*, lifted up to heaven, and carried downe againe to the depths: which the Poet hath in a manner translated word for word:

Ann. 1624.

Psalm 107. v. 26.

M 3

Tollimur



*Tollimur in cælum, sublato gurgite & ijdem  
Voluimur in barathrum.*

With surging waves to heaven wee lifted are,  
And in a trice to hel-ward downe we fare.

Acts, 27. 20.

It was a terrible *storme*, and seldome heard of which encountred *S. Paul* and his company in their voyage towards *Rome*, though they sayled in sight of land, raysed by a tempestuous winde called *Euroclydon*, inso-much as beside their imminent danger, neither *Sunne* nor *Starres*, which should have beene their guides, in many dayes appeared unto them. The concurrence and combating of contrary *windes*, which is now a dayes not often observed to happen, and I thinke in course of *Nature* and discourse of *Reason* can hardly bee, yet *Virgill* mentions it more then once,

Aeneid. 1.

*Vnà Eurūque Notūque ruunt creberque procellis  
Africus & vastos voluunt ad littora fluctus.*

Th'Eastwinde, the West, the Southwest and by-West,  
Rush forth together, and with boistrous stormes  
Huge waves to shore-ward roll.-

Georg. 1.

And againe,

*Omnia ventorum concurrere praelia vidi,*

I saw the windes all combating together.

And *Ovid* perchance in imitation of *Virgill*,

Met. 11.

Fab. 10.

*— Omnique à parte feroces*

*Bella gerunt venti:—*

Fierce windes from every Coast  
Assault each others hoast.

Iob. 1. 19.

Such a winde it seemes was that, which smote at once all the foure corners of the house of *Iobs* eldest sonne.

Cap. 44.

Let any who is desirous to inquire into, and compare things of this nature, but read what is recorded by *Lancelot* of the miserable shipwracks of former ages by reason of outrageous windes: & in the *Turkish* history of two wonderfull great stormes, the one by land in *Sultania*, set downe in the entrance of *Solymans* life; the other at *Algiers*, not far from the mid'st of the same life, at *Charles* the 5<sup>th</sup> his comming thither, as also at his parting from thence; and I presume hee will admire nothing in this kinde, that hath falne out in these latter times. Hee lost (saith the storie) in a few houres 140 shippes, 15 gallies, beside boates and Carvils, together with the greatest part of their men, horses, victuals and munition.

Deaſcen mentis  
in Deum per  
Scal creat.  
gradus 2.

*Vidi ego, saith Bellarmine, quod nisi vidiſſem non crederem, à vehemētissimo vento effossam, ingentem terræ molem, eamque delatam super pagum quendam, ut fovea altissima conspiceretur, unde terra eruta fuerat, & pagus totus coopertus, & quasi sepultus manserit ad quem terra illa devenerat. I my selfe have seene, which if I had not seene, I should not have beleevd, a very great quantity of earth, digged out and taken up by the force of a strong winde, and carried upon a village thereby, so that there remained to be seene a great empty hollownes, in the place from whence it was lifted, and the village upon which it lighted, was in a manner*  
all



all covered over and buried in it. This example I confesse, could not be long since, since *Bellarmino* professes that himselfe saw it: Yet it might well be some skores of yeares before our last great windes, which notwithstanding by some, for want of reading and experience, are thought to bee unmatched: And I know not whether that outrageous winde which happened in *London*, in the yeare 1095. during the reigne of *William Rufus*, might not well bee thought to paralell, at least, this recorded by *Bellarmino*: It bore downe in that Citie alone, sixe hundred houses, and blew off the rooffe of *Bow Church*, which with the beames, were borne into the aire a great height, six whereof being 27 foote long with their fall were driven 23 foote deepe into the ground, the streetes of the City lying then unpaved. And in the fourth yeare of the same King, so vehement a lightning, (which as hath beene said, is of the same matter with the winde) pierced the steeple of the *Abbey of Winscomb* in *Gloster-shire*, that it rent the beames of the rooffe, cast downe the *Crucifixe*, brake of his right legge, and withall overthrew the Image of our *Lady* standing hard by, leaving such a stench in the Church, that neither incense, holy-water, nor the singing of the Monkes could allay it: But it is now more then time I should descend a step lower, from the aire to the water.

## CHAP. 8.

*Touching the pretended decay of the waters, and the fish  
the inhabitants thereof.*

## SECT. 1.

*That the sea, and rivers, and bathes are the same at this present, as  
they were for many ages past, or what they loose in one place  
or time they recover in another.*

**T**Hough the *Psalmist* tell us, that the Lord hath founded the earth upon the Seas and established it upon the foulds, because for the more commodious living of man and beasts, he hath made a part of it higher then the Seas, or at least-wise restrained them from incursion upon it, so as now they make but one intire *Globe*; yet because the waters in the first Creation covered the face of the earth, I will first begin with them.

The learned *Zanchius* in his fourth booke *de operibus Creationis*, hath this *Thesis*.

*Oceanus dum manet mundus deficere non potest.*

Which he thus proves: *Est enim una ex primis & precipuis mundi partibus; mundus enim constat ex quatuor elementis, quorum unum est aqua, quæ collecta primò est in Oceano, inde verò in omnes mundi partes distribuitur. Quare licet primò omnes aquæ ab Oceano fluant, & deinde perpetuâ vi solis ex ipso eleventur vapores aquei in sublime, & postremò semper aliqua Oceani par-*



tes in aerem convertantur; fieri tamen inde non potest, ut Oceanus imminuatur. Ratio est, quia quicquid ab eo extrahitur & effluit, mox etiam Dei Providentiâ & gubernatione ei instauratur atque redditur & ad illum refluit. Flumina enim quæ exeunt, etiam ad eum redeunt; vapores quoque qui ascendant in sublime, resolvuntur etiam in aquam, nivem, & cetera meteora, & tandem ad mare redeunt. Ac si multum aqua maris in aerem convertitur, vicissim etiam aer mutatur in aquam. Ita semper compensatur quod è mari hauritur: Immo Deus hanc instituit elementorum vicissitudinem inter se, ut melius mundus conservetur ad animalium, atque imprimis hominum utilitatem. Servandus autem est mundus in sempiternum, licet totus ad alterum Christi adventum renovandus sit: Oceanus igitur perpetuò est. Ita apparet insania Democriti; qui (ex eo quod quotidie ascendant vapores ab aquis, & visolis consumuntur) dicebat, tandem totam Oceanum exiccaturum iri. For it is one of the first and chiefe parts of the world; for the world consists of the foure Elements, one of which is the water, which at first was gathered in the Ocean; and thence dispersed into all the parts of the world. Wherefore although all waters at the first doe flow from the Ocean; and besides, watry vapours are raised out of it by the perpetuall force of the Sun, and last of all some parts of the Ocean are changed into aire; yet it cannot thence come to passe, that the Ocean should bee diminished. The reason is, because whatsoever is drawne and flowes from it, anon by the providence and government of God is restored and rendred, and flowes backe againe unto it. For the Rivers which goe out of it returne againe unto it; the vapours also which ascend on high, are turned into *raine*, *snow*, and other *Meteors*, and at length returne to the *Sea*; and though a great part of the *Sea* be turned into *aire*, that *aire* is againe turned into water; by which meanes that is repaid which is borrowed from the *Sea*. Nay, *God* hath ordained this change of the Elements among themselves, that the world might the better bee preserved for the commoditie of the beasts; but chiefly of men. And the world is to be preserved for ever, although the whole be to be renovated at the second comming of *Christ*; therefore the Ocean is to be for ever. Thus the madnes of *Democritus* is manifest, who (because that vapours daily arise from the waters, & are consumed by the force of the Sun) said, that the whole Ocean at length would bee dried up.

See lib. I. cap. 3.  
sect. 2.

The mother of waters, then the great deepe hath undoubtedly lost nothing of her ancient bounds or depth, but what is impaired in one place, is againe restored to her in another. The rivers which the earth sucked from her by secret veines, it renders backe againe with full mouth, and the vapours which the Sunne drawes up, empty themselves againe into her bosome

Barth.

The purest humour in the Sea, the Sun  
Exhales in th'Aire: which there resolv'd, anon  
Returns to water, and descends againe,  
By sundry wayes into his mother maine.

Her motion of ebbing and flowing, of high Springs and dead Neapes,  
are still as certaine and constant, as the changes of the Moone, & course  
of



of the Sunne: Her native saltnes; & by reason thereof, her strength, for the better supporting of navigable vessels, is still the same. And as the Sea the mother of waters, so likewise the rivers the daughters thereof, either hold on their wonted courses and currents, or what they have diminished in one age or place, they have againe recompensed and repayed in another, as *Strabo* hath well expressed it both of the sea and rivers, *Quoniam omnia moventur & transmutantur, (aliter talia ac tanta administrari non possent) existimandum est, nec terram ita semper permanere, ut semper tanta sit, nec quicquam sibi addatur aut adimatur, sea nec aquam; nec eandem sedem semper ab istis obtineri, praesertim cum transmutatio ejus cognata sic ac naturalis, quinimo terra multum in aquam convertitur, & aqua multum in terram transmutatur. Quare minimè mirandum est si eas terrae partes quae nunc habitantur, olim mare occupabat, & quae pelagus sunt, prius habitabantur. Quemadmodum de fontibus, alios deficere contingit, alios relaxari; item & flumina & lacus.* Because things move and are changed (without which such and so great matters could not well be disposed) we are to thinke that the earth doth not remaine alwayes in the same state, without addition or diminution, neither yet the water, as if they were alwayes bounded within the same lists, specially seeing their mutuall change is naturall & kindly; but rather that much earth is turned into water, & contrariwise no lesse water into earth. It is not then to be wondered at, if that part of the earth which is now habitable, was formerly overflowed with water, and that againe which now is sea, was sometimes habitable, as among fountaines some are dried up, & some spring forth afresh, which may also bee verified of rivers and lakes. *Dion* in his booke of the life of *Trajan* gives an instance in both, by reason of a dreadfull Earthquake, & *aqua* (saith he) *ubi antea visa fuerant nunquam, extiterunt: Contra, nonnulla ubi fluxerant defecerunt.* Both the rivers, where they never were seene before, brake forth: and some on the other side, where they had usually runne were dried up. Wherewith accords that of the Poet.

*Vidi ego quod fuerat quondam solidissima tellus  
Esse fretum; vidi factas ex equore terras:  
Et procul à pelago Concha jacuere marinae,  
Et vetus inventa est in montibus anchora summis:  
Quodque fuit campus, vallem decursus aquarum  
Fecit; & eluvie mons est deductus in aquor.  
Eque paludosa siccis humus aret arenis,  
Quaeque sitim tulerant stagnata paludibus humens.  
Hic fontes natura novos emisit, & illic  
Clausit, & antiquis tam multa tremoribus orbis  
Flumina profiliunt, aut exiccata residunt.*

*Metamorph. 15.*

What was firme land sometimes, that have I seene  
Made sea, and what was sea made land againe,  
On mountaine tops old anchours found have beene,  
And sea-fish shells to lie farre from the maine:  
Plaines turne to vales by water-falls, the downe  
By overflowes is chang'd to champaine land,

Dry



Dry ground erewhile, now moorish fen doth drowne,  
 And fens againe are turn'd to thirstie sand,  
 Here fountaines new hath nature opened,  
 There shut up springs which earst did flow amaine,  
 By earthquakes rivers oft have issued,  
 Or dried up, they have sunke downe againe.

The Poet there brings instances in both these. Which is in part verified by that of *Sabin* in his Commentaries upon the *Metam. lib. 5. fab. 3. Ex annalium monumentis constat, anno 1460. in Alpibus inventam esse navim cum anchoris in cuniculo per quem metalla effodiuntur*: it appeares by the monuments of history, that in the yeare 1460, in a mine of the *Alpes* was found a ship with the anchors. Such an inundation should that seeme to have beene which *S. Hierome* speakes of in the life of *Hilarion*, after the death of *Julian*, *naves ad prærupta delata montium pependunt*, the ships being landed upon the tops of the mountaines there stucke. Late yeares cannot afford the like examples, either of the furious breaking in of the sea upon the dry land, or of the wonderfull overflowing of rivers beyond the bankes, as former ages doe: which to be true, hee that shall take the paines to read the 44 chapter of *Secundo Lancellotti* his *Hoggidi* will easily grant. And to like purpose is that of *Pontanus*, for the matter of perpetuall change.

Lib. 48. Meteor.

*Sed nec perpetua sedes sunt fontibus ulla,  
 Aeterni aut manant cursus, mutantur in ævum  
 Singula, & inceptum alternat natura tenorem,  
 Quodque dies antiqua tulit, post auferet ipsa.*

Fountaines spring not eternally,  
 Nor in one place perpetually doe tary,  
 All things in every age for evermore doe vary,  
 And nature changeth still the course she once begunne,  
 And will herselfe undoe what she of old hath done.

Which though it be true in many, yet these great ones as *Indus*, & *Ganges*, and *Danubius*, and the *Rhene*, and *Nilus*, are little or nothing varied from the same courses and currents which they held thousands of yeares since; as appeares in their descriptions by the ancient *Geographers*: But above all methinkes the constant rising of *Nilus* continued for so many ages, is one of the greatest wonders in the world, which is so precise in regard of time, that if you take of the earth adjoyning to the river and preserve it carefully, that it come neither to bee wet nor wasted, and weigh it daily, you shall finde it neither more nor lesse heavy till the seventeenth of *June*, at which day it beginneth to grow more ponderous, and augmenteth with the augmentation of the river, whereby they have an infallible knowledge of the state of the deluge.

Reported by Mr  
*George Sand* as  
 a common ex-  
 periment, affir-  
 med by *Alpinus*  
 a Physitian,  
*Marchius* the  
 French Con-  
 sull, *Elisius* a  
 Iesuite, and  
*Varras* an En-  
 glish-man.

Now for the *Medicinall* properties of *Fountaines* or *Bathes*, no man I thinke makes any doubt, but that they are both as much and as efficacious as ever: some it may be have lost their vertue and are growne out of use: but others againe have instead thereof beene discovered in other places, of no lesse use and vertue, as both *Baccius* and *Blanchellus* in their



their bookes *de Thermis* have observed. Wholsome medicinall waters have beene of late yeares discovered and used with good effect in *Essex*, *Northampton-shire*, and *Surrey*, (which for any thing wee finde) former ages were not acquainted with.

In the yeare 1626, *Edmund Deane* Doctour of *Physicke*, dwelling in the Citie of *Yorke*, published a little treatise, which he intitles *Spadacrene Anglica*, or the *English Spaw-fontaine*, being a briefe relation of the acide and tart fontaine, discovered by *Mr Slinsby* in the forrest of *Knaresborow*, in the West riding of *Yorke-shire*. This discourse he dedicates to the Physitians of *Yorke*, and touching the vertue of those waters in that Epistle writeth, that to extoll it above the *German Spaw*, may be thought to be either indiscretion or particularity, but why hee may not parallel them, (being in natures and qualities so agreeable) he professeth, that neither himselfe nor they (as hee supposeth) knew any inducing, much lesse, perswading arguments; wherefore saith hee, being thus confident, I thought it no part of our duties either to God, our King, or Country, to conceale so great a benefit, as may thereby accrew not onely to this whole Kingdome, but also in time (after farther notice taken of it) to forraine Nations and Countries, who may perhaps with more benefit and lesse hazard, partake of this our *English Spaw-fontaine*, then of those in *Germany*.

And for those hot ones at the Citie of *Bath*, I make no question but *Nechams* verses may as justly be verified of their goodnesse at this present, as they were foure hundred yeares since, about which time hee is said to have written them.

*Bathonia Thermis vix præfero Virgilianas,*

*Confecto profant Balnea nostra seni.*

*Profant attritis, collisis, invalidisque,*

*Et quorum morbis frigida causa subest.*

Our Baines at *Bath* with *Virgils* to compare,

For their effects I dare almost be bold:

For feeble folke, and crazie, good they are,

For bruis'd, consum'd, farre spent, and very old,

For those likewise whose sicknesse comes of cold.

So as to it may not untruly that of *Virgil* be applyed,

*--- Multisque perhaustis*

*Ignibus instaurat vires.*

It spending still the fewell which it burnes,

Yet still to former strength a fresh returnes.

But how this fewell and fire (by which these bathes are thus warmed) should thus still continue, is (I confesse) a great doubt, and for resolution herein, referre the curious reader to *Fallopins* his learned disputations touching that point in his booke *de Thermis*.



## S E C T. 2.

*That the fishes are not decayed in regard of their store  
dimensions or duration.*

**B**Ut it is said, that though the *waters* decay not, yet the *fish*, the inhabitants thereof, at leastwise in regard of their *number* are much decayed, so as we may take up that of the *Poet*.

*Javental. Sat. 5.*

---Omne peractum est,

Et jam defecit nostrum mare.---

All our Seas at length are spent and faile.

The Seas being growne fruitlesse and barren, as is pretended, in regard of former ages, & that so it appeares upon record in our Haven townes: But if such a thing bee, (which I can neither affirme nor deny, having not searched into it my selfe) themselves who make the objection, shape a sufficient answer thereunto, by telling us that it may so bee by an extraordinary judgement of *God*, (as hee dealt with the *Egyptians*) in the death of our fish for the abuse of our flesh pots, or by the intrusion of the *Hollander*, who carries from our coast such store, as we might much better load our selves with: and Mr *Camden* in the North-riding of *Yorke-shire* assures us, that those mighty shoales of herring, which in time of our fore-fathers had in a manner their station about *Norway*, in this our age by the divine providence yearly surrounded our whole Iland by incredible swarmes.

And if we should a little enlarge our view, and cast our eyes abroad, comparing one part of the world with another, we shall easily discern, that though our coast faile in that abundance, which formerly it had, by over-laying it; yet others still abound in a most plentiful manner, as is by experience found upon the coast of *Virginia* at this present. And no doubt but were our coast spared for some space of yeares, it would again afford as great plenty as ever. Finally if the store of *fish* should decay by reason of the decay of the *world*, it must of necessity follow that likewise the store of *plants*, of *beasts*, of *birds*, & of *men* should daily decay by vertue of the same reason. Nay rather, since the curse lighting upon *man* extended to *plants* & *beasts*, but not to *fishes*, for any thing I finde expressly registred in holy Scripture. As neither did the universall Deluge hurt, but rather helpe them, by which the rest perished. There are still no doubt even at this day as at the first Creation, in the sea to be found

*Basil.*

As many fishes of so many features,  
That in the waters one may see all Creatures:  
And all that in this All is to be found,  
As if the World within the deepes were drown'd.

Now as the store of *fishes* is no way diminished: so neither are they decayed either in their *greatnes* or *goodnes*. I will instance in the *Whale*, the King of fishes, or as *Iob* termes him, the King over the children of pride. That which S. *Basil* in his *Hexameron* reports, namely that the *Whales* are in bignesse equall to the greatest *mountaines*, & their backs when they shew

*Lib. 51. c. 25.*



shew above water are like unto *Ilands*, is by a late learned Writer not undeservedly censured, as intollerably *hyperbolicall*. *Pliny* in the ninth booke and third chapter of his *Naturall History* tells us, that in the *Indian Seas* some have beene taken up to the length of foure acres, that is, nine hundred and sixty feet; whereas notwithstanding *Arrianus* in his discourse *de rebus Indicis* assures us, that *Nearchus* measuring one cast upon that shore, found him to be but fifty cubits. The same *Pliny* in the first Chapter of his 32 booke sets downe a relation of King *Iubaes*, out of those books which he wrote to *C. Caesar*, son to *Augustus* the Emperour, touching the History of *Arabia*, where hee affirms that in the bay of *Arabia*, *Whales* have beene knowne to be 600 foote long, and 360 foote thicke, & yet as it is well knowne by the foundings of *Navigatours*, that Sea is not by a great deale 360 foot deepe. But to let goe those fancies, and fables. and to come to that which is more probable. This dimension of the *Whale*, saith *Aelian*, is five times beyond the largest Elephant: but for the ordinary, saith *Rondeletius*, he seldome exceeds 36 cubits in length, and 8 in height. *Dion* a grave Writer reports it as a wonder, that in the raigne of *Augustus*, a *Whale* leapt to land out of the *German Ocean*, full 20 foot in bredth, and 60 in length. This I confesse was much, yet to match it with later times, *Gesner* in his Epistle to *Polidor Virgil* avoucheth it as most true, that in the yeare of our Lord 1532, in the *Northerne* part of our owne land, not farre from *Tinmouth* haven, was a mighty *Whale* cast on land, found by good measure to bee 90 foot in length, arising to 30 *English* yards, the very bredth of his mouth was sixe yardes and a halfe, and the belly so vast in compasse, that one standing on the fish of purpose to cut off a ribbe from him, and slipping into his belly was very likely there to have beene drowned with the moysture then remaining, had hee not beene suddenly rescued. From whence wee may gather, that *Iobs* admirable description of this fish under the name of *Leviathan*, is still true, and that in vastnesse, since *Augustus* his time, he is nothing decreased: And yet I will beleeve, that those on the *Indian Seas* may much exceede ours, which might perchance give occasion to those large relations of *Pliny* and *Iuba*. Hereunto may be added the observation of *Macrobius* touching the growth of the Mullet. *Plinius Secundus*, saith he, *temporibus suis negat facile nullum repertum, qui duas pondo libras excederet, at nunc & majores passim videmus, & pretia hac insana nescimus*. *Plinius Secundus* denyes that in his time a Mullet was easily to be found which exceeded two pound weight; but now adayes we every where see them of greater weight, and yet are not acquainted with those unreasonable prises which they then paid for them.

I will close up this Chapter with a relation of *Gesners* in his Epistle to the Emperour *Ferdinand* prefixed before his booke *De Piscibus*, touching the long life of a *Pike* which was cast into a Pond or poole neare *Hailebrune* in *Swedia*, with this inscription ingraven upon a collar of brasse fastned about his necke. *Ego sum ille piscis huic stagno omnium primus impositus per mundi Rectoris Frederici Secundi manus, 5 Octobris, anno 1230*. I am that fish which was first of all cast into this poole by the hand



hand of *Fredericke* the second governour of the World the fift of *October*, in the yeare 1230. He was againe taken up in the yeare 1497, and by the infcription it appeared he had then lived there 267 yeares: fo as it seemes, that as fishes are not diminished in regard of their store or growth: fo neither in respect of their age and duration.

*Ortelius* likewise in his *Theatre* of the World, makes report of a mighty *Carpe* taken in a river named *Sarte*, among the *Cennomanni*. But I leave floating on the *Waters*, and betake mee to the more stable Element the *Earth*.

## CHAP. 9.

*Touching the pretended decay of the earth, together with the plants and beasts, and minerals.*

## SECT. 1.

*The divine meditations of Seneca and Pliny upon the Globe of the Earth. An objection out of Ælian touching the decrease of mountaines answered. That all things which spring from the earth returne thither againe, and consequently it cannot decay in regard of the fruitfulnessse in the whole. Other objections of lesse consequence answered.*

**B**Oth *Seneca* and *Pliny* have most divine meditations upon this consideration, that the *Globe* of the *Earth* in regard of the higher *Elements*, and the *Heavens* wheeling about it, is by the *Mathematicians* compared to a pricke or point.

*Lib. 2. cap. 68.*

‘These so many peeces of *Earth* (saith *Pliny*) or rather, as most have  
 ‘written, this little pricke of the World, (for surely the *Earth* is nothing  
 ‘else in comparison of the whole) is the onely matter of our glory; this  
 ‘I say, is the very seat thereof: here we seeke for honour and dignities,  
 ‘here wee exercise our rule and authority, here wee covet wealth and  
 ‘riches, here all mankinde is set upon stirs and troubles, here wee raise  
 ‘civill wars still one after another, & with mutuall massacres and mur-  
 ‘thers we make more roome therein: And to let passe the publique fu-  
 ‘rie of Nations abroad, this is it wherein wee chace and drive out  
 ‘our neighbour Borderers, and by stealth dig turfe from our Neigh-  
 ‘bours soyle to put into our owne: and when a man hath extended his  
 ‘land, and gotten whole Countries to himselfe farre and neare, what a  
 ‘goodly deale of earth enjoyeth he? and say, that he set out his bounds  
 ‘to the full measure of his covetous desire, what a great portion there-  
 ‘of shall hee hold, when hee is once dead, and his head laid? Thus  
*Pliny*, with whom *Seneca* sweetly accords. *Hoc est punctum quod in-*  
*ter tot gentes, ferro & igne dividitur, o quam ridiculi sunt mortalium termi-*  
*ni! Punctum certe est illud in quo navigamus, in quo bellamus, in quo reg-*  
*na disponimus.* It is but a point which so many Nations share with fire  
 and sword. O how ridiculous are the bounds of mortall men! It  
 is verily but a point in which wee sayle, in which we wage warres, in  
 which

*deat. quæst. 1. 1.  
 214.*



which wee dispose of Kingdomes. But for these sublime speculations, we are to descend to the examination of the *Earths supposed decay*.

*Ælian* in the eight booke of his History, telleth us, that not onely Cap. 11. the mountaine *Ætna*, (for thereof might be given some reason, because of the daily wasting and consuming of it by fire,) but *Parnassus* and *Olympus* did appeare to bee lesse and lesse, to such as sayled at Sea, the height thereof sinking as it seemed; and thereupon inferres, that men most skilfull in the secrets of *Nature*, did affirme that the world it selfe should likewise perish and have an end. His conclusion I cannot but approve, and most willingly accept of, as a rich testimony for the confirmation of our *Christian Doctrine*, from the penne of a *Gentile*: But that hee inferres it from so weake grounds, I cannot but wonder at the stupidity of so wise a man. For to grant that those mountaines decrease in their magnitude, yet shall I never yeeld an universall decrease in the whole Globe of the *Earth*, since the proportions aswell of the *Diameter* as *Circumference* thereof, are by *Geometriall* demonstrations found to bee the same which they were in former ages, or at leastwise not to decrease. And for the difference, which is observed betwixt the Calculation of *Ancient* and *Moderne* Writers; it is certainly to bee referred to the difference of miles, or of instruments, or the unskilfullnesse of the Authours; not to the different *dimensions* of the *Earth*, which I thinke no *Geometrician* ever so much as dreamed of. Notwithstanding which truth, I must, and doe readily subscribe to that of *Iob*, Surely the mountaine falling commeth to nought, and the rocke is removed out of his place, but let us take *Iobs* reason with us which he immediately addes: *The waters weare the stones, thou wastest away the things which grow out of the dust of the earth.* Cap. 14. v. 18. 19. This diminution then of the Mountaines (as *Blancanus* observes) is caused partly by *Raine-water*, and partly by *Rivers*, which by continuall fretting, by little and little wash away and eate out both the tops, and sides, and feete of mountaines: whence the parts thus fretted through, by continuall falling downe, weare out the mountaines, and fill up the lower places of the valleyes, making the one to increase, as the other to decrease; whence it comes to passe, that some old houses, heretofore fairely built, bee now almost buried under ground, and their windowes heretofore set at a reasonable height, now growne even with the pavement. So some write of the triumphall Arch of *Septimius*, at the foote of the *Capitoll* mountaine in *Rome*, now almost covered with earth, insomuch as they are inforced to descend downe into it, by as many staires as formerly they were used to ascend; whereas contrary-wise the *Roman Capitoll* it selfe seated on the mountaine which hangs over it (as witnesseth *George Agricola*) discovers its foundation plainly above ground, which without question was at the first laying thereof deepe rooted in the earth, whereby it appeares, that what the mountaine looseth the valley gaines; and consequently that in the whole Globe of the earth nothing is lost, but onely removed from one place to another, so that in processe of time the highest mountaines may be humbled into valleyes, and againe the lowest valleyes exalted into mountaines.



Barth.

If ought to nought did fall,  
 All that is felt or scene within this all,  
 Still loosing somewhat of it selfe, at length  
 Would come to nothing: if deaths fatall strength  
 Could altogether substances destroy,  
 Things then should vanish even as soone as die,  
 In time the mighty mountaines tops be bated;  
 But, with their fall, the neighbour vailes are fatted;  
 And what when *Trent* or *Avon* overflow,  
 They reave one field, they on the next bestow.

Ovid. 15. Met.

And whereas another Poet tels us that,  
*Eluvie mons est deductus in aquor.*  
 The mountaine by waisting oft  
 Into the Sea is brought.

It is most certaine, and by experience found to bee true, that as the rivers daily carry much earth with them into the Sea, so the Sea sends backe againe much slime and sand to the earth, which in some places, and namely in the North part of *Devonshire* is found to bee a marvelous great commoditie for the enriching of the soyle. *Anaxagoras* (as *Diogenes Laertius* reports it in his life) being demanded what hee thought, whether the mountaines called *Lapsaceni* would in time bee covered with Sea, answered *yes, unlesse time it selfe faile*: which answer of his seemes to confirme the opinion of *Iosephus Blancanus* professor of the Mathematiques at *Parma*, in his booke *de Mundi fabrica*, cap. 4. where hee maintaines that if the world should last long enough, by reason of this continuall decrease of the mountaines, and the leveling of the valleyes, the earth would againe be overflowne with waters as at the first it was: whereas *Blancanus* might have remembred the covenant of God himselte, *Gen. 9. 11. Neither shall all flesh be cut off any more by the waters of a floud, neither shall there any more bee a floud to destroy the earth*, for the effecting whereof hee hath shut up the Sea with doores and barres: *Iob. 38. 8. and set boundes to the proud waves thereof, which they may not passe over, nor turne againe to cover the earth. Psal. 104. 9.*

Psal. 104. 30.

Now as the *Earth* is nothing diminished in regard of the dimensions, (the measure thereof from the *Surface* to the *Center*, being the same, as it was at the first *Creation*.) So neither in the fatnesse and fruitfulnessse thereof, at leastwise since the floud, or in regard of duration alone any whit impaired: though it have yeelded such store of increase by the space of so many revolutions of ages, yet hee that made it, continually reneweth the face thereof, as the *Psalmist* speaks, by turning all things which spring from it into it againe.

Saith one,

*Cuncta suos ortus repetunt, matremque requirunt.*

And another:

*E terris orta, terra rursus accipit.*

And a third:

Lucan.

---- *Capit omnia tellus  
 Quæ genuit.*

And



And a fourth joynes all together:

*Quapropter merito maternum nomen adepta est,  
Cedit enim retro, de terra quod fuit ante  
In terras.*

*Lucr. lib. 2.*

And altogether they may thus not unfittingly be rendred.

All things returne to their originall,  
And seeke their mother: what from earth doth spring,  
The same againe into the earth doth fall.

Neither doe they herein dissent from *Siracides*, with all manner of living things hath hee covered the face of the earth, and they shall returne into it againe. And that doome which passed upon the first man after the fall, is as it were ingraven on the fore-heads, not onely of his posterity but of all earthly Creatures made for their sakes; *Dust thou art, and unto dust thou shalt returne.*

*16. 30.*

As the *Ocean* is maintained by the returne of the rivers, which are drayned and derived from it: So is the earth by the dissolution and reversion of those bodies, which from it receive their growth and nourishment. The grasse to feede the beasts, the corne to strengthen, and the wine to cheere the heart of man, either are, or might be both in regard of the Earth and Heavens, as good and plentifull as ever. That decree of the Almighty, is like the law of the *Medes* and *Persians* irrevocable; *They shall be for signes, and for seasons, and for dayes, and for yeares.* And againe, *Hereafter seed-time, and harvest, and cold, and heat, and summer, and winter, and day, and night, shall not cease so long as the earth remaineth.* Which is well expressed by *Seneca*, in sense the same, and in words not much different. *Hyems nunquam aberravit, Aestas suo tempore incaluit, Autumni Verisque, ut solet, facta mutatio est, tam solstitium quam equinoctium suos dies retulit.* The Winter never failed, the Summer in its season waxed hot, the Autumne and Spring have had their changes, both the solstice and the equinoctiall have at a fixed day their constant returns. And were there not a certainty in these revolutions, so that

*Gen. 8. 22.*

*Nat. qu. lib. 2. cap. 16.*

---- *In se sua per vestigia volvitur annus,*

*Virgil.*

The yeare in its owne steps into it selfe returnes:

It could not well bee, that the *Storke* and the *Turtle*; the *Crane* and the *Swallow*, and other fowles, should observe so precisely as they doe the appointed times of their coming and going. And whereas it is commonly thought, and beleevd, that the times of the yeare are now more unseasonable then heretofore, and thereby the fruites of the Earth, neither so faire nor so kindly as they have beene: To the first I answer, that the same complaint hath beene ever since *Salomons* time. *Hee that observeth the winde shall not sow; and hee that regardeth the cloudes shall not reape;* By which it seemes, the weather was even then as uncertaine as now; and so was likewise the uncertaine and unkindly riping of fruites, as may appeare by the words following in the same place: *In the morning sow thy seede, and in the evening let not thy hand rest: for thou knowest not whether shall prosper this or that, or whether both shall bee alike good:* And if sometimes we have unseasonable yeares, by reason of excessive wet and cold, they are againe payd home by immoderate drought

*Jer. 8. 7.*

*Eccles. 11. 4.*

*v. 6.*



drought and heate, if not with us, yet in our neighbour countries; and with us, I thinke, no man will bee so unwise, or partiall, as to affirme that there is a constant and perpetuall declination, but that the unseasonableness of some yeares, is recompensed by the seasonableness of others. As this very yeere 1634. by Gods blessing hath hitherto proved. It is true that the erroneous computation of the yeare wee now use, may cause some seeming alteration in the seasons thereof, and in processe of time, must needs cause a greater if it be not rectified: but let that error be reformed, and I am perswaded that *communibus annis*, we shall finde no difference from the seasons of former ages: at leastwise in regard of the *ordinary course of nature*: For of Gods extraordinary judgments, wee now dispute not, who sometimes for our sinnes emptieth the botles of heaven incessantly upon us: and againe at other times makes the heavens as brasie over our heads, and the earth as yron under our feete.

## S E C T. 2.

*Another objection, touching the decay of the fruitfulnessse of the holy-land, fully answered.*

*Epist. 129. ad Dardanum.*

*2 Chron. 13. 3.*

*1 Chron. 21. 5.*

*2 Chron. 17. 14.*

*1 Chron. 7. 5.*

*v. 3.*

**W**Hen I consider the narrow bounds of the land of *Canaan*, (it being by *S. Hieromes* account, who lived long there, but 106 miles in length, from *Dan* to *Bersheba*, and in bredth but 40. from *Ioppa* to *Bethlem*,) and withall the multitude incredible (were it not recorded in holy Scripture) both of *men & cattell* which it fedde, there meeting in one battle betweene *Judah* and *Israel* twelve hundred thousand chosen men: Nay the very sword-men, besides the *Levites* and *Benjamites* were upon strict inquirie found to bee fiteene hundred & seaventy thousand, whereof the yongest was twenty yeares old, there being none by the law to bee mustered vnder that age: and which is more strange, the very guards of *Iehosaphats* person amounted to almost an eleven hundred thousand. And for the number of *Cattell*, there were slaine in one sacrifice at the dedication of *Salomons* temple, two and twenty thousand bullockes, and an hundred and twenty thousand sheepe. When I say, I compare these multitudes of men and cattell with the narrow bounds of that countrey; I am forced to beleve that it was indeede a most fruitfull soyle, *flowing with milke and honey*, & richly abounding in all kinde of commodities: Yet the reports of some who have taken a survey of it in these latter ages, beare us in hand, that the fruitfulnessse thereof, is now much decayed in regard of those times: From whence they would inferre a generall decay in all soyles, and consequently in the whole course of nature. But it may truly bee said that this wonderfull fruitfulnessse proceeded from a *speciall favour* of *Almighty God* towards this people, as appeares in the 11 of *Deuteronomy*, *this land doth the Lord thy God care for, the eyes of the Lord thy God are alwayes upon it, from the beginning of the yeare even to the end of the yeare.* And more clearly in the 26. of *Leviticus*: *If yee walke in mine ordinances,*

*and*



and keepe my oommandements, I will send you raine in due season, and the land shall yeeld her increase, and the tree of the field shall give their fruite, and your threshing shall reach unto the vintage, and the vintage shall reach unto the sowing time, and you shall eate your bread in pleasantnesse, and dwell in your land safely. But the miraculous providence of God shewed it selfe most evidently over this land in answering their doubt, what they should eate the seaventh yeare, if they suffered the land to rest, as God had in-  
 joyned them; the reply is, *I will send my blessing upon you in the sixth yeare, and it shall bring forth fruite for three yeares.* Now then as this extraordinary fruitfulness proceeded from an extraordinary favour: so this favour ceasing, the fruitfulness might likewise cease without any naturall decay of the soyle: The countrey about *Sodome* and *Gomorrha* was for fruitfulness as the *Paradise*, or garden of the Lord, till the curse of God fell upon it, then it became a wast land, and so remaines to this day: Yet can it not bee gaine-said but that beside the speciall blessing of God, this soyle of *Palestina* was naturally very rich in it selfe, inasmuch as it fed one and thirty *Idolatrous* Kings, with their people before the entrance of Gods chosen nation into it, one of which alone possessed, as it should seeme threescore citties. And the pomegranats, the figs & the grapes, which the spies (sent by *Moses* to discover the land) brought backe with them, were marvailous goodly & faire. And as this soyle was thus rich before the entrance of this people, so since the displanting of them from thence, and the *Saracens* possessing it, it hath not altogether lost its ancient fruitfulness whatsoever is pretended to the contrary, if wee may credit *Brocardus*, who about three hundred yeares since was himselfe an eyewitnesse thereof. His words are these. *Non est credendum contrarium nunciantibus, neque enim eam diligenter considerarunt; his oculis vidi quanta fertilitate Terra benedicta fructificat: frumentum enim ex terra exulta sine stercore & fimo mirabiliter crescit & multiplicatur. Agri sunt velut horti in quibus feniculum, salvia, ruta, rosa passim crescunt.* There is no heede to bee given to them who affirme the contrary, For they have not thoroughly considered of the matter; with these eyes did I behold the exceeding fertility of that blessed land: The Corne with a very little making of the earth prospers and multiplies beyond beleefe, the fields are as it were gardens of delight, in which fennell, sage, rue, and roses every where grow: And so having largely described the admirable fruitfulness thereof in all kindes, at length hee concludes: *Denique illic extant omnia mundi bona, & verè terra fluit rivis lactis & mellis.* Finally, there are to be had all the good things the world can afford, so that it may still bee truely rearmed, a land flowing with rivers of milke and honey. And if it be degenerated from it's ancient fertility (which upon the report of *Bredenbachius* *Adrichomius* and others, I rather beleeve) I should rather inpute it to the curse of God upon that accursed nation which possesseth it, or to their ill manuring of the earth, (from which the proverbe seemes to have growne, that where the *Grand Signiors* horse once treads, the grasse never growes afterward) then to any *Naturall decay* in the goodnesse of the soyle.

My last answer hereunto shall bee in the words of *Iovianus Pontanus*



to *Aldus Manutius*, in the proeme of his tenth booke *de rebus Caelestibus*, *Terra ipsa sic consenescit, ut per partes regionesque, multum amittat de veteri ubertate solique opulentia: quemadmodum è contrario alia atque alia regiones ac loca novas vires ad fœcunditatem suscipiant, novaque alimenta ad frugum procreationem ac rerum copiam.* The earth it selfe so waxeth old as by parts and regions it looseth much of its ancient fatnesse and fruitfulness of the soyle: as on the contrary other places and countries recover new strength in their fertility, and fresh nourishment for the bearing of store of corne, and the bringing forth of plenty in all kindes.

Which is in effect the same with that of *Manilius* in his fourth booke:

*Et fœcunda suis subsistunt frugibus arva  
Continuosque negant partus, effœta creando:  
Rursus quæ fuerant steriles ad semina terra  
Post nova sufficiunt, nullo mandante, tributa.*  
The fruitfull fieldes do somewhere barren grow,  
And elsewhere barren, with blest fruites do flow.

### SECT. 3.

*A third objection borrowed from the the third of Genesis answered.*

**M**Any there are who much stand upon those words of God himselfe to *Adam* after hee had sinned; *Cursed is the ground for thy sake: in sorrow shalt thou eat of it all the dayes of thy life. Thornes also and thistles shall it bring forth to thee.* To which I answered in the words of *Pererius*, taken out of his Commentaries upon that text. *Nec putandum naturalem terræ fertilitatem propter hominis peccatum aut omnino demptam fuisse aut diminutam; eodem modo se illa habuit ante & post hominis peccatum: sed propterea ita dictum est quod ante peccatum non fuisset opus homini terram colere ad percipiendos fructus degendæ vitæ necessarios, aut certe sine labore & molestia fuisset culta. Etenim paradisi terra in qua versatus esset homo per se fertilissima, quacumq; ad hominis victum pertinuissent, sponte natura suppeditasset largissimè, post peccatum autem felicissimo paradisi loco exterminatus homo, & multo magis quam fuisset antea multiplicatus, omnesque per terras dispersus ex multis ac diversis terris & plerisque terilibus, aut agrè fructus optatos ferentibus alimenta sibi petere coactus est. Ante peccatum igitur etiam terra generabat tribulos & spinas, verum non Adamo sed aut brutis aut ob plenitudinem, & universitatem specierum mundi.* And with *Pererius* herein accord both *Torniellus* and *Salianus* in their sacred or ecclesiasticall Annals, *Leonardus Marius* Profesor of Divinity in the Vniversity of *Cullen* in his exposition of *Genesis*; *Mercerus* Profesor of Hebrew in *Paris* in his Prelections upon the same booke, and divers others: in so much as *Salianus* assures us, *Communissima nunc est probatissimaque sententia omnes omnino Arbores plantasque à principio Dei jussu esse productas.*

Neither is this a new opinion but maintained by *Aquinas* aswell in his disputations in *Dist. 48. q. 3. art. 3.* as in his postills upon that verse of *Gen.* and before him by *S. Augustin*, and before them both by *Philo* in



in his booke *de mundi opificio*. But because S. *Augustine* is hee from whose bright torch both *Aquinas* & others have lighted their candel, it shall not bee amisse to trace him a little in this point that so it may appeare what hee therein held and upon what grounds. True indeed it is, that at first hee held thornes and thistles and venemous plants, and unfruitfull trees and hurtfull beasts to have bin brought in after the fall as a punishment of sinne, as it manifestly appeares in his first booke *de Gen: contra Manichæos cap 13.* but afterwards upon farther deliberation and better advise hee recalled that opinion, as wee may see in his third booke *de Gen: ad literam cap. 8.* where hee thus writes; *Et de spinis quidem ac tribulis absoluta potest esse responsio, quia post peccatum dictum est homini de terra Spinæ & tribulos pariet tibi; nec tamen facile dicendum est tunc capisse ista oriri ex terra; fortassis enim quoniam in ipsis quoque generibus seminum multa reperiuntur utilitates, poterant habere locum suum sine ulla pena hominis. Sed ut in agris in quibus jam penaliter laborabat etiam ista nascerentur, hoc ad cumulum pænæ valere credi potest, cum possent alibi nasci, vel ad avium pecorumque pastus vel ad ipsorum hominum aliquos usus. Quamquam & ille sensus non abhorret ab his verbis, quo ita intelligitur dictum Spinæ & tribulos, pariet tibi; ut hæc etiam antea terra pariens non tamen homini pareret ad laborem, sed cuiusque modi animalibus convenientem cibum. Sunt enim quæ his generibus & mollioribus & aridioribus commode suaviterque vescantur; tunc autem caperit ista homini parere ad arduum negotium, cum post peccatum capit in terra laborare; Non quod alijs locis hæc antea nascerentur, & post in agris, quos homo ad capiendas fruges coleret, sed & prius & postea in yisdem locis. prius tamen non homini, post autem homini, ut hoc significetur quod additum est, Tibi, quia non est dictum, spinæ & tribulos pariet, sed pariet Tibi id est ut tibi jam ista nasci incipiant ad laborem, quæ ad pastum tantummodo alijs animalibus antea nascebantur.*

And *Aquinas* treading in S. *Augustines* steps, harps upon the same stringe, part. 1. quest. 69. art. 2. ad secundum Which exposition is likewise followed ( besides those already named ) by *Eucherius*, *Beda*, *Albertus Magnus*, *Bonaventura*, *Molina*, *Gregorius de Valentia*, *Martinengus*, *Delrio*, *Cornelius à lapide*, and others, as *Salianus* in his *Scholies* upon the third day of the world, Num. 24. hath observed. And in truth, it stands with very great reason, that almighty God ceasing from the works of the Creation upon the seventh day in regard of the production of any new species, and having created all the severall kinds of vegetables upon the third day should not afterwards create new kind of plants, as thornes and thistles & poyson-some herbs, & the like, which could not man persisting in his innocency have bin hurtfull to him but rather helpfull both to him and the other Creatures,

*Quippe videre licet pinguescere sæpe cicuta  
Barbigeras pecudes homini quæ est acre venaum.*

*Luretus.*

Neither is it more inconvenient that before the fall we should admit of such kind of plants, then of *Wolves* or *Beares*, or *Crocodills*, or *Serpents*, or, *Tygens*, or *Lyons*, or *Scorpions*, or *Vypers*, or *Dragons*, or such like noy-some animals.

#### SECT 4.



## SECT. 4.

The testimonies of Columella and Pliny produced that the earth in it selfe is as fruitfull as in former ages, if it bee made and manured.

**N**OW that which by *Brocardus* hath beene delivered touching the holy land in particular, is by *Columella* in his bookes of Husbandry with no lesse assurednesse averred touching the nature of the Earth in Generall: nay to shew his confidence herein, hee makes that assertion, the entrance to his whole worke, thus beginning the very first chapter of his first booke. *Sapenumero Civitatis nostrae principes audio culpantes, modo agrorum infœcunditatem, modo Cœli per multa jam tempora noxiam frugibus intemperiem, quosdam etiam predictas querimonias velut ratione certa mitigantes, quod existiment ubertate nimia prioris ævi defatigatum & effœtum solum, nequire pristina benignitate præbere mortalibus alimenta, quas ego causas Publi Sylvine procul a veritate abesse certum habeo, quod neque fas est existimare rerum naturam, quam primus ille mundi genitor perpetua fœcunditate donavit (quasi quodam morbo) sterilitate affectam, neque prudentis credere tellurem, quæ æternam & eternam juventam sortita, communis omnium parens dicta sit, quia & cuncta peperit & deinceps paritura sit, velut hominem consensuisse, ne posthac reor violentiâ Cœli nobis ista, sed nostro potius accidere vitio, qui rem rusticam pessimo cuique servorum velut carnifici noxæ dedimus quam majorum nostrorum optimus quisque & optimè tractaverit.* I have often heard the chiefe of our Citty complayning of the unfruitfullnesse of the earth, and sometimes againe of the unkindlinesse of the weather now for a good space hurtfull to the fruites, and some have I heard with shew of reason qualifying these complaints, in that they beleve the earth beeing worne out and become barren by the excessive fruitfullnesse of former ages, not to bee able to yeeld nourishment to mankind, according to the proportion of her accustomed bounty; but for mine owne part (*Publius Sylvius*) I am wel assured that these pretended causes are farre from truth, it being a peece of impiety so much as once to imagine that nature (which the first founder of the world blessed with perpetuall fruitfullnesse) is affected with barrennesse, as a kinde of disease, neither is it the part of a wise man to thinke that the Earth (which beeing indued with a divine and eternall youth, is deservedly tearmed the Common Parent of all things, inasmuch as it both doth and hereafter shall bring all things forth) is now waxen old like a man, so as that which hath befallne us, I should rather impute it to our owne default, then to the unseasonablenesse of the weather, inasmuch as wee commit the charge of our husbandry to the basest of our slaves, as it were to a publique executioner, whereas the very best of our Ancestours with most happy successe underwent that charge themselves, and performed that worke with their owne hands. Now *Sylvius*, to whom hee dedicated his workes, having received and read this resolute assertion, by reason he knew it to be against the common tenet, and specially of one *Tremellius*; upon whose judgment it seemes he



he much relyed, made a *Quere* thereof, and sent it to *Columella*, to which in the very first chapter of his second booke hee returnes answer with this title prefixed.

*Terram nec senescere nec, fatigari, si  
stercoretur.*

That the earth is neither wearied nor  
Waxed old, if it bee made.

And then thus goes on. *Queris à me, Publi Sylvine, quod ego sine cunctatione non recusò docere, cur priori libro veterem opinionem fere omnium qui de cultu agrorum loquuti sunt à principio confestim repulerim, falsamque sententiam repudiaverim, censentium longo ævi situ longique jam temporis exercitatione fatigatam & effatam humum consensuisse.* You demand a question of mee *Sylvinus*, which I will endeavour to answer without delay, which is, why in my former booke presently in the very entrance, I have rejected the ancient opinion almost of all, who have writtē of husbandry, & have cast of their imagination as false, who conceive that the earth by long tract of time and much usage is growne old and fruitles: where he is so farre from recalling his assertion, or making any doubt of the certaine truth thereof, that he labours farther to strengthen it with new supplies of reasons, and at length concludes, *Non igitur fatigatione, quemadmodum plurimi crediderunt, nec senio, sed nostrâ scilicet inertia minus benignè nobis arva respondent: licet enim majorem fructum percipere, si frequenti & tempestivâ & modicâ stercoratione terra refoveatur.* It is not through the tirednesse or age of the earth, as many have beleevèd, but through our owne negligence that it hath not satisfied us so bountifully as it hath done. For wee might receive more profit from it, if it were cherished with frequent, and moderate, and seasonable dressing.

And with *Columella* agrees *Pliny* in the eighteenth booke of his *Naturall History*, and third chapter, where discoursing of the great abundance and plenty in fore going ages, and demaunding the reason thereof, he thereupon shapes this reply; Surely, faith he, the cause was this, and nothing else: Great Lords and Generalls of the field, as it should seeme, tilled themselves their grounds with their own hands: And the Earth againe for her part, taking no smal pleasure as it were to be aired and broken up, *Laureato vomere & triumphali aratore*, with ploughs laureat, & ploughmen triumphant, strained her selfe to yeeld increase to the uttermost. like it is also that these brave men & worthy Personages were as curious in sowing a ground with corne, as in setting a battle in aray; as diligent in disposing & ordering of their lands, as in pitching a field. And commonly every thing that cometh under a good hand, the more neat & cleane that the usage thereof is, & the greater paines that is taken about it, the better it thriveth and prospereth afterwards. And having instanced in *Attilius Serranus*, and *Quintius Cincinnatus*, he goes on in this maner. But now see how the times be changed: they that do this businesse in the field, what are they but bond-slaves fettered, condemned malefactours, and in a word noted persons, such as are branded and marked in their visage with an hot iron, yet we forsooth marvelle that the labour of these contemptible slaves and abject vil-  
laines



laines doth not render the like profit, as that travaile in former ages, of great Captaines and Generals of Armies. By which it appeares that *Columella* & *Pliny* imputed the barrenesse of the *Earth* in regard of former ages (if any such were) not to any deficiency in the earth it selfe, but to the unskilfullnesse or negligence of such as manured it. To which purpose *Ælian* reports a pretty story of one *Mises* who presented the great King *Artaxerxes*, as hee rode through *Persia*, with a pomegranat of wonderfull bignesse: which the King admiring, demaunded out of what *Paradise* he had gotten it, who answered, that he gathered it from his owne garden, the King seemed therewith to bee marvailous well content, and gracing him with royall gifts, swore by the *Sunne*, this man with like diligence and care might as well in my judgment of a little city make a great one. *Videtur autem hic sermo innuere*, saith the Authour, *omnes res curâ & continuâ sollicitudine, & indefesso labore meliores & prastantiores quàm Natura producat, effici posse*. It seemes by this, that all things by labour and industry may bee made better then Nature produces them. And it is certaine that God so ordained it, that the industry of man should in all things concurre with the workes of Nature, both for the bringing of them to their perfection, and for the keeping of them therein being brought unto it. As the Poet speaking of the degenerating of seedes hath truly expressed it.

*Vidi lecta diu & multo spectata labore*

*Degenerare tamen, ni vis humana quotannis.*

*Maxima quaque manu legeret.*

Oft have I seene choice seedes, and with much labour tryed,  
Eftsoones degenerate, unlesse mans industry,  
Yearely by hand did lease the greatest carefully.

And this I take to bee the true reason (as before hath beene touched) why neither so good, nor so great store of wine is at this day made in this kingdome, as by records seemes to have beene in former ages; the neglect I meane, of planting and dressing our vines as they might be, & at this present are in forraine countreyes, and with us formerly have beene; & this neglect hath perchance arisen from hence, that we & the *French* being often and long at defiance, & all friendly commerce ceasing betwixt us, partly to crosse them in the venting of their commodities, & partly to enrich themselves, men were either by publique authority set on worke, or they set themselves on worke, to trie the utmost of their indeavour in the making of wines; but since peace and trade hath beene settled betwixt both kingdomes, that practice hath by degrees growen out of use, for that men found by experience that both better wines & better cheape might bee had from *France* then could be made heere; and I make no doubt but as tillage with us, so the planting of *Vineyards* is increased with them, and for this reason, together with the Causes before alleadged, it seemes to be, that the *French* wines are better cheape with us at this present then they were in the raigne of *Edward* the second, as shall by Gods helpe be fully manifested in the next Section. And that which hath beene spoken of the making of wines may likewise be understood of the making of *Bay-salt* in this kingdome in former



former ages, for which (as I am credibly informed) *records* are likewise to be seene, for to ascribe either the one or the other to the *Sunnes* going more *Southerly* from us in Summer, is in my judgement both *unwarrantable* and *improbable*. *Unwarrantable* as hath already beene shewed in this very booke Cap. 4. Sect. 4. *improbable* for that if this plant should decay for this reason, all other *plants*, and *trees*, and *herbes*, and *flowers* should consequently partake of the like decay, at leastwise in some proportion, which our best *Physitians* and *Herbalists* have not yet found to be so, nay the contrary is by them avouched; and as our wines are in a manner utterly decayed here so their strength in *France*, in *Spaine*, in *Italy*, in *Hungary*, in *Germany*, should upon the same supposition be much abated, which notwithstanding I have no-where found to be observed. *In Cap. 3. v. 18.* I will conclude this Section with that of *Calvin* in his *Commentaries* on *Genesis*: *falsum est quod quidam dicunt, terram longo temporis successu exarescere, quasi eam lassaret pariendi assiduitas*: It is false which some say that the earth by long tract of time is growen barren, as if the assiduity of bringing forth had tyred it out.

## S E C T. 5.

*An argument drawne from the present state of husbandmen, and another for the many and miserable dearths in former ages, together with an objection taken from the high prizes of victuals answered.*

**B**Ut that which farther perswadeth me, that neither the goodnes of the soyle, nor the *seasonableness* of the weather, nor the *Industry* of the husbandman is now inferiour to that of former ages, is this, that both his fyne and rent being raysed, his apparell and education of his children more chargeable; & the rates of publique payments more burdensome, yet he fares better, and layes up more money in his purse, then usuall in those times he did.

Besides it is certaine, that if we compare time with time, the famines of former ages were more grievous then ours: I omit those of *Ierusalem* and *Samarita*, because occasioned by the sieges of those Cities, as also those which either *Civill warres*, or *forraine invasions* hath drawen on. Of the rest, that of *Lipsius* is undoubtedly true. *Iam de fame nihil profecto nos aut etas nostra vidimus, si videmus antiqua.* *De Const. l. 2. 2.* Now touching famine, verily wee and our age have seene nothing, if wee behold ancient records. During the reigne of *Valentinian*, the famine through *Italy* was so extreemly sharpe, that fathers were forced to sell their sonnes, *ut discrimen mortis effugerent*, that they might shunne the danger of death, and thus to part with them *pietatis genus putabant*, they thought it a kinde of pietie. Under the Emperour *Honorius*, so great was the scarcity and dearth of victuals in *Rome* it selfe, that in the open market place this voice was heard, *Pone pretium humana carni*, set a price to mans flesh: to which grievous dearth, *S<sup>t</sup> Ierome* alluding, as it should seeme, in his epistle to *Principia*, thus writes thereof: *Ad nefandos cibos erupit esurientium rabies, & sua invicem membra laniarunt: dum mater non parcit* *Novell. tit. 11. apud Cod. Theod. Zozimus 6. Annual. lib. 4.*



*parcit lactanti infanti, & suo recipit utero, quem paulo ante effuderat.* The rage of the hunger starved brake forth into abominable excesse, in as much as they mutually devoured the members of each other: nay, even the mother her selfe spared not the suckling-child, but received him againe into her bowels, whom a little before shee had brought forth. And long before, when *L. Minutius* was made the first over-seer of the graine, *Livy* reports, *multos e plebe, ne diutina fame cruciarentur, capitibus obvolutis sese in Tyberim precipitasse.* That many of the Commons left they should bee tortured with long famine, covering their faces, cast themselves headlong into *Tyber*. Even in King *Numa* his time, the Poet assures us, that the earth answered not the labour & expectation of the husbandman, but miscarried sometimes by reason of excessive drought, and sometimes againe by meanes of excessive wet.

*Ovid. l. 3. Fast.*

*Rege Numa, fructu non respondente labori  
Irrita decepti vota colentis erant,  
Nam modo siccus erat gelidis Aquilonibus annus,  
Nunc ager assiduâ luxuriabat aquâ.*

And *Plato*, who lived neare about the same age with *Numa*, in his booke *de contemnenda morte*, speaking of husbandry, *dulcis* (saith he) *est agricultura, est sanè, nonne tota tamen est quod aiunt ulcus? semper paratam doloris habens causam, nunc quidem siccitatem, nunc pluvias, nunc uredinem, nunc rubiginem, nunc vel æstum intempestivum, vel frigus, conquerens?* Husbandry is pleasant, truely it is, yet is it not in a manner wholly an ulcer? having alwaies in readines some occasion of complaint. Sometimes of drought, sometimes of rain, sometimes of blasting, sometimes of rust, sometimes of unseasonable heat, and sometimes of cold? What a miserable dearth was that in *Egypt*, (held by the *Ancients* for abundance of corne, the *Granary* of the world) when for want of bread, their greatest Nobles were forced to sell, not only their lands, but themselves, & become bond-slaves to *Pharaoh*? How universall was that fore-told by *Agabus*, which also came to passe under *Claudius Cesar*, as both *Dion* and *Suetonius* beare witnesse to *S. Luke*. But to come nearer home, few *Histories*, I thinke, exceed our owne in this point. About the yeare 514, during the raigne of *Cissa*, King of *South-Saxons*, in his Countrey raigned such an extreame famine, that both men and women in great flockes and companies cast themselves from the rockes into the Sea; in the yeare 1314, about the beginning of the reigne of *Edward* the second, the dearth was generally such over the land, that purposely for the moderation of the prices of victuals, a Parliament was assembled at *London*: but it increased so vehemently, that upon *S. Lawrence Eve*, there was scarcely bread to be gotten for the sustentation of the Kings owne family. And the yeare following it grew so terrible, that horses and dogges, yea men & children were stollen for food, and which is horrible to thinke, the theeves newly brought into the Goales, were torne in peeces, and presently eaten halfe alive by such as had beene longer there. In *London* it was proclaimed that no corne should be converted to *Brewers* uses, which Act the King (moved with compassion toward his Nation) imitating, caused to be executed through all the Kingdome: otherwise saith *Walsingham*, the greater

*Gen. 47. 23.*

*Acts 11. 28.*

*Beda l. 46. 13.*

*Thomas de la Moore.*



greater part of the people had perished with penury of bread. And againe, to conclude this sad discourse, in the yeare 1317, in the tenth yeare of the same King, there was such a *murraine* of all kinde of *cattell* together with a generall fayling of all fruits of the *Earth* by excessive raines and unseasonable weather, as provision could not be had for the *Kings* house, nor meanes for other great men to maintaine their *Tables*: Inasmuch as they put away their servants in great numbers, who having beene daintily bred, and now not able to worke, scorning to beg, fell to robbery and spoyle, which added much to the misery of the *Kingdome*.

Sam. Daniels

It will be said, if the plenty of *corne* and *victuals*, be as great as in former ages, how comes it to passe that their *prices* are so much inhanced? But if we compare our prices with those of the ancient *Romans*, wee shall finde that theirs farre exceeded ours. The *Romane* penny by the consent of the learned, and the judgement of our last Translatours in diverse parts of their Marginall notes, was the eighth part of an *ounce*, accounting five *stillings* to the ounce, so that it was worth of our money *seven pence halfe penny*. Now by the testimony of *Varro* and *Macrobius*, their *Peacockes* egges (which are now of no reckoning with us,) were sold with them for five *Roman* pence a peece: and the *Peacockes* themselves for fifty. *Thrushes* and *Ousells* or *blackbirds* were commonly sold for three pence a peece. Nay *Varro* mentions one *L. Axiua* a *Romane* Knight, who would not let goe a paire of, *doves*, *minoris quadringentis denarijs*, for lesse then foure hundred pence. But these *insana pretia*, as *Macrobius* calls them, mad, and unreasonable prices, wee shall have fitter occasion to speake of, when wee come to treat of the *luxury* of the *Ancients*; In the meane time it shall not bee amisse to remember what our *Saviour* tells us in the *Gospell*, that two *Sparrowes*, or *passerculi*, as *Beza* renders it, were then sold for a *farthing*, thereby implying their great cheapenes: Yet for the same money, it being the tenth part of a *Romane* penny, and answering in value to halfe penny farthing of our coyne, more may bee had at this day with us: But I leave *forraine Nations* and returne to our owne. If then together with the inhancing of *prices*, wee likewise take into our consideration the inhancing of *Coyne*, it will appeare that the prices of things are not so much inhanced as is supposed. About three hundred yeares agoe, in the latter part of the reigne of *Edward* the second, and beginning of *Edward* the third, an *ounce* of silver was valued at one *shilling* and eight *pence*, whereas now it is valued at five *shillings*: so that one hundred pounds then was both in *weight* and *worth* fully as much as three hundred pounds are now; and consequently, if they gave a *groat* for that which wee now give a *shilling*, they gave just the same price which we now giue. The price of *Claret wine*, as appeares upon record among the statutes of *Edward* the second, was at that time *twelve pence* the *gallon*, so that by proportion the price should now bee *three shillings*, and looke how much it comes short of that price, it is certaine that so much the cheaper it is at this day, then it was in that age. Whereunto may bee added the plenty of *coyne* and multitude of *men*, both which are doubtles in regard

De Re Rust. l. 3.

c. 6.

Sat. l. 3. 13.

Varro, l. 3. c. 23.

Cap. 7.

Cap. 16.

Mat. 10. 29.



gard of those times much increased. For the former of which, though it bee true that some great ones heaped up huge *Masses* of treasure, yet I thinke it will not bee denied, but that there are now more rich men then in those times: Some wise men being of opinion that there is now more *plate* in the land, then there was in *Edward* the thirds time both *money* and *plate*: And for the latter, hee that shall duely consider the daily inlarging of our *cities* and *townes*, and the adding of new *Iles* to the greatest part of our *Parish Churches*, within these last two or three hundred yeares, will easily beleieve that the *number* of our people is not a little increased. Either of which asunder, but much more both together must needes be a meanes of raising the prices of all things: yet the complaint as it hath beene in all ages so will it still continue, *since we left to burne incense to the Queene of heaven, & to powre out drinke offeringes unto her, wee have had scarcenesse of all things, and have beene consumed with the sword and with the famine.*

La. 44. 18.

## SECT. 6.

*That there is no decrease in the fruitfulness, the quantities or vertues of plants and simples, nor in the store and goodnes of mettalls and minerals, as neither in the bignes or life of beasts, together with an objection touching the Elephants in the first of Maccabees, answered.*

**N**OW if such be the condition of the *Earth* it selfe, and the *fruites* thereof, what reason have we to conceive otherwise of the *trees* and *plants*, springing up and nourished from thence? I cannot finde that either *Dioscorides*, *Theophrastus*, or *Pliny* among the *Ancients*; or among later writers, *Ruellius*, *Fuchsius*, or our owne *Gerard* ever observed any *decay*, either in the *growth*, the *vertues*, or *duration* of these *Vegetables*; the *Oake* and *Beetch*, rise to as great an height and bignes, spread their branches and rootes as farre, last as long, bring forth as faire mast, as they did a thousand yeares agoe. Those *under-ground trees*, whose bulkes are sometimes taken up intire, in *Cheshire*, *Lancashire*, and other places, and are commonly thought to have lyen buried there ever since *Noahs* flood, are not found in *length* or *largenesse* to exceed the bodies of ours at this day. In former ages I graūt was greater choyce of good *timber*, because greater plenty of woods, but those being cut downe, *tillage* hath succeeded in the place thereof, which in regard of our increase of people, seemed of the two, the more necessary, & for *fewell*, it is in most places supplied with other kindes which were not then thought upon.

Camden.

The like may be said for the *vertues* of *Plants*, *Issop*, *Garlicke*, *Hemlocke*, and the rest, they are still indued with the same *temper*, with the same degrees of *heat* or *cold*, and are availeable for the same *uses*, as in former ages; as may easily appeare by comparing *Galen de simplicium medicamentorum facultatibus* with *Wecker* a moderne *Physitian*. The former makes *Garlicke* hot in the fourth degree, so doth the latter. The former *Issop* hot in the third degree, and so doth the latter. The former *Hemlocke*

Prætic. Gene.  
vol. 64.

locke



*locke* extreame cold, so doth the latter. These may suffice for a taste, and thus may wee parallel *samples*, as for their *first* so for their *second* and *third* qualities, and *application* to diseases. The difference of their strength is doubtles very great in regard of the different *Clymats* they grow in: But that it should by succession of ages be abated in their severall *species*, and in the same *Clymate*, is more I thinke then ever any *Herbalist* in his writings, or learned *Physitian* in his practise hath yet observed.

Now for the height and bignes of trees, some of the Ancients I confesse have made strange reports, yet have not some later writers bin wanting who therein have paralleled them, as namely *S. Francis Drake* in the relations of his third voyage into the west *Indies*; where mention Pag. 5. is made of a mighty great tree more thē any 4. men joyning hands could fathome about; And in the next page save one, of many trees like unto our ashes of a marvailous height, & supported as it were by five or sixe naturall buttresses growing out of their bodies, so farre that three men might so bee hidden in each of them, that they who shall stand in the very next buttresse shall not bee able to see them; one of them especially was marked to have seven of those staves or buttresses for the supporting of his greatnes and height, which beeing measured by a line close by the barke & neere to the ground, as it was indented, or extant, was found to bee about 39. yards about.

But that of *S<sup>r</sup> Walter Rawly* in the 1. part of his 1. book of the history Cap. 4. S. 2. of the world seemeth yet to bee more strange, where discoursing of the *Indian* figtree hee thus writes; They grow (saith he) in moist grounds and in this manner; After they are first shot up some 20. or 30 foote in length, (some more some lesse according to the soyle) they spread a very large top, having no bow or twig in the trunk or stem; for from the utmost end of the head branches there issueth out a gummy juice which hangeth downward like a cord or sinew and within a few moneths reacheth the ground, which it no sooner toucheth but it taketh roote, and then beeing filled both from the top boughs and from his owne proper roote this cord maketh it selfe a tree exceeding hastily; from the utmost boughes of those young trees there fall againe the like cords, which in one yeare & lesse (in that world of a perpetuall spring) become also trees of the bignes of the nether part of a lance & as straight as art or nature can make any thing, casting such a shade and making such a kinde of grove as no other tree in the world can doe. Now one of these trees considered with all his young ones may indeed shrowd 400. or 4000 horsemen if they please, for they cover whole vallies of ground. *Urstitius* in his historie of *Basil*, mentioneth a tree there growing, which I my selfe have seene, whose mighty and manifold armes supported by an infinite number of posts or beames spread themselves to an incredible compasse; and I have heard of a Gentleman of Wales who in the entrance of his house hath a beame set with these verses on it in letters of gold;

*Sexaginta pedes fuerant in stipite nostro  
Exceptâ comâ, quæ speciosa fuit.*



So that the tree it should seeme was threescore foote high in the very body of it, besides a deepe roote and a fayre top.

And if there be no decay found in the *Vegetables*, very likely it is that the same may likewise be verified of the *beasts*, those at leastwise which make them their food, and are nourished by them. Surely hee that shall compare the present proportions of the *elephant*, the *Cammell*, the *horse*, the *dogge*, with the descriptions of *Aristotle*, as also the present extention of their lives, with that which both hee, and other Ancients record of them, will easily finde that there is in them, no sensible decrease: *Vita e. quorum*, (saith hee) *plurimis ad decimum octavum, atque etiam vicesimum annum, sed nonnulli viginti quinque, & triginta egerunt: Et si cura diligenter adhibeatur vel ad quinquaginta protrahitur etas*: horses commonly live eightene or twenty yeare, yet some last five and twenty or thirty, and if they bee very well kept, they may come to forty or fifty; which hee makes in a manner their utmost period. Whereas *Albertus* tells us, that himselfe was assured by a souldier, that the horse hee then used, was threescore yeares old, and yet was serviceable in the warres. And *Augustinus Niphus* yet latter, that hee was credibly informed by the horsemen of *Ferdinand* the first, that there was then in the *Kings* stable an horse that was seaventy yeares old.

Hist. Animalium, lib. 12, c. 8.

But *eo*, a man much commended for his rare learning by many learned writers, labouring to demonstrate by *Geometricall* proportions, that the *Arke* was capable of so many severall kindes of beasts, as are said to have beene in it, as also their provision for one yeares space, takes the ground of his demonstration from the present dimensions of their bodies, and their present allowance for foode, proportioning the capacity of the *Arke* thereunto, and is therein applauded not only by *Goropius Becanus*, but by *Pererius* and *St. Walter Rawleigh*: whereas were there such a continuall diminution in the quantity of their bodies, and consequently in their foode, as is supposed, his ground were false, and his demonstration frivolous. Whereunto may be added that the same allowance of foode, which *Cato* and *Varro* and *Columella*, in their bookes of husbandrie agreed upon to be sufficient for an oxe, or a horse, or a sheepe in their times, is now likewise thought to bee but competent: And the same proportions of body, which the ancient *Painters* and *Carvers* allowed to horses and dogges, is now likewise by the skilfullest in those *Arts* found to be most convenient. Indeede in the first booke of *Maccabees* & sixth chapter, is somewhat a strange relation made of *Elephants*, which are there described to be so bigge, that each of them carryed a wooden towre on his backe, out of which fought thirty two armed men, besides the *Indian* which ruled the beast. Whence some have conceited that the *Elephants* of those times were farre greater then those of the present age: But doubtles the Authour of that booke speakes of the *Indian* race, which are farre beyond the *Ethiopian*, as *Iunius* in his annotations on that place hath observed out of *Pliny*. And there are of them, saith *Ælian*, nine cubits high, which is thirteene foote and a halfe. And those which haue beene in the *great Mogulls* countrey assure us, that at this day they are there farre more vast



vast and huge then any that we have seene in these parts of the World. But leaving the *Vegetables* and *beasts* springing and walking upon the face of the earth, let us a little search into the bowels thereof, and take a view of the *mettalls* and *mineralls* therein bred. Of the *nature, causes, and growth*, whereof, besides *Mathesius* in his *Sarepta* and *Lideate de Subterraneis*, *Georgius Agricola* hath written most exactly, but neither hee nor any man else, I thinke, ever yet observed that by continuance of time their veines are wasted and impaired, one treatise he hath expressly composed *de veteribus & novis metallis*, wherein he shewes that as the old are exhausted, new are discovered. It is true indeed which *Pliny* Lib. 33. in Pro- am. hath observed, that wee descend into the entralles of the earth, wee goe downe as farre as to the seat and habitation of the infernall spirits, and all to meeete with rich treasure, as if shee were not fruitfull enough, and beneficiall unto us in the upper face thereof, where shee permitteth us to walke and tread upon her: Yet notwithstanding by the covetousnesse and toyle of men, can her mines never bee drawne dry, nor her store emptied.

The Earth not onely on her backe doth beare  
Abundant treasures glistring every where,  
But inwardly shee's no lesse fraught with riches,  
Nay rather more (which more our soules bewitches)  
Within the deepe folds of her fruitfull lappe,  
So bound-lesse mines of treasure doth shee wrappe,  
That th' hungry hands of humane avarice  
Cannot exhaust with labour or device.  
For there be more then there be starres in heaven,  
Or stormie billowes on the Ocean driv'n,  
Or eares of corne in Autumne on the fields,  
Or savage beasts upon a thousand hils,  
Or fishes diving in the silver fouds,  
Or scattred leaves in winter in the woods.

*Bartol. 3. day of  
the 1. weeke.*

I will not dispute it, whether all mineralls were made at the first creation, or have since received increase by tract of time, which latter, I confesse, I rather with *Quercetan* incline unto, they being somewhat of the nature of stones, which undoubtedly grow, though not by *augmentation* or accretion, yet by *assimilation* or *apposition*, turning the neighbour earth into their substance; yet thus much may wee confidently affirme, that the *minerals* themselves waste not in the *ordinary course*, but by the *insatiable desire* of mankind. Nay, such is the *divine providence*, that even there where they are most vexed and wrought upon, yet are they not worne out, or wasted in the *whole*. Of late within these few yeares *Mendip hils* yeelded, I thinke, more lead then ever, and at this day I doe not heare that the *Iron mines* in *Essex*, or the *Tin workes* in *Cornwall* are any whit abated, which I confesse to bee somewhat strange, considering that little *corner* furnishes in a manner all the *Christian world* with that mettall: and for *mines of gold and silver*, though by some it be thought that they faile in the *East Indies* in regard of for-

*In his Epistle  
to Albertus de  
ortu & causis  
metallorum.*



mer ages ; yet most certaine it is, that in the *West Indies*, that supposed defect is abundantly recompensed.

## S E C T. 7.

*The opinion touching the growth of mettals, confirmed by the testimonies of good Authors; and that Terra sigillata hath lost nothing of its vertue, but is now every way as good as in former ages.*

Lib. 1. pag. 9.

**B**Ecause a great doubt is made by some, whither *metals* and *minerals* grow or no in the bowels of the earth, and so supply from their growth what from thence hath beene extracted, it shall not perchance bee impertinent by the testimony of learned men, to confirme the opinion touching their generation, and increase of new matter in their severall kindes. There are (saith Mr *Carew* in his survey of *Cornewall*) who leaving these strange and new searching, doe take in hand old mines which by former adventurers have beene given over, and oftentimes they finde good store of *Tinne* both in the rubbish cast up before, as also in veines which the first workemen followed not. From hence there groweth a diversity of opinion, amongst such Gentlemen as by judgement and experience can looke into those matters; some of them supposing that the *Tinne* groweth, and others that it only seperateth from the consumed *offall*; but whosoever readeth that which *Francis Leandro* hath written touching the *Iron minerals* in the *Ile of Elba*, will cleave perhaps to a third conceit; for he avoucheth that the trenches out of which the oare there is digged within 20. or 30. yeares, become alike full againe of the same *mettall* as at first. And hee confirmeth it by suitable examples borrowed from *Clearchus* of *Marble* in *Paros Island*, and of salt in *India*, deducing thence this reason; that the *aire* and *water* replenishing the voyde roome, through the power of the universall agent, and some peculiar celestiall influence are turned into the selfe-substance; and so by consequence neither the oare groweth, nor the earth consumeth away: And this opinion *Munster* in his *Cosmography* doth seeme to underprop, affirming that neare the the Citie of *Apolonia* in *Dalmatia*, the veines whence *brasse* is digged, are filled in like manner. So doth he report, that neare *Ptolomais* there lyeth a round valley, out of which glassie sand being taken, the windes fill the pit againe from the upper part of the adjoyning mountaines, which matter is converted into the former substance, and that even mettals throwne into this place, doe undergoe the like *Metamorphosis*.

Cap. 11.

And herein accords Doctor *Iorden* in his discourse of *naturall baths* and *mineral waters*, lately published; Our *Salt-peter men* (saith hee) finde that when they have extracted *Salt-peter* out of a floore of earth one yeare, within three or foure yeares after, they finde more *Salt-peter* generated there, and doe worke it over againe; the like is observed in *Allum* and *Coppres*. And for mettals our *Tinners* in *Cornewall* have experience of pits which have beene filled up with earth after they have wrought



wrought out all the *Tinne* they could finde in them, and within thirty yeares they have opened them againe, and found more *Tinne* generated. The like hath beene observed in *Iron*, as *Gaudentius Merula* reports of *Ilua* an Iland in the *Adriatique* Sea, under the *Venetians*, where the *Iron* breeds continually as fast as they can worke it, which is confirmed also by *Agricola* and *Baccius*, and by *Virgil* who saith of it

*Ilua inexhaustis chalybum generosa metallis.*

The like wee reade of at *Saga* in *Ligijs*, where they digge over their *Iron* mines every tenth yeare: *Iohn Mathesius* gives us examples almost of all sorts of *mineralls* and *mettalls*, which hee hath observed to grow and regenerate: The like examples you may finde in *Leonardus Thurneiserus*. *Erastus* affirms that hee did see in *S. Ioachims* dale, silver growne upon a beame of wood, which was placed in the pit to support the workes; and when it was rotten, the workemen comming to set new timber in the place, found the silver sticking to the old beame. Also hee reports that in *Germany* there hath beene unripe and unconcocted silver found in mines, which the best workemen affirmed would become perfect silver in thirty yeares. The like *Modestinus Fachius*, and *Mathesius* affirme of unripe and liquid silver; which when the workemen finde, they use to say, we are come too soone. But I need not produce (saith hee) any more proofes for this purpose, as I could out of *Agricola*, and *Libavius*, and others, seeing our best *Philosophers* both ancient and moderne, doe acknowledge that all *mineralls* are generated.

*Ionstonus* likewise in his *Thaumatographia naturalis*, brings divers authorities to the same purpose: *Gigni quidam à calore subterraneo fossilia existimant, creata primo à Deo seminali quodam se propagare principio alij sentiunt, & certè ex quibusdam vaporibus fieri metalla veritati haud absolum.* In *Perside* non semel *area corpora, hamatis sagittis similia calo coruscante decidisse narrat Avicenna.* In *Hispania* verò, *massa lapidea venis metallicis infecta è nubibus lapsa est.* *Lydiat de font. cap. 6. posterius scriptorum quorundam confirmat testimonium: Nam aurum Corbachij in Westphalia singulis quadriennijs crescit & recrescit in cumulis. Vena plumbi in Sclavonia in argentum quadragesimo transit anno: Squamma aris sicca, in anno in aurum; ferrum in Silesia ad Saganum decimo refoditur anno. In Suecia limus ruber palustris, uno anno soli expositus in bonum ferrum abit. Fessularum mons in Hetruria lapides plumbarios habet, qui si excindantur brevi temporis spacio, novis instaurantur incrementis: de ferro quod in Ilua Tyrreni maris insula effoditur, refert Casalpini, lib. 3. de metall. cap. 6. terram metalli inanem quæ eruitur, dum vena effoditur, totam precedente tempore in venam converti. In India denique mons est Oromenus, in quo lapicidinarum modo, sal ceditur renascens. Casalp. lib. 1. de metall. cap. 1. Insigne verò illud est quod Garzias ab Horto de adamante scribit, Simpl. India lib. 1. cap. 47. Adamantes, inquit, qui altissimè in terra visceribus multisque annis perfici debebant, in summo ferè solo generantur; & duorum aut trium annorum spacio perficiuntur. Nam si in ipsa fodina hoc anno ad cubiti altitudinem fodias, adamantes reperies; post biennium rursus illac excavato ibidem invenies adamantes. Caterum quomodo id fiat difficile dictu est.*

*Zanchius*



a Lib. 3. de oper.  
Dei cap. 6. the-  
si 9.  
b De subtil. l. 3.  
pag. 150.

In lib. meteor.  
tract. 13. cap. 1.  
2. 3.

a Zanchius and b Cardan attribute life to these *minerals*, and consequently accretion and augmentation, as in all other vegetables; which opinion though it please not Scaliger and the schoole of *Conimbrica*, yet they all agree that by the divine providence a supply is made in these *minerals*. *Sunt qui putent* (say the *Conimbricenses*) *metalla omnia initio mundi a Deo procreata fuisse, neque ullam dari vim eorum effectricem in natura; verum sicuti Deus cum in prima rerum molitione, animalia arbores atque alia ejusmodi produxit, iisdem vim similia in posterum gignendi contulit: sic conveniens fuit, ut licet tunc magnam in terra gremio metallorum copiam (idem mundi ornatu & absoluta perfectio exigebat) effinxerit, tamen phisicis rebus facultatem ad alia etiam metalla progressu temporum efficienda tribuerit; quod & ita esse docet experientia, quâ compertum est augeri in matricibus metalla, eadem interdum in nubibus gigni, & in terram decidere, uti supra memoravimus; si enim exspiratio potest in aere in metallum concrefcere, multo faciliore negotio poterit in terra gremio; in aere enim motus quo exspiratio fertur raro sinit eam solidari in densitatem quam metalli natura exigit. Idem docet Ruvio lib. 2. de cælo & mundo, cap. 3. q. 1. & iisdem ferè verbis.*

To conclude this point, there being so great an affinity betwixt the generation of *stones* and *mettalls*, if it shall appeare that in *Quarries* after the digging up of *stones*, they are againe filled in a naturall course with stuffe of the same kinde; mee thinkes little doubt should be left, but that the same also may be done, and is done by the same course of nature in digging up of *mettalls*, though happily shee require a longer tract of time for the effecting of the one then the other. Now for the former of these, for the replenishing I meane of *Quarries* with matter of the same kinde, wee have witnesses beyond all exception: *Ipsa marmora in lapicidinis crescere, author est Papyrius Fabianus, natura rerum peritissimus, saith Pliny. Exemptores quoque affirmant, compleri sponte ipsa montium hucera.* The same likewise doe the French Authors affirme of the *Quarries* in the *Burgundian* and *Pyrrhinean* Mountaines, as witnesseth *Thomas Lansius* in his oration for *France*. And lastly *Nonnius* in his description of *Spaine* hath the like narration of the mountaine of *Jupiter*, not farre from *Bursinone*: *In quo inexhausta (saith hee) & perennis lapicidina, ac licet ad arbis muros & ad complures nobilium domos assidue hinc materia petatur, adimplet tamen liberalis natura montis illa ulcera, & cicatricem obducit, ut tot annorum decursu nihil penè excisum videatur.*

Now for *Terra sigillata*, or *Lemnia* so called, because it is taken up in the Ile of *Lemnos*, & solemnely sealed by the Magistrates of that place, it is found by the confession of the Physitians to have the same vertue at this day as anciently it had. Besides, *Hodie habetur Bolus Toccaviensis in Hungaria qui instar butiri contra catharrum valet, ita ut Armenia praeferatur. Sennertus Scient. Natur. lib. 5. cap. 1. Inventor ejus Iohannes Montanus Silesius, qui scriptum de illa edidit; Conversum esse aurum, Dei providaeque naturae ordinatione, in praeminentem prae paratum medicinam transmutatumque, peculiariter adversus venena utilem, non minus quam medicamenta, quae magnis sumptibus ex auro Vngarico conficiuntur.*

Consulting in this point with my worthy friend Dr Clayton, his Majesties Professour of *Physicke* in the University of *Oxford*, I received from

Isenstomus Thau-  
matogr. nat.  
class. 4. cap. 3.

Lib. 36. c. 13.

Pag. 186.

Cap. 28.



from him this answer. "The *Terra sigillata* of *Silesia* found out in this  
 "age, is as I take it as good as that of *Lemnos*; I have a little tract of this  
 " *Silesian* earth published in English, Anno 1587. in Germany some se-  
 "ven yeares before by one *Andrew Berthold* with testimonies, and ex-  
 "periments of eight dogs all poysoned with *Mercurie* sublimate; foure  
 "by this *terra* escaped, the other foure without it died: a condemned  
 "man poysoned and saved, and many other vertues against many great  
 "diseases. The *Bole Armeniack* is also held as efficacious as *Lemnia*  
 "by late writers; so that I thinke wee may say with *Rhenodeus* a mo-  
 "derne French Physitian, wee may be as well without the Turks *terra*  
 " *Lemnia*, as we may live without their carpets and tapistry.

## S E C T. 8.

*An objection taken from the Eclipses of the Planets, answered.*

BEfore wee conclude this Chapter, there remaines yet one rubbe  
 to bee removed, touching the *Eclipses* of the *Sunne* and *Moone*:  
 for as some have beene of opinion, that the *bodies* of those *Planets*  
 suffered by them, so many have thought that these *inferiour bodies* suffe-  
 red from them, & consequently that the more *Eclipses* there are, (which  
 by tract of time must needs increase in number) the more doe all things  
 depending upon those *planets*, decay and degenerate in their *vertues* &  
*operations*. But as the former of these opinions is already proved to  
 be *certainely false*, so is this latter altogether *uncertaine*. What effects  
*Eclipses* produce, I cannot punctually define. Strange accidents I  
 grant, as well in the course of *Nature*, as in the *Civill* affaires, have of-  
 ten followed upon them, as appears in *Cyprianus Leovicinus*, who hath  
 purposely composed a tract of them. And Mr *Camden* observes, that  
 the towne of *Shrewsbury* suffered twice most grievous losse by fire  
 within the compasse of fiftie yeares upon two severall *Eclipses* of the  
*Sunne* in *Aries*; but whether those Accidents were to bee ascribed to  
 the precedent *Eclipses*, I cannot certainly affirme. Once we are sure  
 that the *Moone* is *Eclipsed* by the interposition of the *Earth*, as is the *Sun*  
 by the *Moone*. Since then the night is nothing else but the interpositi-  
 on of the *Earth* betweene us and the *Sunne*, I see no reason but wee  
 should daily feare as dangerous effects from every night or thicke  
 cloud, as from any *Eclipse*. But I verily beleieve, that the ground of  
 this error, as also of the former, sprang from the ignorance of the *Causes*  
 of *Eclipses*: *Sulpitius Gallus* being the first amongst the *Romans*, and a-  
 mongst the *Greekes*, *Thales Milesius*, who finding their nature, did prog-  
 nosticate and fore-shew them. After them, *Hipparchus* compiled his *E-*  
*phemerides*, containing the course and aspects of both these *Planets* for  
 six hundred yeares ensuing, and that no lesse assuredly, then if hee had  
 beene privy to *Natures counsells*. "Great persons, and excellent doubt-  
 'lesse were these, saith *Pliny*, who above the reach of all humane capaci-  
 'ty, found out the reason of the course of so mighty starres, and divine  
 'powers



powers. And whereas the weake minde of man was before to seeke,  
 fearing in these *Eclipses* of the starres, some great wrong, or violence,  
 or death of the *Planets*, secured them in that behalfe. In which dread-  
 full feare stood *Stesicorus* and *Pindarus* the *Poets*, notwithstanding their  
 lofty style, and namely at the *Eclipse* of the *Sunne*, as may appeare by  
 their *Poems*. In this fearefull fit also of an *Eclipse*, was King *Arche-  
 laus*, (as witnesseth *Seneca* in his fifth booke and sixth chapter *de benefi-  
 cijs*) *ut quo die Solis defectio fuit, regiam clauderet, & filium (quod in luctu,  
 & rebus adversis moris est) tonderet*: that the day in which the *Sunne*  
 was *Eclipsed*, hee shut up his Palace, and shaved his sonne, which in  
 time of mourning and affliction was the custome. And in the like a-  
 gonie, *Nicias* the Generall of the *Athenians* (as a man ignorant of the  
 causes thereof) feared to set saile with his fleet out of the haven, and so  
 greatly indangered and distressed the state of his Countrey. But on the  
 contrary, the fore-named *Sulpitius* being a *Colnell* in the field, the day  
 before that King *Perseus* was vanquished by *Paulus*, was brought forth  
 by the Generall into open audience before the whole host to fore-tell  
 the *Eclipse* that should happen the next morrow, whereby hee delive-  
 red the Army from all pensivenesse and feare, which might have  
 troubled them, in the time of battell, and within a while after he com-  
 piled also a booke thereof. Thus farre *Pliny* touching the harmelesse  
 and innocent nature of *Eclipses*, himselfe in the next chapter reducing  
 their certaine revolutions, and returns to the space of two hundred  
 twenty two moneths. *Atqui hic ibit ordo per secula* (saith *Seneca*) *que  
 dispositos ac predictos dies habent, quibus Sol intercurfu Lune veretur om-  
 nes radios effundere*: and this order shall continue in all succeeding  
 ages, which have certaine set and fore-told dayes, in which the *Sunne*  
 by the interposition of the *Moone* looseth his light. And the Ro-  
 man Oratour hath observed in his second booke *de natura Deorum*:  
*Defectiones Solis & Lune predicatas in omne posterum tempus que, quante,  
 quando futurae*: The *Eclipses* of the *Sun* and *Moone*, are both knowne, &  
 may be prognosticated for all ages to come, both in what fashion & in  
 what quantitie, and at what time they shall happen: notwithstanding  
 the cleare evidence of which truth, some have beene found, and those  
 not of the vulgar only, but of professed Mathematicians, constantly to  
 affirme (as witnesseth *Bartholinus* in his *Enchiridion* of Naturall Philoso-  
 phy,) that *Eclipses* are in these latter ages more frequent then in for-  
 mer times, which opinion hee there plainly confutes to be most erro-  
 neous: the more I wonder at our late learned Dr *Case*, who in his *Lapis  
 Philosophicus*, lib. 8. among other weake arguments for the worlds decay,  
 makes the irregularitie of our late *Eclipses* to bee one. And for their  
 threatening aspect, (which hee there likewise urgeth) former ages, no  
 doubt, have seene as fearefull ones as ever we, or our next predeces-  
 sours saw: I will instance in two, the one mentioned in the Chronicle  
 of the Kings of *Mann*, annexed by Mr *Camden* to his *Britannia*, anno  
 1133, in which yeare, so great (saith the Chronicle) was the *Eclipse* of  
 the *Sun*, *ut dies in noctem verteretur*, that the day was turned into night:  
 the other recorded by *Malmesbury*, in the 2<sup>d</sup> booke of his *Hist. Novell.*

De Benefic. l. 5.  
cap. 6.

Lib. 3. cap. 32.  
p. 2.

anno



anno 1140: at which time, the Eclypse of the same planet was so terrible, *ut homines antiquum Chaos timerent*, (saith hee) that men feared the returne of all things into the first *Chaos* or confusion.

I will shut up all with a memorable story to this purpose taken out of *Iohn de Royas* in his Epistle to *Charles* the fifth, prefixed to his *Commentaries* upon the plaine *Sphere*, *Colonus* the leader of *King Ferdinands* Army, at the *Iland* of *Iamaica*, being in great distresse for want of victuals, which he could by no meanes obtaine of the inhabitants, & by his skill foreseeing an *Eclypse* of the *Moone* shortly to ensue, tooke order that it should bee declared to the Governours of the *Iland*, that unlesse they supplied him and his with necessaries, imminent danger hanged over their heads; in witnesse whereof, they should shortly see the *Moone Eclypsed*. The *Barbarians* at first refused his demaunds, and contemned his threatening: but when at the set time they indeede beheld the *Moone* by degrees to faile in her light, and understood not the cause thereof, they first gave credite to his words, and then supply of victuals to his Army, casting themselves to his feete, and craving pardon for their offence.

Finally to the present objection, if any harmefull malignant effect be for the present, or afterward produced by the *Eclypse* in those parts where it is scene, yet no man I thinke will deny it, but to bee repairable by the tract and revolution of time, or if not repairable, yet this decay in the Creatures, ariseth not from any deficiency in themselves, from any waxing old by long duration, or removeall from their first originals, (which is the very point in question) but from an adventitious and externall cause. And so I passe from the other Creatures to the Consideration of *Man* the Commaunder and Compendium of all the rest, for whose sake both they were first made, and this discourse was first undertaken.



## LIB. III.

Of the pretended decay of mankinde in regard of age and duration, of strength and stature, of arts and wits.

## CHAP. I.

Touching the pretended decay of men in regard of their age, and first by way of comparison betweene the ages of the Ancients, and those of latter times.

## SECT. I.

Of the short life of man in regard of the duration of many other Creatures, and that hee was created Mortall, but had he not false, should have beene preserved to immortality.



Ince upon examination we have found that there is no such perpetuall & universall decay as is pretended in the Heavens, in the Earth, in the Aire, in the Water, the Fishes, the Plants, the Beasts, the Mineralls: I see no reason but that from thence we might safely and sufficiently conclude, that neither is there any such decay in man. But because this discourse was principally undertaken and intended for the sake of mankinde, I will consider and compare them of former ages with those of latter; first, in regard of age; secondly, in regard of strength and stature; thirdly, in regard of wits and inventions; fourthly, in regard of manners and conditions. And if upon due consideration and comparison it shall appeare that there is no such decay in any of these as is supposed, the Question, I trust, touching the worlds decay in generall, will soone be at an end.

Plut. 39. 5.

Tusculan.

The ordinary age of man being compared with that of the heavens, the stones, the mettals, some beasts and trees, is very short, but the longest being compared with God and eternity, is but as a span, a shadow, a dreame of a shadow, nay meere nothing, which the Roman Oratour hath both truly observed, and elegantly expressed. *Apud Hypanim fluvium, qui ab Europa parte in Pontum influit, Aristoteles ait bestiolas quasdam nasci quæ unum diem vivant; ex ijs igitur hora octava quæ mortua est, proveccta ætate mortua est, quæ verò occidente sole decrepita, eo magis si etiam Solstitiali die. Confer nostram longissimam ætatem cum æternitate, in eadem prope modum brevitate quæ istæ bestiola reperiemur.* Aristotle writes, that by the river Hypanis, which on the side of Europe falls into Pontus, certaine little animals are bred, which live but a day at most: Amongst them then, such as die the eighth houre, die old; such as die at Sun-set, die in their decrepit age; specially if it be upon the day of the Summer Solstice. Now compare our age with eternity, and we shall be found in regard of duration almost in the same state of shortnesse that those Creatures are.

The



The body of man even before the fall was doubtlesse in it selfe by reason of contrary Elements, contrary humours, and members of contrary temper whereof it was composed, *dissoluble* and mortall: As also by reason of outward accidents, the daily wasting of his native heate, and the disproportionable supply of his radicall moisture: But these defects his Creator supplied, arming him against outward accidents by *divine* providence, the guard of *Angels* & his owne excellent *wisedome*, against the contrarieties fighting in his body, by the *harmony* of his soule: against the wasting of his native heate and radicall moisture by that *supernaturall* vertue and efficacy which he gave to the fruit of the tree of life: He was then *Naturally Mortall*: (for otherwise even after his fall should he have continued *immortall*, as the *Apostate Angels* did) but by *speciall priviledge* and dispensation *immortall*: *mortalis erat*, saith S. Augustine, *conditione corporis animalis, immortalis autem beneficio conditoris*: Lib. 7. de Gen. ad Lit. c. 25. He was *mortall* in respect of his naturall body, but *immortall* by the favour of his Creator: Yet doubtles had he not sinned, had he not still lived here upon earth, though in likelihood his age might be extended to some thousands of yeares, but should have beene at length translated from hence to heaven, where hee could neither have sinned nor dyed: *Sic est immortalis conditus*, saith Gregory, *ut tamen si peccaret, & mori possit; & sic mortalis est conditus, ut si non peccaret etiam non mori possit, atque ex merito liberi arbitrij beatitudinem illius regionis attingeret, in qua vel peccare vel mori non possit*. Moral. lib. 2. cap. 26. He was so created *immortall* that if he sinned, he might die: and againe so was hee created *mortall*, that if hee sinned not, hee could not die: But by the merit of his free-will should have beene translated to that place of blisse where hee could neither sinne nor die.

## S E C T. 2.

of the long lives of the Patriarchs, and of the manner of computing their yeares, and that Almighty God drew out the lines of their lives to that length for reasons proper to those first times.

**T**Hough upon the fall of man the duration of his continuance here upon the earth was much shortned, yet certaine it is that many of the Ancient Patriarches before the flood lived above nine hundred, and some to almost a thousand yeares: Neither ought this to seeme incredible, though *Pliny* mentioning some who were reported to have lived five, sixe, or eight hundred yeares, at length concludes that all these strange reports arise from the ignorance of times past, and for want of knowledge how they made their account. 'For some, saith he, reckoned the Summer for one yeare, & the Winter for another. There were also that reckoned every quarter for a yeare, as the *Arcadians*, whose yeare was but three moneths, and some againe you have, as namely the *Egyptians*, who count every change of *New Moone* for a yeare, and therefore no marvell if some of them are reported to have lived a thousand yeares. Thus *Pliny*. But *Iosephus* to justify Lib. 1. Antiq. Cap. 4.



Gen. 5. 21.  
Gen. 5. 22.

Gen. 23. 7. 8.

Gen. 7. 11. & 8.  
4. 5. 13. 14.

Gen. 11. & 8.  
14.

Lib. 1. Antiq.  
Cap. 4.

the truth of *Moses* his history touching the age of the first *Patriarchs*, vouches the authority of *Manathon* the writer of the *Egyptian* story, *Berosus* of the *Chaldean*, *Moschus* and *Esthienus* of the *Phœnician*, as also *Hesiodus*, *Hecataeus*, *Elamius*, *Aeuselaus*, *Ephorus* and others, all affirming that those of the first age lived to a thousand yeares, but how they made their computation, *Iosephus* doth not expresse: Whereupon some have beene so bold as to tell us, that the yeares *Moses* there speakes of, are not to bee computed as ours, but were somewhat above the monethly yeare containing in them thirty sixe dayes, which is a number quadrate, being made up of sixe times sixe: So that one of our yeares containes tenne of them, and those dayes being divided into twelve moneths, there could not above three dayes be attributed to each of them. But this opinion (for I will not spare it though it make for mee,) how not onely false it is, but manifestly repugnant to the *sacred Scriptures*, any man may of himselfe easily discerne. For if wee embrace this computation, it will from thence follow that *Cain* and *Enoch* begat children when they were but sixe yeares old and an halfe, or seaven at most, for the *Scripture* tells us, that the one begat them when he was but sixty five yeares old, and the other at seventy: so that if ten of their yeares made but one of ours, it would consequently follow, that they begat children when they were yet but seaven yeares of age: Besides, since none of those Ancient *Patriarchs* attained to a thousand yeares, if their yeares were so to bee accounted, as these men would have it, none of them should have arrived to ninety seaven yeares; and yet many wee know are now found to passe an hundred. Again, the *Scripture* testifies, that *Abraham* died in a good old age full of dayes, being one hundred seaventy five yeares old, which number, according to their computation, makes but seaventeene yeares and an halfe; a ridiculous old age. Lastly, in the seaventh and eight of *Genesis*, in that one yeare alone, in which the floud lasted, mention is made of the *first*, *second*, and *tenth* moneth, & least they should imagine, that those moneths lasted onely three dayes, wee have there named the *seaventeenth* day of the second, and the *twenty seaventh* of the same moneth.

To take it then as granted, that *Moses* his computation of the yeare, was the same with ours, and that those first *Patriarches* lived much longer then any of longer times, yet from thence cannot any sufficient prooffe be brought, that there hath beene & still continues, a constant and perpetuall decrease in mans age, since for speciall reasons, and by speciall priviledge *Almighty God* granted that to them, which to their successors was denied: which I will rather choose to expresse in *Iosephus* his words then in mine owne. Where having assigned some other causes thereof, peculiar to those times and persons, at length hee concludes. *Deinde propter virtutes & gloriosas utilitates quas jugitur perscrutabantur, id est, Astrologiam & Geometriam, Deus ijs ampliora vivendi spatia condonavit, quæ non ediscere potuissent, nisi sexcentis viverunt annis, per tot enim annorum curricula magnus annus impletur.* Again in regard of the excellent and profitable use of *Astronomy* and *Geometry*, which they daily searched into, *Almighty God* granted them a longer space of life, in as much



much as they could not well finde out the depth of those *Arts*, unlesse they lived fixe hundred yeares, for in that revolution of time, the *great yeare* comes about. Where what he meanes by the *great yeare*, since the most learned make a great doubt, I for my part will not undertake positively to determine. But to this reason of *Iosephus* may well be added another principall one, which is, that God spared them of this first age the longer, for the multiplying of the race of mankind, and replenishing the Earth with Inhabitants. Whereupon *Rabbi Levi* (as witnesseth *Genebrard* in the first of his *Chronologie*) calls the Longevitie of the Patriarches *opus providentiae non naturae*, a worke of the divine providence, not of nature. And as hee graunted them for these reasons a longer space of life by speciall priviledge: so likewise hee fitted their foode, their bodies, and all other necessities proportionable thereunto; as extraordinary carefulnesse and skilfulnesse in the moderation & choice of their diet, together with a singular knowledge in the vertue of plants, and stones, and mineralls, and the like, as well for the preservation of their health, as the curing of all kinde of diseases; which well agrees with that of *Roger Bacon*, speaking of the Patriarches in his book *de scientia experimentalis*. *Quum fuerunt magna sapientia praditi, excogitaverunt omne regimen sanitatis & medicinas secretas quibus senectus retardabatur, & quibus cum venit potuit mitigari; & filij eorum hoc regimen habebant & experimenta contra senectutem, nam Deus illustravit in omni sapientia, & ergo diu vivere potuerunt.* They being indued with singular wisdom, found out the whole course of the regiment of health and secret medicines, whereby the pace of old age was slackned, and when it arrived the rigour of it was abated, and from them their sonnes as by a tradition derived this skill, and these experiments against old age, for God enlightened them with all kinde of wisdom; and from hence it came to passe that they lived long. Yet even among them before the flood, wee finde that the first man, who in case of decrease should in reason have lived longest, was notwithstanding in number of yeares exceeded non onely by *Mathusalath*, and *Iered* before, but by *Noah* after the flood, except wee will adde unto *Adams* age threescore yeares, as some divines doe, upon a supposition that hee was created in the flower of mans age, agreeable to those times.

## S E C T. 3.

*Another reason assigned out of Torniellus, why the Patriarchs might in the course of Nature live longer then their posteritie.*

**T**Hat wee may yet more fully satisfie the curious disquisition of Naturalists; another cause may be assigned why the Patriarchs lived longer then their posteritie: which *Torniellus* in his sacred Annals hath thus expressed. *Quinta causa assignatur benignus quidam ac specialis aspectus Syderum; ex quo Dei providentia, super illam praecipue regionem quam incolebant prisci illi Patres proveniebant influxus valde salutaris, & ad conservandam diuque producendam hominum vitam efficacissimi. Talis* Anno Mundi 2655.  
autem



autem ac tam diuturnus Syderum aspectus siue influxus aiunt provenire non potuisse ex motu raptus Cælorum, qui quotidie perficitur ac renovatur; neque ex motu proprio Planetarum quorum Saturnus, qui omnium tardissimus est triginta annorum curriculo, circulum suum absolvit, sed secundum proprium motum octava, vel ut alij existimant nona Sphæra: Hac enim adeo segniter cursum suum absolvit, ut non nisi centum annis gradum unum conficiat: quo fit ut in totâ primâ mundi ætate, qua fuit mille sexcentorum quinquaginta sex annorum, non potuerit variari prædictus Cæli aspectus, nisi per sex graduum cum dimidio, duobus circiter abjectis minutis: unde cum ab isto Cæli motu & astrorum prospectu, quantum attinet ad causas naturales, potissimum pendere credatur hominum vita & mors, non mirum est si in tota primâ mundi ætate, parum immutata est eorundem hominum longævitæ. Oportet autem benignum illum astrorum aspectum, quando post primam mundi ætatem stellati Cæli motu, ad alias terræ regiones devenit eadem Dei Providentia, per aliquos contrarij influxus Planetas concurrentes ac prædominantes à memorato producenti hominum ætatis effectû, fuisse impeditum, & idcirco nullibi deinde visos esse homines qui communiter tam diu viverent. Sanè quod attinet ad prædictum octavæ Sphæra motum, aiunt ab eo quoque alias admirabiles quasdam causari in hoc mundo inferiori mutationes, puta quod aliqua terrarum plaga, fluctibus maris tota paulatim operiatur, & è converso, non modica maris portio aquis sensim recedentibus, arida relinquatur, & item quod aliqua terra prius optima & benè culta, postmodum reddatur infructuosa & inhabitabilis, & quæ erat sterilis & deserta, ferax admodum efficiatur, & habitatoribus plena, & alia huiusmodi mirabilia quæ probati Authores prodiderunt. Which one reason of his mee thinkes may well serve not onely to salve a number of other doubts, but very sufficiently to satisfie the most curious Naturalists who desire to bee informed by reason, in that which wee profess to beleve by faith.

## S E C T. 4.

*That since Moses his time, the length of mans age is nothing abated, as appears by the testimony of Moses himselfe, and other grave Authours, specially Petrarch and Mantuan, compared with the experience of these times.*

*Psal. 90. 10.*

**H**OWsoever it fared with the Patriarchs, sure wee are that since Moses his time, who was borne in the yeare of the world 2434, or thereabout, above three thousand yeares agoe, when the World was now well replenished, and the most necessary sciences depending upon observation and experience, in a manner perfected, the length of mans age is nothing abated, as clearely it appears by that most famous and evident testimony of his: *the time of our life, (saith hee) is threescore yeares and tenne, and though men bee so strong that they come to fourescore yeares, yet is their strength then but labour and sorrow, so soone passeth it away, and wee are gone.* And that indeed these are the words of Moses, appears by the very Title of the Psalme prefixed to it. *A Psalme of Moses the man of God.* For though S. Augustine seeme to make some doubt



doubt of it, because hee findes it not recorded in his history. And *Aben Ezra* a Jewish Rabbīn, thinks the Authour to have beene one of *David*s fingers so named, yet *S. Hierome* doubts not constantly to averre it to be that same *Moses*, who was the penman of holy writ, and the Captaine of the *Hebrewes*, and that wee might not call it into question, the *Holy Ghost* seemes purposely to have annexed that *Epithite*, *The man of God*, that is, not onely a godly religious and excellent man, but a man endued with a prophetical spirit, and so is it taken, *1. Sam. 2. 27.* and *1. Kings 13. 1.* In which regard *Moses* himselfe gives himselfe this same Title, *Deuter. 33. 1.* *This is the blessing wherewith Moses the man of God blessed the children of Israel before his death.* And for *S. Augustines* objection, hee would leave very few *Psalmes* to *David* himselfe, were his argument of any force. Yet some *Expositours* there are, who referre it to that story of the *Israelites*, written in the 32 of *Exodus*, others in the 14 of *Numbers*; which I the rather am induced to beleieve, for that of all those six hundred thousand *Israelites*, which under the conduct of *Moses* came out of *Ægypt*, only two, *Caleb* and *Ioshua* entred into the land of promise, all the rest, men, women, and children, young and old, leaving their carcases in the Wildernes within the space of forty yeares. True indeede it is, that both *Moses* himselfe and his brother *Aaron* out-lived the number of yeares set downe in that *Psalm*; yet sayth judicious *Calvin*, *de communi ratione loquitur*, hee speakes of the ordinary course, how it commonly faired with men in that respect even in those times. And thus do I take *Herodotus* to be understood jumping in the same number with *Moses*, *spacium vivendi longissimum propositum esse octoginta annos*, that the utmost space of mans life is fourescore yeares: Though *Solon* come a degree shorter, making the age of man threescore and tenne, as both *Laertius* and *Censorinus* in his booke *de die natali* testifie of him. *Plato* who had (as *Seneca* witnesseth) a strong and able body, borrowing his name from his broad brest, not without much care and diligence arrived to the age of eighty one years, which was then held a rare and admirable matter, and therefore did the *Magicians* sacrifice unto him, as being more then a man. And *Barzillai* who lived in *David*s time, is said to have beene *Senex valde*, a very aged man, yet was hee by his owne confession, but fourescore yeares old. Nay *David* himselfe is said to have beene old, *stricken in yeares*, and *saturdierum*, full of dayes, insomuch as they covered him with cloathes, but hee got no heate: yet was hee but threescore and ten when hee died, thirty when hee began to raigne, and forty yeares hee rained, being naturally of a sound and healthfull constitution. *Solomons* age wee cannot by Scripture certainly determine: some *Divines* conjecture, that hee little exceeded forty, but the most learned, that hee passed not fifty or threescore at most, yet is it noted of him, that *cum senex esset*, when hee was old, his wives turned away his heart after other Gods: Of all the Kings of *Judah* and *Ierusalem* which followed after, the greatest part came not to fifty, very few to threescore, and none full home to threescore and tenne. In the whole Catalogue of *Romane*, *Greeke*, *French*, and *Germane Emperours*, onely foure are found which attained to fourescore, and those not among



the first of that ranke. In the bed roll of *Popes* five only lived to see those yeares, and those of latter dayes in comparison, namely *Iohn* 23. *Gregory* 12 and 13 *Paulus* 3 and 4: and which is more remarkeable, our *Queene Elizabeth* of fresh and blessed memory out-lived all her predecessours since the conquest, rainging the yeares of *Augustus*, and living the age of *David* Nay if wee should Compare the Kings of *Iuda* beeing 21. in number with those of England from King Stephen to King James which makes up the same number or shall take the same number of the last *French* or *Spanish* Kings, wee shall easily find that these latter have much exceeded the former in number of yeers aswell in regard of their raignes as their lives.

Epist. 2.

*Petrarch* a grave Author, (as himselfe tels it in the sixteenth booke of his Epistles which hee intitles *Rerum Senilium*) having heard of a Lawyer who in his publique Lectures (thereby to slight the industry of the more ancient, and to excuse the sloath of the present times) was wont to ascribe the difference betweene them in matter of learning, to the difference in the duration of their lives, the one being longer, the other shorter; sent him word by a scholler of his, that hee should no more so say, *ne inter doctos ipse indoctus haberetur*, least among the learned himselfe might perchance be held unlearned: and thereupon presently addes *à duobus & eo amplius annorum millibus circa humana vita spacium nulla mutatio facta est*: For the space of two thousand yeares and more, there is no change made in the space of mens lives; and then goes on and shewes how the auncients ordinarily lived the same number of yeares that wee doe: and lastly, if (saith hee) you object to mee *Varro* and *Cato* and others who lived to an hundred, I have those in readinesse whom I can oppose against them, but because their names are obscure, I will instance onely in one instead of many, and that is *Romualdus* of *Ravenna*, a famous *hermite*, who notwithstanding his continuall watchings and fasting for the love of *Christ*, arrived to the age of an hundred and twenty yeares.

And with *Petrarch* herein doth *Baptista Mantuanus* fully accord, who in the latter end of his fourth booke *de Festis*, speaking of the contracting of the yeare of *Iubily* from one hundred to fifty, and againe from fifty to five and twenty, upon a supposition that the age of man is likewise contracted in comparison of former times; professedly opposeth himselfe against that opinion, though maintained by the Bishops of *Rome*, as being the principall reason by them pretended for that change.

*Judice me concors vero sententia non est  
Tempora qua dicit vita breviata, supersunt  
Nunc quoque qui vivunt Centum vel circiter annos  
Incolumes, vidi ipse hominem quem diceret annos  
Vndecies vixisse decem, vicinia tota,  
Ire suis alacrem plantis, & viribus uti.  
Nec se desidia nec inertī dedere somno,  
If I may judge, th'opinion is not true  
Which sayes the life of man is shortned; you*

Even



Even now may see, some such still kept in store  
 As live one hundred yeares, in perfect health and more,  
 My selfe have scene a man whom all the towne  
 With full an hundred yeares and ten did crowne,  
 Yet did he walke vpright, with strength and nimblenesse  
 Not given to sleepe, nor restie idlenesse.

## SECT. 5.

*The same confirmed by the testimony of other Ancient and learned Writers.*

**H**esiodus the first Writer as I take it (saith Pliny) who hath treated of this argument, in his fabulous discourse touching the age of man, affirmeth, (but upon what ground I know not) that a crow liveth nine times as long as we, and the Harts or Stagges foure times as long as the crow, but the ravens thrice as long as they: And if wee should consult with Astrologers, Epigenes saith, that it is not possible to live an hundred and two and twenty yeares: and Berosus is of opinion, that one cannot passe an hundred and seaventeene. Ausonius out of Hesiod makes the just age of an old man to be nintie sixe yeares.

*Ter binos deciesque novem superexit in annos*

*Iusta senescentum quos implet vita virorum.*

In the Oracle of Sybilla Erithraea by the testimonye of Phlegon Trallianus are found these verses.

*Viginti & centum revolutis protinus annis*

*Quae sunt humanae longissima tempora vitae.*

When six score winters are expir'd, which fate  
 Of humane life hath made the longest date.

These verses of Hesiod are alleged by Plutarch in his treatise of the cessation of Oracles, & translated by Ausonius in his eighteenth Edyllum.

Moreover Trebellius Pollio in his booke to Constantius thus writeth, *Doctissimi Mathematicorum centum viginti annos homini ad vivendum datos judicant, neque amplius cuiquam concessum dicunt, illud etiam adijcentes, Moysen ipsum, (ut Iudeorum libri testantur) Dei familiarem viginti quinque ac centum annos vixisse, qui cum interitum hunc ut immutatum forte quereretur, ferunt illi ab incerto Numine responsum, neminem deinceps amplius esse victurum.* The most learned Mathematicians are of opinion, that a man can live but an hundred and twenty yeares, and that none can goe beyond that period, yet they adde, that Moses himselfe, as the writings of the Jewes testifie, beeing familiar with God, lived to the age of one hundred twenty five yeares, who when he complained of this change, they report this answer to have beene given him by some divine power, that no man after that should passe those bounds. Thus Pollio: ignorantly mistaking the age of Moses, but alluding as it seemes to that speech of God in the sixth of Genesis, *his dayes shall be an hundred & twenty yeares.* Which words notwithstanding I should rather choose to referre to the comming of the flood, then to the duration of the age of particular men. For it is certaine that after this, not onely Noah, but Sem, and Arphaxad, and Salah, and Eber, and Peleg, and Nahor, and Terah, and Abraham, and Isaac, and Iacob, some of them by much, and all of them by some number of yeares exceeded this proportion.

*Crinitus*



*Crinitus* in his seventh booke *de honesta disciplina* reports out of *Tertius Varro* from the authority of *Dioscorides* a great Astrologer, that the *Egyptians*, ( who tooke speciall care about the embalming of dead bodies ) by subtile and witty kinde of reasoning found out, within what bounds of space to the very utmost the age of man is confined, taking their estimate from the weight of the heart; they affirmed then that the life of man is limited to *one hundred yeares*, so that it could not passe that tearme, which the heart of those, say they who dye not untimely, doth manifest, inasmuch as together with age if it bee examined, it either receives *increase* or *decrease*; It receiving the increase of two drams every yeare till a man come to *fifty*, & then againe the *decrease* of two yearely, till hee arrive to an *hundred*, and so returning to its originall weight, it can then make no farther progresse. Now this observation though it be doubtlesse more *curious* then *true*, yet doth it shew that the common opinion of the *Ancients* was, that men did seldome passe *one hundred yeares*. *Seculum centum annorum spacium vocarunt, dictum à sene, quod longissimum spacium id putarint senescendorum hominum*, saith *Varro*, *Seculum* was the space of an *hundred yeares*, so called *à sene*, because they held that to bee the utmost point of growing old. And with *Varro* herein accords the son of *Syrach*, *The number of a mans dayes at the most are an hundred yeares*. And with the sonne of *Syrach* the Prophet *Esay*, *The sinner being an hundred yeares old shall bee accursed*, and with them all the divine *Seneca*, *Peruenisse te ad ultimum ætatis humane videmus, centesimus tibi premitur annus*, wee see thou art come to the utmost point of the age of mankind, thou art now in thy hundreth yeare: nay the same *Seneca* in the very next chapter there following tells us, that even then few arrived to fifty or sixty; though himselfe, if we may beleieve *Calvin* in the life of *Seneca* prefixed before his *Commentaries* upon the booke *de Clementia*, reached to an hundred and fiftene *Tacitus* in the life of *Agricola* makes 15 yeers a great part of mans life and that epistle in *Baruch* which goes under, the Prophet *Jeremies* name Calls the 70 yeers of the *Babylonish* Captivitie, 7 generations, allowing but 10 yeers to one generation. So as that prerogative extraordinary of *Longevity* was as I take it, specially annexed, as to those first ages of the world, so to the *Church* and people chosen by *God* in those times. For had men in all places and all ages arrived to the lives of the *Patriarches*, the *Earth* by this time had not beene able to sustaine them with foode, nor hardly to containe their multitude; yet can it not be denyed but that in all times, and in all *Nations* some have beene alwayes found who have exceeded that number of yeares which many of the *Ancients* ( as wee have heard ) accounted the utmost period of mans life.

Lib. 5 de lingua  
latina.

Eccles 18, 3.

Cap. 65. v. 20.

De brev. c. 3.

cap. 4

But Calvin I  
doubt was  
herein mistake.



## S E C T. 6.

That in all times and nations some have beene found who have exceeded that number of yeares which the wisest of the ancients accounted the utmost period of mans life, and that often those of latter ages have exceeded the former in number of yeares, as is made to appeare as well from sacred as prophane story.

TO let goe fabulous and uncertaiue reports of the *Arcadian* kings and such like, certaine it is, that *Marcus Varelius Corvinus*, Pliny l. 7. c. 48. lived one hundred yeares compleate, *Metellus* the Pontife, or Supreme Priest lived full as long. *Epimenides* the *Cretian* lived one hundred and fifty, whereof the last fifty he spent under ground in a Cave. *Zenophanes* the *Colophonian* one hundred and two at the least: for hee travelled at twenty five, and returned at seventy seven after his setting forth, but after his returne how long he lived it is uncertaine. *Gorgias* the *Sicilian* a famous Rhetorician in his time, lived to one hundred and eight. *Hippocrates* the renowned Physitian to one hundred and foure, both approving and honouring the excellencie of his Art by his age. *Asinius Pollio* inward with *Augustus*, though of a luxurious life, surmounted an hundred. And for women *Ciceroes* wife *Terentia* lived till shee was one hundred and three. *Clodia* wife to *Ofilius* went beyond her, and saw one hundred & fifteene yeares, & yet had she in her youth fifteene children: *Luceia* a common vice in playes followed the stage and acted thereon an hundred yeares, such another vice that played the fooles part, and made sport betweene whiles in interludes, named *Galeria Copiola* was brought againe to act her feates upon the stage when *Cn. Pompeius* and *Q. Sulpitius* were Consuls, at the solemne playes vowed for the health of *Augustus Caesar*, when she was in the hundred and fourth yeare of her age. The first time that ever shee entred the stage to shew prooffe of her skill in that profession, was ninety one yeares before, and then was shee brought thither by *M. Pomponius* an Edile of the Commons in the yeare that *C. Marius* and *Carbo* were Consuls. And once againe *Pompeius* the great, at the solemne dedication of his stately Theater, trained the old women to the stage, thereby to make a shew of her to the wonder of the world.

And if from prophane stories wee should come to the sacred, wee shall there likewise finde that some in all ages have reached to that number of yeares, and that often (which I desire to bee observed) those of later times have exceeded the former. To let goe the Patriarches of whome as far as *Iacob* I have in part already spoken, *Ioseph* attained to an hundred & ten, his brother *Levi* to one hundred thirty seven, and *Moses* and *Aaron* were each of them one hundred and twenty at the least. *Phineas* Gen. 50. 26. Exod. 6. 16. Deut. 34. 7. Num. 33. 39. *Aaron*s nephew, it may be by speciall favour for his great Zeale, is supposed to have lived three hundred yeares: & justly no doubt, if the warre of the *Israelites* against the tribe of *Benjamin*, (in which expedition *Phineas* was consulted with) were acted in the same series of time, in which the histo- Jud. 28.



Ios. 24. 29.  
Iob. 42. 16.

Tob. 14. 13.  
@ 16.

2. cap. v. 37.

Gen. 5. 32.

In Chron.

In Comp.

Mat. 51.

Lib. 7. c. 49.

ry is recorded. *Ioshua* lived one hundred and tenne. *Iob* after his restitution lived one hundred and forty yeares, notwithstanding that before his affliction hee had children of the age of men and women. *Elizus* seemes to have beene above an hundred, inasmuch as hee lived three-score yeares after the assumption of *Elias*, and such hee was at that assumption as the children taunted him for his bald pate. *Tobias* the Elder lived to one hundred fifty and eight, the younger to one hundred twenty seven. Long after this *Anna* the Prophetesse mentioned by *S. Luke* seemes to have out pitched an hundred, as our common translation, reads it, she being a widow foure-score and foure yeares, married seven, & by common account no lesse then foureteene or fifteene when she was married, which being put together make up an hundred and six yeares or there about: though I am not ignorant that *Iunius* and our last translation agreeable to the originall render it thus, & erat vidua annorum quasi octoginta & quatuor, shee was a widdow of about fourescore and foure yeares, that is according to an usuall *Hebraisme*, about fourescore and foure yeares old, as *Noah* is said to have beene *filius quingentorum annorum*, the sonne of five hundred yeares, that is, *natus quingentos annos*, five hundred yeares old. *John* the divine and beloved Disciple an Apostle a Prophet & an Evangelist, who of all the Apostles only died in his bed, all the rest suffering martyrdom for the name of *Christ*, was doubtlesse very aged when hee resigned his spirit, for as witnesseth *Eusebius* out of *Ireneus*, he deceased in the 2 yeare of *Traian* which was the 101 from the nativity, the 68. from the passion of *Christ*; *Cedrenus* affirms that hee lived to 106, but surely considering hee wrote his *Gospell* after hee was 90 by the testimony of *Epiphanius*, it is more then probable that hee drew neere upon 100 if hee exceeded it not.

After this againe *Pliny* to shew the errour of some *Mathematicians*, who thought that the life of man could not even then be extended beyond an hundred yeares, produced a taxation or review of the severall ages of men betweene *Apennine* & the *Poe* made under the Emperours, *Vespasian* the father, and the sonne, in which upon examination were found at *Parma* three men that had lived each of them one hundred and twenty yeares, at *Brixels* one that was one hundred twenty five yeares old: Moreover at *Parma* two, one hundred and thirty yeares of age; at *Plaisance* one elder by a yeare: at *Faventia*, there was one woman one hundred thirty two yeares old: at *Bononia* *L. Taurentius* the son of *Marcus*, and at *Ariminium* *M. Aponius* reckoned each of them one hundred and fifty yeares. About *Plaisance*, is a towne situate upon the hills named *Velleiacum* wherein six men brought a certificate that they had lived one hundred and ten yeares a piece, four likewise came in with a note of an hundred and twenty yeares, & one of an hundred and forty: But because we will not dwell (saith he) upon a matter so evident & commonly confessed; in the review taken of the eighth Region of Italy, there were found in the role fifty foure of one hundred yeares of age, fifty seven of one hundred & tenne, two of one hundred twenty five, foure of one hundred and thirty, as many that were an hundred thirty five, or one hundred thirty seven, and last of all three men of one hundred and forty.

Now



Now had *Pliny vir unus apud Latinos in observandis investigandisque Naturæ arcanis diligens & accuratus*, the onely man among the *Latines* who is a diligent and curious tracer of the prints of *Natures* footsteps, had this man I say observed any such decrease as is pretended in mens ages in regard of former times, hee would doubtlesse have noted it, either in that chapter where so faire an opportunity was offered him, or some where else through his *history*: which I presume cannot be found: and I doubt not but if the like *review* and list were made in those parts at this day, as many of like ages would bee found within the like compassse, or if there were found defect in that place, it may happily be supplied in another; or if a generall defect in this age by reason of some accidentall occasions, yet may it bee repaired and recompenced againe in future times by their removall: The defect then (if any be) is not in the course of *Nature*, but in our wronging it; and yet I make no doubt, but a number in succeding ages have equalled and some exceeded those recounted by *Pliny* in number of yeares.

## S E C T. 7.

*The same assertion farther proved and enlarged by many instances, both at home and abroad.*

**A** *Riccius* the Philosopher boasted, as witnesseth *Roger Bacon* in his booke *de erroribus medicorum* among which this perchance may bee one, that hee had lived 1029 yeares, and farther addes that himselfe had spoken with many eye-witnesses worthy Credit who knew a man *qui magnifico medicamine sumpto vixerat nongentis & multis alijs annis, & habuit literas Papales in testimonium hujus rei*; who having used a princely preservative, lived nine hundred yeares, and had the Popes letters testimoniall to shew for it. Though herein I presume his Holiness will not challenge to himselfe an infallibility of judgment.

To say nothing of the *wandering Jew*, by some named *Iohannes Butta deus*, of whom about six yeares since, being scene and conferred with at *Antwerpe*, and againe about sixteene before that in *France*, was every where in those times so much talke, as if hee had beene present at our *Saviours* passion, and had lived in this wandering manner ever since: among bookes published to that purpose, I will onely referre the curious Reader, (who desires to be farther informed in that point) to the relations of *Guido Bonatus*, (who lived about 400 yeares since) in the first part, 5 tract, and 141 consideration of Iudiciary *Astrologie*, and the seventh booke of the *History* of the peace betwixt the Kings of *France* and *Spaine* in the yeare 1604. where the storie is not onely related but learnedly disputed; and to an old manuscript *Chronicle de gestis Regis Iohannis* lately in the keeping of the ever renowned *Sr Henry Savill*, where report is made that in the yeare of *Grace* 1228, an Archbishop of *Armenia* arriving as a pilgrime in this kingdome to visite the reliques of our *Saints*, and demaunded if hee could say any thing touching the  
wandering



wandering Jew, of whom at that very time was much rumour; a certaine Knight in his traine made answer for him in *French*, that he knew him well, and had often conversed with him; and thereupon describes him both for his person, and manners, and the occasion of his living in that fashion, much like as doth *Paul of Eitsen*, Bishop of *Sleswing*, who is said to have met & conferred with him at *Hamborough*, in the yeare 1542, in the *French history* before alleaged, but leaving him to his wandering life, and the Reader to his liberty of beleeve, I returne to more certaine Relations.

*Paul the Hermite* lived to one hundred and fiftene, *S. Anthony* to one hundred and five. *Gartius Aretinus* great Grandfather to *Petrarch*, arrived to one hundred and foure. *Gulielmus Postellus*, a French-man in our age held out to almost an hundred and twenty; the tops of his beard in his higher lip being then somewhat blackish and not altogether white.

But above all, most memorable is the age of *Iohannes de Temporibus*, which *Verstegan* out of the *Dutch* Authours thus reports: Here by the way, saith hee, I must note to the Reader that *Iohannes de Temporibus*, that is to say, *John of times*, so called for the sundry times or ages hee lived, was shield-knave or Armour bearer to *Charles the Great*, of whom he was also made Knight. This man being of great temperance, sobriety, and contentment of minde in his condition of life, but above all, of a most excellent constitution of body, residing partly in *Germany* where hee was borne, and partly in *France*, lived unto the ninth yeare of the reigne of the Emperour *Conrade*, and died at the age of three hundred sixty one yeares, seeming thereby a very miracle of *Nature*, and one in whom it pleased *God* to represent unto latter ages the long yeares & temperate lives of the ancient *Patriarches*. Mine Authour goeth on; tis said that there hath a man lately lived in the *East Indies*, of some thought to be yet living, of greater age then this *John of Times*: The certainty hereof I cannot affirme, but it is credibly reported that a woman lately lived at *Segovia* in *Spaine* of an hundred and threescore yeares of age. And *Franciscus Alvarez* saith, that hee saw *Albuna Marc*: chiefe Bishop of *Ethiopia*, beeing of the age of an hundred and fifty yeares: *Anthony Fume* an *Historiographer* of good account, reporteth that in the yeare one thousand five hundred and seaventy, there was an *Indian* presented to *Solyman Generall* of the *Turkes* army, who had out lived three hundred yeares. And *Sr Walter Rawleigh* tels us, that himselfe knew the old Countesse of *Desmond* of *Inchiquin* in *Munster*, who lived in the yeare 1589 and many yeares since, & yet was married in *Edward* the fourths time, and held her joynter from the Earles of *Desmond* till then: And that this is true (saith he) all the Noblemen and Gentlemen of *Munster* can witnesse. My Lord of *S. Albans* casting her age, brings her to one hundred and forty at least, adding withall, *ter per vices dentisse*, that shee recovered her teeth after casting them three severall times. The same Authour reports that a while since in *Hereford-shire* at their *Maygames* there was a *Morice* daunce of eight men, whose yeares put together made up eight hundred, that which was wanting of an hundred in some superabounding in others. *Mr Carew* in his *Survey* of *Cornwall*

This story is confirmed by *Petrus Mexias*, and *Fasciculus Temporum*.



*Cornwall*, assures us upon his owne knowledge that fourescore, and fourescore and tenne yeares of age is ordinary there in every place, and in most persons accompanied with an able use of the body and their senses. One *Polexew*, (saith he) lately living reached to one hundred and thirty, a kinsman of his to one hundred and twelve. One *Beauchamp* to one hundred and sixe, and in the parish where himselve dwelt hee professed to have remembred the decease of foure within foureteene weekes space, whose yeares added together made up the summe of three hundre and forty. The same Gentleman made this merry Epigram or Epitaph upon one *Brawne* an Irish man, but *Cornish* begger.

Heere *Brawne* the *quondam* begger lies  
 Who counted by his tale  
 Some fixcore winters and above;  
 Such vertue is in Ale.  
 Ale was his meate, his drinke, his cloth,  
 Ale did his death reprive,  
 And could hee still have drunke his Ale,  
 Hee had beene still alive.

And I make no doubt but the like observation might be made in other countries under his Majesties dominions, as well as in those two shires, if the like particular survey and search were made.

I have beene credibly informed that *Pawlet* Marquesse of *Winchester*, and Lord Treasurer of *England*, who died in the tenth yeare of Queene *Elizabeth*, was borne in the last yeare of *Henry* the sixth, hee lived in all 106 yeares 3 quarters, and odde dayes, during the raigne of nine Kings & Queene of *England*: as also that *James Sands* of *Horborne* in *Stafford-shire* neere *Bremingham*, lived 140 yeares, and his wife 120, and died about tenne yeares past, hee out lived five leases of 21 yeares apeece made unto him after he was married.

*Buchanan* in his *Scottish* history toward the latter end of his first booke, speaking of the *Orcades*, names one *Laurence* who dwelling in one of those Ilands married a wife after hee was one hundred yeares old, and more then so, *centesimum quadragesimum annum agens, savissimo mari in sua navicula piscatum prodibat*, being now seventyscore yeare old in a tempestuous sea hee went out a fishing in his owne little boate.

*Nos ipsi vidimus senem* saith *Bellarmino* lib. 1. de verbo dei Cap. 7, *annorum 105 ita robustum & vegetum ut multos adhuc annos supervicturus videretur*: wee our selves have seene an olde man of 105 yeares of age so lustie and stronge as hee was likely to have lived many yeares Longer.

I my selfe have seen an old man (saith Dr *Willet*) of 124. yeares of age, at *Everfden* in the county of *Bedford*, who dyed about the yeare 1600. or. 1601. he could remember *Bosworth* feild at the comming in of *Henry* the 7. being then as hee affirmed some 15 yeares old. But if *Henry* entred in the yeare 1485 & the said old man dyed in the yeares 1600. being of the age of 15. yeares at that Kings entrance, then could hee bee no lesse then 130 yeares old as by the computation will easily appeare.



Lib. 134 an.  
1605.

*Robert Constantin* (as witnesseth *Thuanus*) being borne at *Cana* in the lower *Normandie* a man very skilfull in the three languages lived to the age of 103 years perfectly sound in all the senses of his bodie and faculties of his minde, specially in his memorie which in old men Commonly first failes; and at last died of a pleurisie which argues strength of nature and abundance of blood and heate. The same yeere (as writeth the same author in the same place) died *Emanuel Demetrius* and his wife, in the low Countreys, the one being 103 the other 99 yeares olde having beene married 75 yeares, the one out lived the other by the space only of three houres and were both buried at the same time at *Delph* in *Holland*.

*Vassaus* in his Chronicle of Spaine makes it no marvaile to find a man of an hundred years old, many such (as he affirmeth) being to bee found in *Portugall* and that himselfe knew an old woman at that time where hee wrote of the age of 110 whose Mother was sayed to have reached to 120.

And if wee please a little to cast our eyes farther abroad, wee shall likewise finde that even at this day the *Indians*, a barbarous people and living according to *Nature*, reach to a marvailous great age, matchable to any that we read of since the flood, either in *sacred* or *profane* story. *St. Walter Rawleigh* in his discovery of *Guiana* reports that the King of *Aromaia*, being one hundred and tenne yeares old, came in a morning on foote to him from his house which was foureteene *English* miles, and returned on foote the same day: but that which is written by *Monsieur Besanneera* a *French* Gentleman in the relation of *Captaine Laudonniere*s second voyage to *Florida*, is much more strange, and not unworthy to be set downe at large. Our men, saith hee, regarding the age of their *Paracouffy* or Lord of the countrey, began to question with him thereabouts, whereunto hee made answer that hee was the first living *Originall* from whence five generations were descended, shewing them withall another old man which farre exceeded him in age, and this man was his father, who seemed rather an *Anatomie* then a living body: for his sinewes, his veines, his arteries, his bones, and other parts appeared so clearely thorow his skin, that a man might easily tell them, and discern them one from another. Also his age was so great that the good man had lost his sight, and could not speake one onely word but with exceeding great paine. *Monsieur d'Ottigni* having scene so strange a sight turned to the younger of these two old men, praying him to vouchsafe to answer to that which hee demaunded touching his age: then called he a company of *Indians*, and striking twice upon his thigh and laying his hand upon two of them, hee shewed by signes that these two were his sonnes; againe smiting upon their thighs, he shewed him others not so old, which were the children of the two first, and thus continued he in the same manner untill the *fifth generation*: But though this old man had his father alive more old then himselfe, and that both their haire was as white as was possible, yet it was told them that they might yet live *thirty* or *forty* yeares more by the course of nature, although the younger of them both, was not lesse then *two hundred & fifty* yeares old.

M<sup>r</sup>



Mr George Sands, in the second booke of the *Relation of his journey*, in the *hystory of Ægypt*, alledging those verses of *Lucan*,

--- *Vesanius in ortus*

*Cambyses longi populos pervenit ad ævi,*

Lib. 10.

Furious *Cambyses* to the longliu'd went,

Tels us that the *Æthiopians* are there to be understood, who (saith hee) are said ordinarily to live unto 120 yeares which notwithstanding it should seeme in ancient time was not so, for that *Plutarch* in his fifth booke and thirtieth chapter *de placitis philosophorum* affirmes, that *Asclepiades* reports that the *Æthiopians* are accounted old if they live to 30. whereas in *Britaine* (saith hee) many live to 120. My L. of S. *Albans* sayes to 150.

Hist de vita &  
Morte pag. 167

*Torquemado* in the first journey of his discourse assures us, that being at *Rome* about the yeare 1531: it was bruted thorow all *Italy* that at *Tarentum* there lived an old man, who at the age of an hundred yeares was growne young againe, hee had changed his skin like unto the snake and had recovered a new, being withall become so young & fresh, as those which had seene him & knowne him before, could then scarce beleieve their owne eyes: and having continued above fifty yeares in this estate, he grew at length to be so old, as hee seemed to be made of barks of trees; whereunto hee further adds (and that the above written relation, saith he, may not seeme impossible) we have a more admirable thing in the same kinde, recorded by *Ferdinand Lopez* of *Castegnede*, historiographer to the King of *Portugall* in the eighth booke of his *Chronicle*, where hee saith, that *Nonnio de Cugne*, being *Viceroy* at the *Indies* in the yeare 1536, there was a man brought unto him as a thing worthy of admiration, for that it was averred by good proofes and sufficient testimony, that hee was three hundred and forty yeares old, hee remembered hee had seene that Citty wherein hee dwelt unpeopled, beeing then when hee spake it one of the chiefe of all the *East Indies*; hee had growne young againe foure times, changing his white haire and recovering new teeth. When the *Viceroy* did see him, hee then had the haire of his head and of his beard blacke, although he had not much, and there being by chance a *Physitian* at that time present, the *Viceroy* willed him to feele the old mans pulse, which he found as good and as strong as a young mans in the prime of his age. This man was borne in the Realme of *Bengala*, and did affirme that he had had at times neere seaven hundred wives, whereof some were dead some were put away. The King of *Portugall* advertised of this wonder, did often inquire, and had yearely newes of him by the fleete which came from thence: Hee lived above three hundred and seaven yeares. The same *Castegnede* addes, that in the time of the same *Vice-roy*, there was also found in the Citty of *Bengala* another man, a *Moore* or *Mahometane* called *Xequpeer* borne in a Province named *Xequ*, who was three hundred yeares old, as he said: all those that did know him did also certifie it having great presumption so to doe. This *Moore* was reputed among them an holy man by reason of his austerenesse and abstinence: The *Portugals* did converse familiarly with him. Now besides that the histories of *Portugall* touching the *Indies* are

faithfully



faithfully collected and certified by very authentick witnesses, there were in my time, saith *Torquemado*, both in *Portugall* and *Castile* many which had seene these old men.

I may not here forget a discourse, written by *Thomas* of *Ravenna*, and dedicated to Pope *Iulius* the third *de vita hominis ultra 120 annos protrahenda* of protracting the life of man beyond 120 yeares, wherein hee prefixed this title to his first chapter, *Qui aeo nostro presenti ultra annos 120 supervixere*, of those who in this present age have out lived 120. Nor yet that which *Felix Platerus* late Professour at *Basil*, in his *questiones Hygieinae* reports of his grandfather that he lived to 126. Nor lastly that which *Iohannes Temporarius* in his *Chronologicall demonstrations*, writes to this purpose of his owne experience, *anno mundi 410. Cap. 4. Duos ipsi novimus qui agresti manuum labore vitam traduxerunt alterum ad annos 112, alterum ad 116, vita commodis nihilominus fruentes, mente sana in corpore sano.* Wee our selves have knowne two, who getting their living by the labour of their hands, the one of them lived to 112 the other to 116. injoying their life in a commodious manner, as having a sound minde in a sound body.

## S E C T. 8.

*That if our lives be shortned in regard of our Ancestours, wee should rather lay the burthen of the fault upon our intemperance, then upon a decay in Nature, as is proved by the authority of Leonardus Lessius, and Ludovicus Cornarus.*

**T**He *High-landers* likewise in *Scotland*, and the wild *Irish* commonly live longer then those of softer education, of nice and tender bringing up, (which often falls out in the more civill times and countries) being no doubt a great enemy to *Longevity*, as also the first feeding and nourishing of the *Infant* with the milke of a strange dug; an *unnaturall curiosity*, having taught all women but the beggar to finde out nurses, which necessity only ought to commend unto them. Whereunto may be added *hasty marriages* in tender yeares, wherein nature being but yet greene and growing, we rent from her, and replant her branches, while her selfe hath not yet any roote sufficient to maintaine her owne top. And such halfe-ripe feedes, for the most part, wither in the bud, and waxe old even in their infancy. But above all things the pressing of *Nature* with *over-weighty burdens*, & when we finde her strength defective, the helpe of strong waters, hot spices, and provoking sauces, is it which impaires our health, and shortens our life,

---*Simul assis*

*Miscueris elixa, simul conchyliis turdis,  
Dulcia se in bilem vertent, stomachoque tumultum  
Lenta feret pituita; vides ut pallidus omnis  
Cena defurgat dubia?*

Mixe sod with rost, and fish with flesh, straightwayes  
The sweet will turne it selfe to bitter gall:

Tough



Tough flegme will in the stomacke tumults raise,  
 Seest not how doubtfull suppers make men pale?  
 But elegant to this purpose are those verses of *Lucan*,

----O prodiga rerum

*Luxuries! nunquam parvo contenta paratu,  
 Et quasitorum terra pelagoque ciborum  
 Ambitiosa fames, & lauta gloria mensa!  
 Discite quàm parvo liceat producere vitam,  
 Et quantum natura petat.  
 Non auro myrrhaque bibunt, sed gurgite puro  
 Vita redit, satis est populis fluviusque Ceresque.*

O wastefull riot! never well content  
 With low-priz'd fare, hunger ambitious  
 Of Cates by land and sea farre fetcht and sent,  
 Vaine-glory of a table sumptuous!  
 Learne with how little, life may be preserv'd,  
 In gold and myrrhe they neede not to carouse,  
 But with the brooke the peoples thirst is serv'd,  
 Who fed with bread and water are not starv'd.

*Multos morbos multa secula fecerunt*, saith *Seneca*, our variety of dainty dishes hath bred variety of diseases. And againe, *Maximus ille medicorum, & hujus scientia Conditor, fæminis nec capillos defluere dixit, nec pedes laborare: atqui hæc jam & capillis destituuntur, & pedibus agra sunt, non mutata fæminarum natura, sed vita est.* The greatest of *Physitians* & the founder of that Science affirms, that women neither loose their haire, nor grow diseased in their feete: but now wee see they are both bald and gowty, not because their nature is chang'd, but the course of their life. *Beneficium sexus sui vitij perdiderunt, & quia fæminam exuerunt, damnata sunt morbis virilibus.* They have forfeited the priviledge of their sexe by their owne viciousnesse, & having together with their modesty put off their womanhood, they are deservedly plagued with mens diseases. Two discourses I have lately met with, written by two learned men, in both which it is sufficiently proved that if we fall short of the length of our predecessours lives, it is rather by reason of our intemperance then their antiquity: the one by *Leonardus Lessius* a Jesuite, which hee intitles *Hygiasticon, seu vera ratio valetudinis bonæ & vitæ unâ cum sensuum judicij & memoria integritate ad extremam senectutem conservanda*: wherein hee makes the principall meanes of preserving health to bee a moderate & temperate diet, by which meanes the *Brachmanes* among the *Indians*, the *Votaries* among the *Mahometans*, the *Essens* among the *Jewes* lived till they were very old; & among *Christians*, *omitto plurimos nostræ ætatis* (saith hee) I omit many of our age, who by observing sobrietie in their diet, have spunne out the thread of their lives, and that in perfect health, some to 80, some to 90, some to 95, some to more yeares; whereunto hee farther addes, that there are some monasteries of women, in which they use so spare and thinne diet, as thereby they ordinarily live to 80 or 90: *adeo ut sexagenaria & septuagenaria vix inter seniores numerentur*, so as with them those of 60 or 70 are scarce



ranked among the elder sort. The other discourse tending to the same purpose, is written by *Ludovicus Cornarius* a Gentleman, and I thinke a Senatour of *Venice*, de *vita sobria commodis*, whercof himselfe had made tryall from his 36<sup>th</sup> yeare even to his last, and being before but of a weake and sickly disposition, thereby became so strong & quicke, both in body and minde, that at 83 he wrote a pleasant Comedie, and at 95 another booke, his diet being by precise weight 14 ounces of drinke and 12 of bread and meate by the day, hee likewise tells us, how of latter times *Pope Paul* the 3<sup>d</sup>, *Cardinall Bembus*, and two Dukes of *Venice Landus* and *Donatus* held out very long by using the like temperance; and at last concludes, that as many of the ancients by that meanes out-reached 100, so might wee too, *eundem ducem sequuti*, following the same guide and treading in the same steps.

Besides, our *Ancestors* used some things now growne out of use with us, which were no doubt speciall meanes to preserve their health and prolong their lives, as the annointing of their bodies, their frequent use of saffron and hony, their wearing of warmer cloathes, and dwelling in closer houses with little doores and windowes, choosung rather to admit lesse aire then much light, preferring their health before their pleasure, as also for the most part they used lesse Physicke and more exercise: so that if our lives be shortned in regard of them, wee have reason to acquit and discharge nature, and to lay the whole burden of the fault upon our selves.

--- *Natura beatis*

*Omni bus esse dedit, si quis cognoverit uti.*

Nature allowes that all should blessed be,  
Knew they to use her bounty prudentlie.

And doubtlesse through our owne ignorance or negligence it is if wee make not that use of Natures bounty which wee might and should: and herewith that of *Roger Bacon* accords in his booke *de retardatione accidentium senectutis*: *Mundo senescente senescunt homines, non propter mundi senectutem, sed multiplicationem viventium inficientium ipsum aerem qui nos circumdat, & negligentiam regiminis & ignorantiam illarum rerum, illarumve proprietatum quae regiminis defectum supplent.* The world waxing old, men likewise waxe old, not so much by reason of the worlds old age, as the multiplication of living Creatures, infecting the aire which invirons us, and our negligence in the government of our health, and our ignorance in the vertue of those things which should supply the defect of that government: and againe in his booke *de scientia experimental.* *Causa autem huiusmodi prolongationis & abbreviationis existimaverunt multi à parte caeli, nam existimaverunt quod caeli dispositio fuit optima à principio, & mundo senescente omnia tabescant, astimantes stellas fuisse creatas in locis convenientioribus, & in meliori proportionem earum ad invicem secundum diversitatem aspectuum, & projectionem radiorum invisibilem, & quod ab illo statu paulatim recesserunt, & secundum hunc recessum ponant vitae decurtationem usque ad aliquem terminum fixum in quo est status, sed hoc habet multas contradictiones & difficultates de quibus non est modo dicendum.* The cause of this pro-  
longing



longing and shortning our lives, many conjecture to bee in regard of the Heavens, for they thought that the Heavens were best disposed at the first, and that as the world waxeth old, all things decayed, supposing that the Starres were created in more convenient places, and in a fitter proportion each to other according to the diversities of their aspects, and the invisible projection of their beames, & that by degrees they are fallen off from that estate, and according thereunto they proportion the decrease of life untill it come to some settled period, beyond which there is no farther progresse; but this assertion includes many contradictions and difficulties, of which I cannot now speake.

*Petrus Paduanensis*, or *Aponensis*, commonly knowne by the name of *Conciliator*, who lived & wrote about three hundred thirty years agoe, *differentia nona* proposeth this question. *An natura humana sit debilitata ab eo quod antiquitus?* and having argued the point too and fro somewhat doubtfully, seemes to conclude, that accidentally by reason of the luxurie of latter ages it is weakned; yet with this caution, *Attendendum tamen quod licet dictum sit quod natura humana isto tempore ac istis climatibus sit debilitata & perfectionibus minorata: contingit alijs temporibus & regionibus fortificari & perfici magis.* And againe, *Cum natura humana & ordo ejus cum alijs sit, ut quidam circulus secundo de generatione; dicendum talem motum non fortificari in fine, sed remanere ejusdem dispositionis, aut diversificatum parumper ut ejus excitant causa.* To the authoritie of *Moses*, (which hee takes to be *Dauids*) The time of our life is threescore yeares and ten; and to that of *Hippocrates*, distinguishing the severall stages of mans life as wee doe now, hee makes none other answer but this, *Dicendum quod illud tempus non est multum elongatum à nobis, etsi sit multum à generatione distans mundi.* And in conclusion utterly enervates the force of his owne strongest argument. *Ad illud quod dicebatur unumquodque debilitatur per distare à suo principio dicendum quod verum est, si illud quod distat totum esse accipit ab illo principio & non ab alio; sic autem non est in proposito: nam quod distat & quod generatur non solum recipit esse à generante particulari sed ab universali, ut à corporibus superioribus jam dictis cum homo hominem generet & sol: etenim videmus quod filius generatus, fortior est & longioris vita quam pater generans, cum filius magis distet à principio quam pater.*

Yet mee thinkes it may be demonstrated by evident reason, besides the arguments already alleadged, that at the least for these last thousand or two thousand yeares, the age of mankinde is little or nothing abated, which I will endeavour to make good in the next Chapter.



## CHAP. 2.

*Farther reasons alleaged, that the age of man for these last thousand or two thousand yeares, is little shortned, or nothing abated.*

## SECT. I.

*The first reason taken from the severall stops and pauses of nature in the course of mans life, as the time of birth after our conception, our infancie, childhood, youth, mans estate, and old age, being assigned to the same compasse of yeares as they were by the Ancients; which could not possibly be, were there an universall decay in mankind in regard of age; And the like reason there is in making the same Clymactericall yeares, and the same danger in them.*

**T**HAT the age of mankind for these last thousand or two thousand yeares is nothing shortned, will farther appeare by the severall *stages* and *stops* which the *Ancients* have marked out, aswell in the growth of the infant in the mothers wombe, and time of birth, as in the distribution of mans age after the birth, agreeable unto that which is generally received by the learned, and for the most part wee finde to be verified by experience at this day. As among *Plants*, those which last longest, have likewise their seedes longest buried under the earth before their springing above ground: so likewise among *beasts*, those which live longest, are carried longest in the wombe of their dammes; the *bitch* carries her young but three moneths at most, the *mare* nine, the *Elephant* two yeares (not ~~ten~~ as some have vainely written); and looke what proportion is found betwixt their *conception* and *birth*, the like is commonly found betwixt their *birth* and *death*. Nature then in her proceedings in naturall actions being alike, aswell to them as to *mankind*, it should in reason seeme, that as their time is the same which the *Ancients*, (namely *Hippocrates* and *Aristotle*) have left upon record from their *conception* to their *birth*, and againe ordinarily (or *ceteris paribus*, as in Schooles we speake) from their *birth* to their *death*; so it should fare with *mankind* too: If then it shall appeare that the *Ancients* assigned the same space of time for the delivery of a woman with childe, which we now doe, mee thinkes the consequent from hence deduced should bee more then probable, that as the space of their abode in the *wombe* of the mother, and comming from thence into the world, is the same as then it was, so likewise ordinarily, and in the course of nature (if shee be not wronged or interrupted, nor on the other side by a supernaturall power advanced above her selfe) it should bee the same during their abode heere in the world, and their returne to the *wombe* of their common mother the earth: Now though it bee true, that the space of time from the conception to the birth of man is more variable then that of any other Creature (perchance because his foode and fancie are more variable, or because nature is more sollicitous of him, as  
being



being her darling) yet most certaine it is, the same *periods* which by *Hippocrates* were assigned for his first comming into the light, are now also by *Physicians* observed, and that so precisely as they exactly agree with him, not onely in the number of moneths but of dayes; the moneths assigned by him, were the *seaventh*, the *ninth*, the *tenth*, & sometimes the *eleventh*, and so they still remaine, and as the *eight* was by him held dangerous & deadly, so is it now; & as the *tenth* moneth is our usuall computation, so was it likewise theirs, as appeares by that of *Neptune* in *Homer* speaking to a *Nymph*.

*Lauren. hist. Anat. lib. 8.*

*Anno circumacto speciosum partum edes  
nimirum decimo mense.*

*Odys. 4.*

The yeare ended thou wilt bee delivered  
of a faire child, that is to say, in the 10<sup>th</sup> moneth.

From whence it may be observed that the *Æolians* (of whom was *Homer*) counted their yeare from thence, as did also the *Romanes* till *Numa's* raigne, I meane from the usuall time of a womans going with childe.

*Quod satis est utro matris dum prodeat infans,  
Hoc anno statuit temporis esse satis.*

*Fast. lib. 1.*

Saith the Poet speaking of *Romulus*.

That space which is unto our birth assign'd,  
The same by him was to the yeare confin'd.

And to the end wee may fully know what space is there by him understood, he presently addes.

*Annus erat decimum cum luna receperat orbem,  
Hic numerus magno tunc in honore fuit,  
Seu quia tot digiti per quos numerare solemus,  
Seu quia bis quino fœmina mense parit.*

Our yeare tenne full-moones did containe,  
This number then was honoured,  
For that a woman going in paine  
So long, was then disburdened.

But I proceede from the time of the birth, to the *Ancients* distribution of mans age after the birth.

Some of them divided the age of man into three, some into foure, some into five, some into six, some into seaven parts: which they resembled to the seaven *Planets*; comparing our *infancy* to the *Moone*, in which we seeme only to live & grow as plants; the second age or *childhood* to *Mercury*, wherein wee are taught and instructed; the third age or *youth* to *Venus*, the dayes of love, desire, and vanity; the fourth to the *Sunne*, the strong flourishing and beautifull age of mans life; the fifth to *Mars*, in which we seeke honour and victory, & in which our thoughts travell to ambitious ends; the sixth to *Iupiter*, in which wee begin to take account of our times, judge of our selves, and grow to the perfection of our understanding: the last and seaventh to *Saturne*, wherein our dayes are sad and overcast, and in which wee finde by deere and lamentable experience, & by the losse which never can be repaired, that of all our vaine passions and affections past, the sorrow only abideth.

*Rodeg. 10. 61. 62.*

*Philo*



*Philo Iudæus* in that excellent book of the workmanship of the world, discoursing of the admirable properties of the sacred number of *seaven*, among many other things alleadged to that purpose, he affirms, that at the end of every *seaventh* year, there is some notable change in the body of man, and for better prooffe thereof, hee produceth the authority of *Hippocrates*, and an *Elegie* of *Solons*, which thus begins.

*Impubes pueri septem volventibus annis,  
Claudent enatis dentibus eloquium :  
Post alios totidem Divorum numine dextro,  
Occultum pubis nascitur indicium.  
Annus ter septem primâ lanugine malis  
Vestiet atatis robore conspicuus. &c.*

When children once to *seaven* yeares have aspired,  
The tale of all their teeth they have acquired.  
By that the next *seaven* ended have their date,  
Pubertie comes, and power to generate.  
The third *seaven* perfect's growth, and then the chin  
With youthly downe to blossome doth begin.

Cap. 6.

But among all the *Ancients* I have met with *Macrobius* in his first booke of *Scipio's* dreame, extolling (as *Philo* doth) the rare and singular effects of the *septenary* number, most clearely and learnedly expresth the remarkable pawses and changes of *Nature* every *seaventh* year in the course of mans age, as the casting of the teeth in the first *seaven*, the springing of the pubes in the second, of the beard in the third, the utmost period of growth in the fourth, of strength in the fifth, a consistence in the sixth, and a declination in the *seaventh*. Now that which these *Ancients* observed touching these secret *stations* and *progresses* of *Nature* in the state of mans body and course of his life, is still found to be true, as well by the *Verdict* and judgement of learned men, as by the prooffe and tryall of *Experience*, which could not possibly bee, were there a constant abatement in the length of our whole age, by such an universall and irrevocable decay of *Nature* as is pretended: for then should men doubtlesse grow to ripenesse and perfection sooner, as they are supposed sooner to hasten to death and dissolution, which must needs draw on an alteration and confusion in all the noted changes through the course of mans life: And therefore the holy Scripture assigning the *Patriarchs* a longer life, assignes them likewise proportionably thereunto a longer time before they were ripened for generation, as *Peter Martyr* hath rightly noted.

106. Com. c. 12.  
Elaſu. 1.

It is true and ever was, which *Galen* in his sixth book of the regiment of health hath observed, that these changes cannot so bee tyed to any such precise number of yeares, but that a *variation* of *latitude* is to bee admitted in them in regard of some particulars: some growing to their *puberty* at fourteene, others at fiteene: some declining at *thirty*, others at *thirty five*, according to their severall constitutions, educations, diet, situation of *Climates* and *Countries*, and the like; The *Poet* professed of himselfe above *sixteene hundred* yeares agoe, that his beard began to sprout and paint his cheekes before twenty.

Quamvis



*Quamvis jam juvenile decus mihi pingere malas  
Caperit, & nondum vicesima venerit aetas.*

Ovid.

Though now my beard began my cheekes to grace,  
Nor had I lived yet twice tenne yeares space.

And of another at fixteene.

--- *Octonis iterum natalibus actis:*

Met. 3.

*Signarat teneras, dubia lanugine, malas.*

But as all rules in Science, so these are held sufficiently currant and warrantable, if they bee found *infallible* in the greatest part, and *uniforme*, where all circumstances concur in a like degree.

It is now commonly thought, that *thirty three*, or betweene that and 35 yeares, is the flowre and perfection of mans age, (it being the mid-way to seventy, which both *Moses* and *Solon* held the Epilogue and conclusion thereof: so as those who runne beyond that, are like Racers which runne beyond the goale.) And this was the age of our blessed Saviour, to the perfection whereof, the *Apostle* seemes to allude in the fourth to the *Ephesians*: Till we meet together unto a perfect man, and unto the measure of the age of the fullnesse of Christ: which passage *S. Augustine* interpreting, is of opinion, that wee shall rise againe by reason of the perfection thereof, *in ea aetate usque quam Christum pervenisse cognovimus*, as men of that age unto which Christ himselfe the head of the Church arrived. I know there want not some, as namely *Irenaeus* and others, who by occasion of that speech of the *Iewes*, *d Thou art not yet fifty yeares old, and hast thou scene Abraham?* conjecture that he was about that age: but whether it were his cares and troubles that made him seeme elder then indeed hee was, or the *Iewes* would thereby signifie that though he had beene much elder then hee was, yet was it not possible for him to have scene *Abraham* in the flesh; certaine it is that he came not to forty: some late *Divines* being of opinion that he reached *thirty five*, but the most part, as also the most Ancient and most learned, that hee little exceeded *thirty three*: Nay, long before the birth of our Saviour; *Heracitus*, as witnesseth *Plutarch* in his booke of the ceasing of Oracles, accounted the most flourishing estate of mans age to bee about *thirty*, because it is the time when the father may have begotten a sonne able to beget another: since then our *infancie* ends and *child-hood* begins, our *childhood* ends and *youth* begins, our *youth* ends and *manhood* begins, and lastly our *manhood* ends and our *declining estate* begins where it did a thousand or two thousand yeares agoe; I see no reason, but wee may safely conclude, that at leastwise since that time *mankind* is nothing decayed in regard of age: and the like reason there is in their observing anciently the same *Clymaetericall* yeares, and in them the same danger of sicknesse or death that wee doe, as appears not onely in *Brodeus* his *Miscellanea lib. 6. cap. 26.* and in a little discourse, which *Mr Wright* hath written and annexed to his booke of the *Passions of the minde*, (occasioned as hee there professeth by the death of *Queene Elizabeth*) but much more fully in *Baptista Codronchus* a famous both Philosopher and Physitian, who hath purposely composed a large treatise *de annis Clymaetericis* in which he thus begins his preface to that worke: *Antiquissimi*

R

*S. Augustine* makes it sooner. Circa 30 quippe annos defecerunt esse etiam huiusmodi dectissimi homines juventutem, qua cum fuerit spacio proprio terminata, inde jam hominum in detrimenta pergere et a morte sensuatur. Civit. Dei. 22. 15.  
a vers. 13.  
b De Civit. Dei. Lib. 22. cap. 15.  
c Lib. 2. cap. 39.  
d John 8. 57.  
e Deichertus de anno ortus & mortis Christi.



& peritissimi rerum naturalium observatores, nec vulgares homines vita humana curriculum considerantes septimo quoque anno & praesertim tertio supra sexagesimum homines plerosque corporis & animi affectionibus conflictari, in discrimine versari, ac saepius interire pluribus observationibus ac periculis cognoverunt. The most ancient and skilfull searchers into naturall things, and those no meane men taking into consideration the course of mans life by many observations and tryals, they found that every seaventh yeare, & especially in the 63 most men are sorely affected both in body and minde, are brought into great danger, and many times die outright; I will bring onely one instance from *Antiquity* to shew their agreement as in the other before mentioned, so likewise in this point with these latter ages; it is borrowed from *Gellius* in his *fifteenth* booke, and seaventh chapter of his *Noctes Atticae*, where he thus speakes of this matter, *Observatum in multa hominum memoria, expertumque est in senioribus plerisque omnibus, sexagesimum tertium vitae annum cum periculo & clade aliqua venire, aut corporis morbiue gravioris, aut vitae interitus, aut animi agitudinis.* It hath beene of a long time observed and experienced, in almost all old men, that the 63 yeare of their life, hath proved dangerous and hurtfull unto them, either in regard of some greivous sicknesse of body, or death, or great griefe of minde: & going on, he alledges to this purpose a part of a letter which *Augustus Caesar* wrote to *Caius* his Nephew. *Ave mi Cai, meus ocellus jucundissimus: quem semper medius fidius desidero quum à me abes, sed praecipue diebus talibus, qualis est hodiernus, oculi mei requirunt meum Caium; quem ubicunque hoc die fuisti, spero latum & benevolentem celebrasse, quartum & sexagesimum natalem meum: nam ut vides Romae maxime communem seniorum omnium tertium & sexagesimum annum evasimus: I greet thee well my Caius, mine owne deare heart, whom in truth I alwayes finde wanting as oft as thou art absent from me, but chiefly upon such dayes as this is, mine eyes long to behold my Caius which wheresoever thou wert, I hope thou hast kept festivall, it being my sixty fourth birth-day, for as thou seest I have escaped my sixty third yeare, being the common Clymaactericall of all old men.*

## S E C T. 2.

*The second is drawne from the age of Matrimony and Generation, which among the Ancients was fully as forward as ours now is, if not more timely.*

Cap. 19.

Proam. Lib. 6.

**F**OR the better clearing of which point, it shall not bee amisse somewhat farther to insist upon the age of *Generation* and *Marriage*, which among the Ancients was both in opinion held, and in practise proved to bee the same or little different from that which amongst us is in use at this day: The third councill of *Carthage* ordained that publike readers in the Church, cum ad annos pubertatis venerint aut cogantur uxores ducere aut continentiam profiteri, when they came to yeares of puberty, should be forced either to marry or vow chastity; and *Quintilian* of his owne wife professeth that having borne him two sonnes,



sonnes, she died, *Nondum expleto etatis undevicesimo anno*. Being not yet full nineteene yeares of age. *Mulieres statim ab anno decimo quarto*, <sup>a</sup> *Enchirid. c. 55.* *viris Domina vocantur*, saith *Epictetus*: women no sooner passe foure- teene, but presently they have given them from men, or from their hus- bands the titles of *Mistresses*. The <sup>a</sup> *Civill Lawes* allowed a woman marriage at twelve, so did the <sup>b</sup> *Jewish Talmud* and the <sup>c</sup> *Canons* of the Church, <sup>d</sup> *Hesiod* at fiftene, <sup>e</sup> *Xenophon* and the <sup>f</sup> *Comedian* at sixteene, *anni sedecem flos ipse*, <sup>g</sup> *Aristotle* at eightene, <sup>h</sup> *Plato* at twenty: The rea- son of the difference I take to bee this: The *Lawes* would not permit them to marry sooner, and *Plato* held it not fit they should stay longer. And as wee commonly are both ripe for marriage, and marry about the same yeares the Ancients did, so men for the most part leave beget- ting, and women bearing of children about the same time as they did.

*Tiberius* made a Law, knowne by the name of *Lex Papia*, by which he forbad such men as were past *sixty*, or women past *fiftie* to marrie, as being insufficient for generation. To which *Lactantius* out of *Seneca*, seemes to allude, thus jesting at the *Ethiicks* touching their great God *Iupiter*. *Quare apud Poetas salacissimus Iupiter desistit liberos tollere, utrum sexagenarius factus, & ei lex Papia fibulam imposuit?* How comes it to passe that in your Poets the lecherous *Iupiter* begets no more children, is hee past *sixtie*, & restrained by the *Papian Law*? Yet this Law by the Emperour *Claudius* in part, but by *Iustinian* (almost five hundred yeares after) was fully repealed as insufficient, in asmuch as men after that age were, and still are found to be sufficient for that act; Seldome indeede it is that men beget after *seaventie*, or women beare after *fiftie*, and the same was long since both observed & recorded by the principall both *Secretarie* & great *Register of Nature* in his time, adding farther, that men commonly left begetting at *sixtie five*, and women bearing at *fortie five*: When *Abrahams* body was now dead in regard of generation, he was short of 100. Indeed *Plutarch* reports of *Cato Major*, that hee begat a sonne at *eightie*: and *Pliny* of *Masinissa*, after *eightie sixe*: but they both reported it as a wonder, neither want their presidents in this age to pa- rallel either of them. *Levinus Lemnius* in his fourth booke and 24<sup>th</sup> chapter, *de occultis naturae miraculis*, reports, that being at *Stocholme* in *Sweden*, hee was there assured by a ship-master worthy of credit, that himselfe was present at the marriage of one, who being an hundred yeares old, tooke a wife of about thirty, with whom hee lived long and had many children by her. And farther hee tells us, that in the countrey of *Brabant* where the aire is temperate, and the people frugall, *inauditum non est sed propemodum vulgare*, it is not a thing seldome heard of, but usually seene, that men of fourescore marry young women and get children by them.

I well know that the accusation is common, and perchance in part not unjust, that men now adayes generally marry sooner then their *Ancestours* did, which is made to bee one of the chiefe causes of our supposed shorter lives: but that many of them abstained not so long from marriage as wee now commonly doe, it may bee evidenced by



these following examples, drawne from the *Oracles* of sacred writ. There descended from *Abraham* in the space of foure hundred yeares and little more, and from *Isaac* and his sonnes, within 200 or thereabout, above six hundred thousand men, beside children and those who died in the interim, and were slaine by the *Egyptians*: which wonderfull multiplication within the compasse of that time, should in reason argue that they married timely. In the forty sixth of *Genesis*, *Moses* describing old *Isaacs* journey downe into *Egypt*, tells us that the number of persons springing from his loynes, which accompanied him in that journey, were sixty six soules; and not content with the grosse summe, hee specifies the particulars, among which the sonnes of *Judah* are named to be *Er*, and *Onan*, and *Shelah*, and *Pharez*, and *Zerah*; (but *Er* and *Onan*, saith the text, died in the land of *Canaan*) and the sonnes of *Pharez* were *Hezron* and *Hamul*; so that he begat *Pharez* upon *Thamar* his daughter in Law, after the death of his eldest sonne *Er* and *Onan*, who according to the Law had married her successively, and *Pharez* begat *Hezron* and *Hamul*, and yet at this time was *Judah* himselfe but forty foure yeares of age at most, as appeares by this, that *Ioseph* was then but thirty nine, sixteene he was when he was sold by his brethren, & twenty three yeares after, was his fathers journey into *Egypt*. Now it is evident that *Judah* was but foure yeares elder then *Ioseph*, the one being borne in the eleventh yeare of their Fathers abode in *Mesopotamia*, and the other after the expiration of the fourteenth: In the compasse then of forty foure yeares or thereabout, had *Judah* sonnes which were married, namely *Er* & *Onan*, after that himselfe by mistake begets another sonne upon their wife viz. *Pharez* who had likewise two sonnes, at this time when *Isaac* went downe into *Egypt*. *S. Augustine* is, I confesse, much perplexed in the loosing of this knot; and so is *Pererius* treading in his steps: They both flying for the salving of the Text, to an Anticipation in the storie, as if some of those who are named by *Moses* to have descended with *Isaac* into *Egypt*, had beene both begotten & borne long after his setting there: But this glosse seeming to *Pareus* somewhat hard, (as in truth it is) hee resolves the doubt by making both *Judah*, and *Er*, & *Onan* and *Pharez* to marrie all of them at the entrance of their fourteenth yeare, which in the ordinary course of nature both then was, and still is the yeare of *pubertie*, and then thus concludes hee: *In his omnibus nihil coactum, aut contortum, nihil quod non consueto natura ordine fieri potuerit, ut nec miracula fingere sit opus, nec filios Pharez qui in descensu numerantur, in Egypto demum natos asserere sit necesse*: In all this there is nothing strained or wrested, nothing but may well be done in the ordinary course of nature, so as we need not either fly to miracles, or affirme that the sonnes of *Pharez*, who are ranked in the number of those who descended with *Isaac*, were afterward borne in *Egypt*. And with *Pareus* herein accords the learned *Arnisæus*, (some small difference betweene them in the calculation of yeares set apart) wondring that two such great Clarkes, as *Augustine* and *Pererius* should trouble themselves so much about so slender a difficultie, not considering, as it seemes, the Examples of the like or more timely marriages, recorded

Exod. 12. 37.

Gen. 46. 26.

verse 12.

Gen. 38. 18.

Gen. 37. 41. 45.

Gen. 29. 30.

Quaest. 128. in  
Genes.  
Comment. in 38.  
Gen. qu. 1.

Comment. in 38.  
Gen. part. 1.

As doe the  
Jewes in the Se-  
dorolam, ma-  
king *Er* to mar-  
ry at 9, and  
*Perez* to beget  
a sonne at 9.  
a De jure Con-  
nubiorum, c. 20.  
Sect. 2.



recorded in *holy Scripture*. Whereof we have a notable one in the same Chapter of *Benjamin*, who at the same time is made the father of tenne verse 21. sonnes, and yet was he then but twenty three or twenty foure yeares of age; being borne in the hundred and sixth yeare of his father, which was the yeare before the selling of *Ioseph*. *Dina* by the testimony of *Polyhistor*, when shee was ravished and sued unto for marriage by *Sichem*, was but ten yeares of age, and by the computation of *Cajetan* but foureteene, of *Pererius* but fiteene or sixteene at utmost. The blessed *Virgine* when shee brought forth our *Saviour*, but fiteene. Somewhat more evident is that of *Iosiah*, who was but thirty nine yeares old when he died, eight he was when he began to reigne, and hee reigned thirty one; yet was *Eliakim* his sonne *twenty five* yeares old when he began to reigne, being by *Pharaoh Neco* substituted in the place of his brother *Iehoshaz*, after he had reigned three moneths; so that *Iosiah* by just computation could not well exceed *foureteene* yeares of age, when hee was first married: But that of *Ahaz* is yet more remarkeable, who lived but thirty sixe yeares in the whole, twenty yeares old was hee when he began to reigne, and he reigned sixteene yeares; yet was his sonne *Hezekiah*, who immediatly succeeded him, *twenty five* yeares old when he began to reigne. By which account *Ahaz* was married, & begat *Hezekiah* at eleven or before. And though *Functius* in his *Chronologie*, moved with the strangenes hereof, would make *Hezekiah* the legall, not the naturall sonne of *Ahaz*, by adoption, nor by generation, and *Iunius* in his *Annotations* referre those words; *twenty yeares old was he when he began to reigne*, to *Iothan* the father of *Ahaz*; yet herein they both stand alone, aswell against *reason*, as the ordinary phrase of *Scripture*, and streame of *Interpreters*. *S. Hierome* in his *Epistle to Vitalis* to make it good, hath recourse to *Gods Omnipotence*, *Neque enim valet natura*, saith hee, *contra naturæ Dominum*: And againe, *Quod pro miraculo fit, legem Naturæ facere non potest*: That which it pleaseth God to worke supernaturally as a miracle, may not be held for the ordinary law of Nature. Yet himselfe in the same *Epistle* alleadges the example of *Solomon* to the same purpose: And another more strange then that; to the relation whereof he prefixes this solemne preface; *Audiui, Domino teste, non mentior*; I have heard, God knowes I faine it not, that a certaine nurse, having the education of an exposed childe committed to her charge, who lay with her, being now of the age of *ten yeares*, and provoked to incontinencie by the nurse, overcharged with wine, shee was found with childe by him. The like thing had Gregory in his Dialogues, touching a childe of nine yeares old.

I will conclude this reason with the example of *Solomon*, who is commonly thought to come to the *Crowne* at twelve yeares of age, and the *Scripture* assures us that he reigned but *forty*, by which account he died at the age of *fifty two*, which is the most received opinion aswell of the *Jewish Rabbines*, as the *Christian Doctours*; yet was *Rehoboam* his sonne and successour *forty one* yeares old when he began to raigne: so that but an *eleven yeares* at most, are left for *Solomon* when hee begat him: Such matches as these in this age, I thinke can hardly be matched, neither in truth doe I hold fit they should. 1. Kings 11. 42. 1. Kings 14. 21.



## S E C T. 3.

The third is borrowed from the age which the Ancients assigned for charge and imployment in publique affaires, Ecclesiasticall, Civill and Military, they were thereunto both sooner admitted, and therefrom sooner discharged then men now adayes usually are, which should in reason argue, that they likewise usually finished the course of their life sooner.

**A**Nother reason tending to the same purpose may not unfitly be drawne from the age which the Ancients assigned for charge and imployment in publique affaires. They were thereunto as soone admitted and sooner discharged then men now adayes usually are, which should in reason argue that they likewise ran their race & finished their course sooner, in as much as *quod citius crescit, citius finitur*, that which sooner comes to ripenes and perfection, hastens sooner to rottennes & dissolution. Now publique charges may well be distributed into Ecclesiasticall, Civill and Military, of the Church, of the State, and of the warres: I will begin with the Ministeriall offices of the Church, and therein with the Principall, which is that of the Bishop. S. Chrysostome by Sr Henry Savills account (in his Preface set before the workes of that Father) was made Bishop at the age of 43. Thomas Becket was chosen Archbishop of Canterbury at the age of forty foure yeares, as witnesseth Matthew Parker (who succeeded him in that See) in his booke of the lives of the Archbishops intituled *Antiquitates Britannicæ*. *Is qui ad Episcopalem dignitatem promovendus est, annos natus esse debet non minus triginta, nam ea etate Dominum & baptizatum, & concionatum fuisse legimus*, saith Lancelot in his Institutions of the Cannon Law. He who is to be advanced to the dignity of a Bishop, ought not to be lesse then thirty yeares old, in as much as we read that our Lord was baptized & preached at that age. Whereas now adayes with us feldome is any preferred to that place till he be past forty or fifty. Venerable Bede our famous Countrey-man, who lived about eight hundred yeares agoe, was by his owne testimony made Deacon at nineteene. And Origen by the testimony of Eusebius, Catechist in Alexandria at eightene yeares of age. But that which to this point is most memorable in the exercise of sacred functions, is that by the commandements of God himself, the Levites after the age of fiftie yeares were exempted from the execution of their office, which notwithstanding was nothing so painfull as that of the Ministry of the Gospell, if faithfully discharged. Where by Levites it may well be that not only those who served in inferiour offices under the Priests, but the Priests themselves, as being of the tribe of Levi, are to be understood, to which purpose Mr Nettles in his answer to the Jewish part of Mr Seldens History of Tythes, hath vouched the Rabbines, as namely Aben Ezra on Leviticus 16. Every Priest is a Levite, but every Levite is not a Priest. And Ioshua Ben Levi mentioning that text, Numb. 18. 26. Speake unto the Levites, doth under the name of Levites understand also Priests, farther adding, that in foure and twenty places the Priests are called Levites, which being

Baldwin.

Lib. 1. c. 1.

Malmesburinfi  
de gestis Angli,  
Reg. lib. 1.  
Histor. Eccles.  
1.6. c. 2.

Numb 8. 25.



ing so; I see no reason but that from thence we may safely inferre, that in likelihood the same space of yeares was assigned to the Priest, aswell for his entrance upon his office, as his discharge from it, specially considering that his place was of an higher nature.

Now for the warres. The Gauls put their sonnes in armes, and prepared them to warre at fourteene. When Philip made warre with the Bizantins, Alexander was his lieutenant at 26 yeares of age in Macedon, with the custodie and charge of the great Scale.

Des estats & empires.

Plutarch. in Alex.

Idem in Scipione.

Tacit. annal. 15. 2.

V. 3.

Lib. 10. 28.

Plutarch. in Graccho.

Lib. 25.

Lib. 1. 1.

Lib. 1. 1. Somn. Scipion.

Lyssius de Mil. na Rom. lib. 1.

lib. 2.

See Henry Savill

in his view of military mat-

ters.

Lib. 4. Epist.

annis.

Scipio Africanus entred the feild, & followed the Campe at 17, being made Vice-Consul in Spaine at 24. Cneius Pompeius at eighteene yeares of age; and Caesar Octavianus at nineteene sustained civill warres. The Iewes indeed ordinarily levied their souldiers from twenty yeares upward, as plainly appears in the first of Numbers and diverse other places. But the Romanes from seaventeen, which by Gellius out of Tubero is reported to have beene the practise and prescript of Servius Tullius one of their Kings. The same was afterward confirmed by the Gracchi, Gracchi lex *junio rem annis septemdecem militem non legi*. The Gracchian Law ordained that none should be levied under seaventeene. Yet in times of Necessity they came under those yeares, as in the second Punik warre, *Tum decretum fuit Livy, ut tribuni plebis ad populum ferrent, ut qui minores annis 17. Sacramento dixissent, is perinde stipendia procederent: ac si 17 annorum aut majores milites facti essent*. It was then decreed that the Tribunes should tell the people that such as being under seaventeene had taken their military oath, should in like sort receive their pay as if they had beene full seaventeene or past. The Grecians indeede entred upon their military service somewhat latter but were discharged from it sooner, they tooke up souldiers for the warres at eighteene, but discharged them at forty or thereabout. Wee finde in Demosthenes, that the state being indangered, they were all commanded to tugge at the oare, *usque ad eos qui 45 annorum essent*, even to those that were forty five: upon which Vlpian the Scholiast commenteth, that this was an usuall practise, *quia Lex apud Athenienses annum quadragesimum duntaxat, jubet militare, exorsos a decimo octavo*, because the Lawes among the Athenians command men to serve in the warres onely till forty, entring upon the service at eighteene. And it should seeme Macrobius aimes at this, discoursing of the efficacy of the Septenary number, *Nonnullarum Rerum pub. is mos est, ut post sextam hebdomaden ad militiam nemo cogatur, in plurimis detur remissio post septimam*, it is the custome of some states, that after the sixth weeke no man should bee forced to serve in the warres, and in the most they are discharged after the seaventh: where by weekes he understands weekes of yeares, and in the sixth weeke seemes to point at the practise of the Athenian state, in the seaventh to that of the Romane. Neither the Romane nor the Grecian went commonly beyond forty five, as Dionysius affirmeth, or forty sixe, as Polybius: And even in dangerous times not beyond fifty, *Lex à quinquagesimo anno militem non cogit, à sexagesimo Senatorem non citat*, saith Seneca in his last Chapter *de brevitate vite*, the law doth not force a Souldier to serve after fifty, not a Senatour after sixty: to which law Pliny in his epistle to Pomponius Bassus seems to allude, *ipsa leges majorem*



*annis 60 otio reddunt*, the lawes themselves leave him to his case who is past threescore.

Gen. 34.

Comines.

Socrates in hist.  
tripart. 6. 47.

Cicero.  
In Philip.  
Suetonius.  
In Iulio. cap 7.  
Cap. 88.

15. 20.

In vita sua.

Gen. 41. 49.  
2. Sam. 5. 4.

Cap. 8. & 26.

Suet. cap. 8.

De velandis  
virginibus.

By the testimony of *Polyhistor*, and the computation both of *Cajetan* and *Pererius*, *Symeon* and *Levi*, when they so fiercely and desperately set upon the *Sichemites*, little or nothing surpassed the number of twenty yeares, insomuch that *Pererius* breakes out into this admiration: *Subit animum meum vehementer admirari, praeferoce istorum animum, qui vix dum adolescentiam egressi tam atrox facinus & animo conceperint, & audacissime exequentes perfecerint*: I cannot but exceedingly marvell at their wonderfull fiercenes, that being scarce past their youth, they should in their mindes conceive so bloody a fact & put it in execution so boldly. King *Edward* the fourth having beene *Conquerour* in eight or nine severall set battailes, died at the age of forty one, and our famous King *Arthur* (if wee may beleieve *Ninnius*) having victoriously fought in twelve, gave up the ghost at the same age. *Julian* having beene for diverse years a great Commander in the warres, was slaine at one and thirty; and it is well knowne that the Great *Alexander* had conquered in a manner the knowne World at thirty three. Upon the consideration whereof *Julius Caesar* beholding his statue in the Temple of *Hercules* at *Cales*, fetcht a deepe sigh, as being ashamed that at that age himselfe had atchieved no memorable act, yet was himselfe but 56 when he was slaine.

Lastly, for the administration of *Civil affaires* in the state, *Romulus* first King of the *Romans* having raigned (saith *Plutarch* in the very end of his life) 38 yeares died at fifty, by which account he must begin his reigne at 12 somewhat too young (a man would thinke) for a King that was to lay the foundation of such an *Empire*. *Cicero* by the testimony of *Cornelius Nepos* (who was his familiar friend, and wrote his life) pleaded publickly for *Sextus Roscius* at 23, and by the testimony of *Aulus Gellius*, *Euripides*, wrote one of his tragedies, *Natus annos duo de viginti*, at eightene yeares of age. *Iosephus* witnesseth of himselfe *annos novendecem natus ad Rempub. capi me dare*, I began to apply my selfe to the affaires of the weale publique, being but yet nineteene yeares of age. And *Moses* of *Ioseph* the *Patriarch*, that when he had in a manner the whole goverment of *Egypt* committed to his charge by *Pharoah*, was but thirty yeares old, which was likewise *Dauids* age, when hee began to reigne. *Augustus* entred upon the *Consulship* at twenty, and received *virilem togam* at sixteene, saith *Suetonius* in his life. But *Aurelius Antoninus* a yeare younger as *Spartianus* affirmes, by which ornament or habit, they were judged fit for publique employment in the common wealth. And *Levinus Torrentius* in his *Annotations* upon that place, observeth that even the lawes themselves at that time reputed men fit for action in state affaires, at seventene, at which age *Nero* was chosen *Emperour*: *Tertullian* comes much lower, *tempus etiam Ethnici observant, ut ex lege naturae jura suis atibus reddant: Nam faeminas à duodecem annis, masculos à duobus amplius ad negotia mittunt*. The *Ethnickes* so observe their times, that from the law of *Nature* they dispose of their ages in *Civill affaires*: for women they imploy after twelve, and men two yeares after that. And as they were reputed sooner fit for action then wee; so likewise sooner unfit:

CUM



*cum sexaginta annos habebant, tum erant à publicis negotijs liberi atque expe-* Varro de vita  
*disi, & otiosi:* when they once come to *sixty*, then they were freed from *Pep. Romani,*  
 all publique service, and left to their ease and rest. Insomuch as it *testis Nonius.*  
 grew to a Proverbe amongst the *Latines*, *Sexagenarios de ponte dejici oportere,*  
 that men of *sixty* deserved to be cast from the bridge, as being unprof-  
 itable for the common-wealth after that age. And from thence were  
 they commonly called *Depontani* which was upon this occasion taken  
 up, as witnesseth *Festus*. *Quo tempore primum per pontem caeperunt comotijs* Ad verbum  
*suffragium ferre, juniores conclamavere, ut de ponte deicerentur sexagenarii;* Sexagenarii.  
*quia nullo publico munere fungerentur:* at what time they held their assem-  
 blies & gave their suffrages upon the bridge, the yonger sort cryed out  
 with one voyce, that such as were *sixty* should bee throwne from the  
 bridge in asmuch as they had no publique charge. To which outcry of  
 theirs *Ovid* alludes.

*Pars putat, ut ferrent juvenes suffragia Soli,  
 Pontibus infirmos precipitasse senes.*

*5. Fastorum.*

This motion, the *Barbiccians* at *seaventy*, in effect put in execution, *om.* *Æl. annal. lib. 4.*  
*nes septuagesimum annum egressos interficiunt, viros mactando, mulieres vero* cap. 1.  
*strangulando:* they make away all that are past *seaventy*, sacrificing the  
 men, and strangling the woman. And the Civill lawes themselves held *Element. Juris,*  
 a man unfit for publique businesse after that age. Now then since the *part. 2. sect. 1.*  
 age assigned by the *Ancients* not only for marriage, but likewise for their  
 entrance upon and discharge from publique employment as well in the  
*Church* and *State*, as in the *warres*, was little or nothing different from  
 that which is both allowed and practised at this day, (save that they  
 have beene more indulgent and favourable to themselves then now we  
 are) what reason have we to imagine that the *length* and *duration* of time  
 which they usually lived, was different from ours?

Specially considering withall that both the Civill Lawes account a *Part. 3. Sect. 6.*  
 prescription by the same number of yeares as anciently they did, and  
 the municipall still value three lives at 21 yeares, as formerly they have  
 done.

#### SECT. 4.

*An objection sent mee from a freind taken from the raigne  
 of the Roman Kings, answered.*

**Y**OU will take you say mine owne instances of the *Romans*, their  
 7 Kings raigned by your account 244 yeares, and then you bid  
 mee shew you the like under the Sunne; whereas my instances  
 were in the declining *Romans*, but you take them in their rising state;  
 Neither can I or any man else possibly shew the like under the Sunne in  
 these present times, it being altogether impossible that 7 Kings should  
 all at once; and yet successively raigne in the same Kingdome. Now  
 whether they raigned so long, or whether later ages have afforded the  
 like instance in any *Christian* or *Infidell* Kingdome, I have not had the  
 leasure to examine; but this I am sure of, that in the ages before *Romu-*  
*lus,*



lus, instances may be given of more then seven, who successively reigning have not filled up that number.

I will instance in the Kings of *Israel* and *Judah*, and I will begin with the ring-leaders in that breach, *Rhehoboam* and *Ieroboam*. From the entrance of *Rhehoboam* (which was above 200 yeares before *Romulus*) to the end of *Ioash* (the seventh from *Rhehoboam*) passed but 140 yeares; and if I mistake it not, from the beginning of *Rhehoboam* to the end of *Zedekiah* the last of *Judah*, (no lesse then 17 Kings comming betweene) there passed but 252 yeares; by which computation 19 of their Kings reigned but 12 yeares more then those 7 of the *Romans*. The like may be said of the Kings of *Israel*; from the entrance of *Ieroboam* to the end of *Ahaz* the seventh in that Kingdome, there passed but 83 yeares, very little above a third part of 244; and from the beginning of *Ieroboam* to the death of *Hoshea* the last of that Kingdome (17 Kings likewise comming betweene) there passed but 240 yeares, foure yeares short of that number. And if wee rise higher againe to the *Judges*, (many of which were before the *Trojan* warre, the most ancient *Epoch* among the *Gentiles*) wee shall finde that seaven of them from the entrance of *Abimilech* to the death of *Abdon* (the seaventh from *Abimilech*) ruled but 79, which is not a third part of 244. And I will undertake that in the greatest part if not in all the Kingdomes of *Christendome*, the last seaven Kings have equalled at least, if not exceeded the first seaven of *Israel* after the rent was made. In our Kingdome from the entrance of King *Henry* the seaventh, who united the white and the red rose; to the death of King *James* of happy memory, who joyned the *Lyon* couchant and rampant, there passed 140 yeares, yet were there but foure betweene them, and two of those made up but eleven yeares; so as these fixe of our last surpassed the seaven first Kings of *Israel*, (after the rent made by *Ieroboam*) by almost sixtie yeares.

You conclude that by comparing twenty with twenty, the ancients doe ever exceede, unlesse two or three; which unadvised assertion of yours manifestly shewes, that you never tooke the paines to try that which you so confidently affirme, and perchance hoped that others would take it upon trust; but truly for mine owne private satisfaction I could not so doe. I began mine examination of this point at home in our owne *Chronicles*, and from King *Egbert* the first sole Monarch of the *Englishmen* to the conquest by the *Norman*, I finde twenty Kings taking up 266 yeares in their raignes; *Egbert* entring in the yeare 1066; but from the entrance of the Conqueror to the death of King *Henry* the eighth (the twentyeth from the Conquerour inclusive) there passed 400 wanting but nineteene yeares; so that these later twenty since the Conquest exceeded the former twenty before the Conquest by more then 115 yeares, which is a great difference in so short a time; yet during this time there were two (*Edward* the fifth never crowned, and *Richard* his uncle unjustly crowned) who tooke not up betwixt them above three yeares compleate.

Now if from our owne Kingdome wee cast our eyes abroad in foraine parts, where should we first fixe them but upon the Catalogue of the



the *Emperours*? wherein we shall finde that from the entrance of *Julius Caesar* to the death of *Didius Iulianus* there passed twenty *Emperours*, and about 240 yeares, but from *Otho* the fifth to the death of *Mashias* (the immediate predecessor of *Ferdinand* the second this present *Emperour*) which makes up the number of the last 20: there passed 419 yeares by the computation of *Helvicus* in his *Chronologicall Tables*; so that the last twenty exceeded the first by 179 yeares. And in the *Turkish* dominion which began in the yeare 1300, but foureteene of them from the entrance of *Othoman* to the death of *Achmat* tooke up 317 yeares; which is more by 77 yeares then twenty of the first *Roman Emperours* tooke up above a thousand yeares before their beginning: so little have you gained by putting me to the examination of this point, as you could hardly have given me a greater oportunitie for the advantaging of my caule against your selfe. And so I passe from the age of men to the consideration of their strength and stature.

• C H A P. 3.

*Containing a comparison betwixt the Gyants mentioned in Scripture both among themselves, and with those of latter ages.*

S E C T. 1.

*Of the admirable composition of mans Body, and that it cannot bee sufficiently proved that Adam as he was the first, so hee was likewise the tallest of men, which in reason should be, were there in trueth any such perpetuall decrease in mans stature as is pretended.*

**A**S the great power of *Almighty God* doth shine foorth and shew it selfe in the numberlesse variety of the parts of mans body: so doth his wonderfull goodnesse in their excellent use, and his singular *wisedome* in their orderly disposition, sweete harmony, and just symmetry, as wel in regard of themselves, as in reference each to other, but chiefly in the resultance of the beautifull and admirable frame of the whole body. The consideration whereof made the *Royall Prophet* to cry out: *I will praise thee, for I am fearefully & wonderfully made, in thy booke were all my members written, and curiously wrought, marvailous are thy works, and that my soale knoweth right well.* This proportion is in all respects so eaven and correspondent, that the measures of Temples, of dwelling houses, of Engines and ships were by *Architects* taken from thence, and those of the *Arke* it selfe too, as it is probably thought. For as the *Arke* was three hundred Cubits in length, fifty in breadth, & thirty in height, so the body of man rightly shaped, answers thereunto. The length from the crowne of the head to the sole of the foote, and breadth from side to side, and thickness from back to breast carrying the proportion of three hundred, and fifty, and thirty each to other: so that looke what proportion fifty hath to three hundred, which is sixe to one, the same hath the breadth of mans body to his height or length. And what proportion thirty

*Psal. 139. 13.*

*Vitruvius l. 3.*

*c. 1.*

*August. l. 13. de*

*Civ. Dei c. 26.*

*& ad Faustum*

*man. 12. 14. &*

*Amb. de Noe &*

*Arca. cap. 6.*



Laurentius A-  
nas. l. 1. c. 20.  
Lomatius l. 1. c.  
7.

thirty hath to three hundred, which is tenne to one, the same hath the thicknes to his length and breadth. Nay some have observed 300 *minuta* (which I take to be barley cornes, the fourth part of an inch or thereabout) to make up the length of a mans body of just stature, and consequently, fifty in the breadth, & thirty in the thicknes, answerable to the severall number of the cubits in the severall measures of the *Arke*.

Now to our present purpose, as *God* and *Nature* (or rather *God* by *Nature*, his instrument and handmaid) hath fashioned the body of Man in those proportions, so hath he limited the dimensions therof, (as likewise those of all other both vegetable, sensitive and unsensible Creatures) within certaine bounds.

*Quos ultra citraque nequit consistere.*

So that though the dimensions of mens bodies bee very different in regard of severall *Climats* and *Races*, yet was there never any race of men found to the bignesse of *mountaines* or *whales*, or the littlenesse of *flies* or *Ants*, because in that quantity, the members cannot usefully and commodiously, either dispose of themselves, or exercise those functions to which they were by their *Maker* assigned. It is to this purpose a good and proper axiome, *datur maximum & minimum in utroque genere*, there is in every kinde some such greatnesse as cannot bee exceeded, and some such littlenesse as cannot bee contracted. True indeed it is, that both history of former ages, and experience of latter times teach us that a great inequality there is, and hath beene: but that since the first *Creation* of man there should be any such *perpetuall*, *universall*, and *constant decrease* and diminution, as is pretended, that shall I never beleeeve.

Lib. 1. de emen-  
datione Tempo-  
rum cap. 4. vult.

Lib. de Paradiso

In Mat. 27. &  
in Ephes. 5.

Origenes, A-  
thanasius, Basili-  
us, Epiphanius,  
Chrysostomus  
ex Græcis.

Ex Latinis

Tertullianus,

Cyprianus sive

qui scripsit de

operibus Cardi-

nalibus Ambro-

sus, Augustinus

atq; alibi etiam

ipse Hieronimus

nempe epist. 17.

ad Paul. & En-

och.

For then in reason should the first *Man* have beene a *Gyant* of *Gyants*, the highest and most monstrous *Gyant* that ever the world beheld, and upon this ground it seemes, (though falsely supposed) *Iohannes Lucidus* labours to prove him so indeede, from that passage in the fourteenth of *Ioshua*, according to the *Vulgar translation*: *Nomen Hebron ante vocabatur Cariab-Arbe*, *Adam maximus ibi inter Anakim situs est*, which may thus bee rendred: *Adam* the greatest of *Gyants* lies there buried: And this fancie of *Lucidus* is countenanced by that fable of the *Iewish Rabbies*, reported by *Moses bar Cephas*, who supposing *Paradise* to bee disjoyned from this world, by the interposition of the *Ocean*, tells us that *Adam* being cast out of it, waded thorow the *Ocean* to come into this, by which account his stature should rather bee measured by miles then by cubits: But as *Lucidus* by this opinion crosseth the streame of Antiquity (*S. Ierome* only, & some few others his followers excepted) holding that the first *Adam* was buried, not in *Hebron*, but in that place where the second *Adam* triumphed over death, so doth hee likewise by following the *Vulgar Translation* corrupt the *Hebrew* originall, which is thus to be rendred: *Nomen autem Hebronis fuerat Kiriath-arbah, is fuerat homo inter Anakeos maximus*: So that the word *Adam* or *homo*, is to bee referred not to the first man, but to *Arbah*, the first founder as it is thought of that *Citty*; and thereupon our last *Translation* reades it thus: *The name of Hebron before was Kiriath-arbah*, which *Arbah* was a great man among the *Anakims*. Besides, the word *Adam* even in the *Vulgar Translati-*



on it selfe, is not alwayes understood as proper to the first man, but common, as *homo* in Latine, or *man* in English: And yet to grant the word in that place to be understood of the first man, and that he was there buried; well might hee bee called the *Greatest*, yet not so much in regard of any excessive vastnesse in the dimensions of his body, as because hee was the head spring and fountaine of mankind, or in respect of that originall justice, with which before his fall hee stood invested. There is no necessity then, to beleve that the first man was the tallest of men, nay rather as he came short of many that followed after, in age, and number of yeares, so it may safely bee thought, that hee exceeded them not in stature or dimensions of body; there being often found in the Creatures a reciprocall correspondence, betwixt their durations and dimensions, as among the Grecians, the same word signifies both; whence some translate it age, and some stature: So that those Patriarches of the first age, who by speciall dispensation lived longest, may well be conceived by vertue of the same dispensation, to have had a stature and length of body in some sort, sutable to the lasting and length of their lives.

maxia.  
Ephes. 4. 13.  
Luc. 2. 52.

## S E C T. 2.

What those Gyants were which are mentioned in the 6 of Genesis, and that succeeding ages till Davids time afforded the like.

**Y**ET the first mention that holy Scripture makes of Gyants is in the sixth of Genesis, not long before the flood, but long after the Creation, There were Gyants in the earth in those dayes, saith the text; and also after that, When the sonnes of God came in unto the daughters of men, and they bare children unto them, the same became mighty men which were of old, men of renowne. The Originall word is *Nephelim*, derived from *Naphal*, which signifies to fall, whence Iunius referres their name to the defection and apostacie from religion & the worship of the true God. Calvin to the falling of others before them by reason of their excessive pride, cruelty and oppression. Philo in his booke, which hee hath purposely composed *de Gigantibus*, to their owne falling from piety and godlinesse to carnall thoughts and earthly desires. From which hee fetcheth their name in Greeke: S. Cyrill about the beginning of his ninth booke against Iulian, discoursing of this very passage of Moses, thus comments upon it. *Mos est divina Scriptura Gigantes vocare agrestes & feroces & robustos: Nam de Persis & Medis Indeam devastaturis, dixit Deus per Isayam, Gigantes venient ut impleant furorem meum.* It is the Phrase of holy writ to call such Gyants as are in behaviour rough and rude, wilde and barbarous: So speakes God by the Prophet Isayah, of the Medes and Persians, ordained for the laying wast of Indea, Gyants shall come and execute my fury upon you. So that if wee rest in any of these interpretations, there is no necessity we should conceive these Gyants to have exceeded other men in stature. Nay, S. Chrysostome seemes to deny it, *Gigantes à Scriptura dici opinor non inusitatum hominum genus, aut insolitam formam, sed Heroes & viros fortes & bellicosos*: I thinke they are in

Eccles. 1. 6. 7.

Eccles. 2. 4.

Cap. 13.



Scripture called Gyants not any uncouth kinde of men for *shape* or *feature*, but such as were *Heroicall* and *warlike*. Which exposition of his, hath in truch some ground in the latter part of the same verse, where *Moses* seemes to unfold himselfe, thus describing those whom immediately before he had called *Gyants*, *the same became mighty men, which were of old, men of renowne*.

Cass. Coll. 8. c. 21  
Amb. de Noe &  
Arca c. 4.  
Theod. in Gen.  
94. 48.

On the other side *Cassianus*, *Ambrose*, and *Theodore*, are as expresse, that by *Gyants*, *Moses* there understood men of an huge and vast proportion of body: But for mine owne part, I see not but all these interpretations, (*Chrysostomes* onely excepted) may well enough stand together and be accorded. These *Gyants* being such as the *Interlineary Glosse* brietely but pithily describes, *immanes corpore, superbos animo, viribus praevalidos, & inconditos moribus*: *Gyants* then they were not onely in regard of their *pride*, their *tyrannie*, their *incivilitie*, and *infidelity*, but likewise and that doubtlesse most properly in respect of the *monstrous enormity of their bodies*: most of the former being in likelihood occasioned by this latter.

Now as this is the *first* place that wee reade of *Gyants* not long before the *flood* (which should argue they were taller and stronger then any that went before them) so it is not *last*, but in all times wee may trace them thorow the *history* of succeeding ages. From whence *Reason* collectes, that even in regard of these irregular prodigious birthes, for ought wee finde in *Scripture*, *Nature* hath suffered no apparent or sensible *decay*. Of this stamp it seemes was *Nymrod*, who hath therefore this *Character* set upon him, that he was *Robustus venator coram Domino*, a mighty hunter before the *Lord*: There were some likewise found of this excessive stature in the time of *Abraham*, of *Moses*, of *Ioshua*, and of *David*, whom wee have registred under the names of *Rephaims*, *Zuzims*, *Zanzummins*, *Emims*, and *Anakims*. Also the Prophet *Amos* found among the *Amorites* men of *Gyant-like* stature, whose height hee compareth to *Cedars* and their strength to *Oakes*. Particularly it is noted in the third of *Deuteronomy* of *Ogge* King of *Bason* foure hundred yeares after *Abraham*, that his bedde of yron kept and shewed as a monument in *Rabbah* was *nine cubits long*, and *foure broade*: And surely if his stature were answerable to the dimensions of his bed, hee was one of the greatest *Gyants* that wee any where reade of, not onely in *sacred* but in many warrantable *prophane stories*. For whereas nine cubits make up thirteene foote and an halfe, if wee should allow a foote and an halfe for the length of his bed-steed at both the ends beyond his body; yet there still remaines twelve foote, which is double to a *just stature*. And though I am not ignorant that both the *Chaldee Paraphrase*, and *complutensian Bible* following it, render it, *In cubito ejusdem Regis*, as if the measure were to be taken by the *Cubit* of King *Ogge* himselfe; yet *Arias Montanus*, and *Tremellius* following the original, render it, *in cubito viri*, or *virili*; and *Iunius* gives this note upon it, *id est justae & communis mensurae, qualem mensuram cubitalem quisque Artifex observare solet*: that is, of the just and common measure, such as *Artificers* usually observe in their cubits, and such as himselfe in the third of *Ioshua* translates, *no-*

Gen. 10. 9.

Gen. 14. 5.

Núm. 13. 33.

Deut. 2. 20. 21.

Ios. 11. 21.

Amos. 2. 9.

v. 11.

v. 4.



*tam mensuram*, the ordinary knowne measure. And to say truth, the measuring of *Ogge* by his owne cubit had beene both to make his stature altogether *uncertaine*, and the commensurations of his body most *disproportionable*, there being no man, whose body is justly framed, who is full foure of his owne cubits in length; neither had such a shape bin only *disproportionable*, but *exceeding weake*, aswell for offence, as defence, whereas he is described as a mighty man, and of wonderfull strength. Lastly, it wee shall imagine him to have beene a transcendent *Gyant*, and yet measure him by his owne cubit, double to the *ordinary*, his length will then arise to twenty foure foote at least, a stature most incredible. After this in *Dauids* time wee reade that *Goliath* the *Philistin* of *Gath*, was a *Gyant* of six cubits and a spanne long: Neither do I remember that in *sacred Scriptures* we have the measure of any precisely observed, save of him onely: the armour which hee wore weighed five thousand shekels of brasse, the shaft of his speare was like a weavers beame, and his speare head weighed six hundred shekels of yron. Also in the second of *Samuell*, there is mention of a brother to this *Goliath*, a man of like stature and strength: And of two other, the one of which was slaine by *Iehonathan Dauids* Nephew, hee who had twelve fingers and as many toes, foure and twenty in number: and that before these, *Sampson* was of surpassing strength and of a stature answerable therevnto; no man neede to doubt, considering hee tore a *Lyon* as it had beene a kidde, slew thirty of the *Philistins* at once, and after that a thousand more of them with the jaw-boone of an *Asse*: And lastly hee tooke the gates of *Affah*, and the two postes, and lifted them away with the barres and put them upon his shoulders, and carried them to the toppe of the mountaine before *Hebron*.

1. Sam. 17. 4.

Cap. 21. 19.

v. 20. 31.

Jud. 14. &amp; 15.

## S E C T. 3.

*That latter times have also afforded the like both at home and abroad, specially in the Indies, where they live more according to nature.*

**T**H E like may bee said of all succeeding ages downe to the present times; It is the confession of *Cassanion* in his booke of *Gyants*, *Non uno tantum seculo aut altero visi sunt, sed ferme ab initio mundi ad Davidis usque tempora propagatum id genus hominum magnitudine prorsus admiranda*. They have not beene seene in one onely, or two ages, but almost from the beginning of the world even to *Dauids* time hath that kinde of men of a monstrous bignes beene deduced. *S. Augustine* goes farther, *Quasi vero corpora hominum modum nostrum longe excedentia non etiam nostris temporibus nata sint*: as if some bodies of men much exceeding our ordinary stature were not likewise borne in these our times. And yet more fully in the ninth Chapter of the same booke, *Nunquam firme defuerunt qui modum aliorum plurimum excederent*; they have almost at no time beene wanting who have much exceeded the ordinary stature.

De Civit. Dei, 15. 21.

I will insist onely upon the most signall instances drawne from the testimonies of the most approved Authours. *Florus* mentions a giant

Lib. 3. cap. 1.



named *Theutobochus* King of the *Teutones* in *Germanie* vanquished by *Marius* the *Roman* Consul about 150 yeeres before Christ, *insigne spectaculum* sayeth hee *quippe vir proceritatis eximia super tropaea ipsa eminebat*; a spectacle hee was full of wonder, being of so excessive height that he appeared above the trophies themselves (which were the spoiles of the enemies carried aloft upon the topps of speares. The bones of this giant were sayed to be digged up neere the Castle of *Langon* in *Dolphine* in the yecare 1613 and to that end was a pamphlet published in french at *Paris* the yeere following making his height to bee 26 foote at least, but what Credit is to bee given to this pamphlet I know not. In the *Gospell* or writings of the *Apostles* wee reade not of any, they intending matters of greater weight and consequence: But *Pliny* tels us, that during the raigne of *Claudius* the Emperour, a mighty man, one *Gabbara* by name, was brought out of *Arabia* to *Rome*, nine foote high was he, and as many inches. There were likewise in the time of *Augustus Caesar* two other, named *Pasio* and *Secundilla* higher then *Gabbara* by halfe a foote, whose bodies were preserved & kept for a wonder within the *Salustian* gardens. *Maximinus* the Emperour, as *Iulius Capitolinus* affirmes, exceeded eight foote; And *Andronicus Comninus* tenne, as *Nicetas*. In the dayes of *Theodosius* there was one in *Syria*, (as *Nicephorus* reports) five cubits high and an hand-breadth. *Eginhardus* and *Krantzius* affirme that *Charlemaigne* was seven foote high: But in that they adde of his owne feete, they both leave his height altogether uncertaine, (as was before said in the description of the stature of *Ogge*) and his body very disproportionate, there being no man whose body is rightly featured, who exceeds six of his owne feete.

*Iosephus* doth Confidently report that one *Eleazar* a Iew accompanied *Darius* sonne to *Artabanus* King of *Persia* to *Rome* (sent by *Vitellius* to *Tiberius* for an hostage) whose height (as he saith) was fully seven Cubits.

But to draw neerer to our owne times: *Thuanus* discoursing of an *Inroade* of the *Tartarians* upon the *Polonians* about 60 yeeres since, there speaks of a *Tartar* slaine by the hand of a *Polander* of so prodigious a bignes that his forehead was 24 inches broad, and the bulke of his body so thicke that lying dead on the ground his *Carkasse* reached to the navell of one standing by: *Iulius Scaliger* hath left it upon record, that at his being at *Millane*, he there saw in a publique hospitall a yong man of so monstrous an height, that hee could not stand upright, hee was therefore layd upon two beds, the one joyned longwise vnto the other, both which hee filled with his length. *Goropius Becanus* Physitian to the Lady *Mary*, Queene of *Hungary*, regent of the *Netherlands*, and sifter to the Emperour *Charles* the fifth, assures us, that himselfe saw a woman tenne foote high, and that within five miles of his dwelling, there was then to be seene a man almost of the same length: whereupon his assertion is, *Audacter affirmamus*, wee boldly affirme, that men in former ages were commonly nothing taller then now they are: their *Gyants* were of six or seven cubits high, and so are ours: nay hee goes farther, *Confidenter de Philosophia praeceptis statuimus*, nihil in humana statura, ab ineunte mundi aetate immutatum esse: Wee confidently averre

Lib. 3. cap. 3.

Antiq. l. 18.  
cap. 6.

Exercit. 263.

Lib. 61. anno.  
1575.

De Gigantomachia.



avere out of the grounds of *Philosophie*, that since the Creation of the world nothing is altered in the stature of man kinde.

Yet of this *Becanus* *Lipius* gives this testimony *Virum amavi, & ingenium acre, facile felix etiam miratus sum*, I loved the man, and also admired his sharpe facile and happie wit. *Epist. select. 94.*

But to returne to the *Gyants* of latter ages, *Iohn Cassanion*, who seemes to have undertaken his treatise of *Gyants* purposely to censure and confute *Goropius*, yet mentions one himselfe commonly called the *Gyant* of *Burdeaux*, whom King *Francis* passing that way beheld with admiration, commaunding hee should bee of his guard: but being a pefant of a grosse spirit, not able to apply himselfe to a Courtiers life, hee soone quited his halbard, and getting away by stealth, returned to the place whence he came. An honourable person, who had seene him archer of the guard, did assure me, saith *Cassanion*, that hee was of such an height as any man of an ordinary stature might goe upright betwixt his legges when he did stride. *Cap. 6.*

*Iohn Frederike Duke of Saxonie*, and the great Patron of *Martin Luther*, was so bigg and tall, that the *Germans* were wont to say of him, when others were filled even to the brimme with wine, he had scarce washed his sides. And the *Spaniards*, as witnesseth. *Thuanus lib. 3. anno. 1547.* having taken him prisoner, drew off one of his bootes, and for the unusuall greatnes thereof sent it as a trophee to bee wondred at in the Court of *France*. There is at this present to be scene heere in *England* one *Parsons*, by trade a black-smith, now *Porter* at the Kings Court, who by just measure is found to bee no lesse then *seven foote and two inches*. And *Anno. 1624.* I heere that a *Welch-man* is lately entertained by the Prince in the like place, who outstrips the Smith in height by *five inches*, and yet is hee still growing, so as in time hee may well come unto *eight foote*.

But it may well bee that in these parts of the world where *luxury* hath crept in together with *Civility*, there may bee some diminution of *strength* and *stature* in regard of our *Ancestours*; yet if wee cast our eyes abroad upon those nations which still live according to *nature*, though in a fashion more rude and barbarous, wee shall finde by the relation of those that have lived among them, that they much exceede us in *stature*, still retaining as it seemes the vigorous constitution of their Predecessours, which should argue, that if any decay bee, it is not *universall*, and consequently not *naturall* but rather *adventitious* and *accidentall*. For prooffe hereof, to let passe the stories of *Olaus Magnus* touching the Inhabitants of the *Northerne Climate*, I will content my selfe with the *Indies*. *Melchior Nunnez* in his letters where he discourseth of the affaires of *China* reports that in the chiefe citie called *Paguin*, the *Porters* are *fifteene foote* high, and in other letters written in the yeare 1555, he doth averre that the King entertaines and feedes *five hundred* such men for *Archers* of his Guard. *Symon Maiolus dierum Cameracensium colloq. v.* In the West *Indies* in the region of *Chica neere* the mouth of the streights, *Ortelius* describes a people whom he tearmes *Pentagones*, frō their huge stature, being ordinarily of *five cubits* long, which make *seven foote and an halfe*: whence their countrey is knowne by the name of the land of *Gyants*. Mr *Pretty* a Gentleman of *Suffolke*, in his discourse of Mr



Hacklutt in his  
English voy-  
ages.

Memorables  
Histoires de  
nosre temps.

Lib. 2. cap. 6.

*Candish* his voyage about the world, being himselfe imployed in the same action, tells us that measuring the print of an *Indian* foote in the sand, not farre from the coast of *Brasil*; he found it to be *eightene inches* long, by which computation, the *Indian* himselfe in proportion could be no lesse then *nine foote*. *Cassanion* likewise acknowledgeth that in the Iland of *Sammatra* and neere the *Antarticke pole*, some are found of *tenne* or *twelve foote* high. Lastly, *Antony Pigafet* a great traveller in his time, as testifieth *Goulart*, affirmes that he had seene towards the same *Pole* so tall a *Gyant*, as other tall men did not reach with their *heads* above his *navell*; and others beyond the streights of *Magellane*, which had theirs neckes a cubit long, and the rest of their bodies answerable thereunto.

Hereunto may bee added the Collections of *Mr Purcas* in his pilgrimage *The Spaniards* (saith hee) which with *Magellane* first discovered the streits, saw *Gyants* on this coast, of which hee carryed away one with him to sea, where after for want of sufficient foode hee dyed. And (besides that some of our owne at another time measured the print of mens feete 18 inches in the sand) *Oliver Noort* in his world-compassing voyage had three of his men slaine by men of admirable stature with long haire, not farre from port desire, about 47 degrees of southerly latitude: and after in the *Magellane* streits discomfited a band of savages which neither would yeeld nor flee from their wives & children which were in a Cave just by till every man was slaine. Foure boyes the *Hollanders* carryed away, one of which learning their language, told them of three families or tribes in those parts of ordinary stature, and of a fourth which were *Gyants* ten or eleven foote high which warred upon the former.

*Sebalt de Weert* being detained 5 months in the streits by foule weather sent his men to fish for their provision (which exceedingly fayled them) who there were suddenly assailed by 7 Canoes of *Gyants*, which they guesled to bee so high as is mentioned: who being put to flight by their peeces fled to land and plucked up trees in their rude manner barricadoing and fortifying themselves against further pursuit of the *Hollanders*, who were no lesse glad that they were rid of such company.

And in another place hee saith, That whole families of those monstrous men are found at this day in *America* both neare to *Virginia*, as *Captaine Smith* reporteth, and especially about the streits of *Magellane*, neare which hee found *Gyants*; and in the same streits were such seene of the *Hollanders* ten foote in height, whereas yet other families were but of the ordinary greatnesse. One *Thomas Turner* told mee saith hee that neare the river of *Plate* he saw one twelve foote high.



## CHAP. 4.

More pressing Reasons to prove that for these two or three thousand yeares, the stature of the Ancients was little or nothing different from that of the present times.

## SECT. I.

The first Reason taken from the measures of the Ancients, which were proportioned to the parts of mans body, and in the view of them, we are first to know that they were standards, that is, for publique contracts, certaine and constant; and consequently if the graines of our barley-corne, the first principle of measure, bee the same with theirs as hath already beene proved, it cannot bee but our ordinary measures should bee the same with theirs, and so likewise our statures.

I Will not dwell upon these lighter skirmishes, but proceed on to a more serious fight, and downe-right stroakes drawne from the demonstrations of more weighty reasons, whereof the first shall be taken from the comparisons of the measures of the Ancients and ours, used in this present age, borrowed from the body of man. It was a memorable saying of *Protagoras*, reported and repeated by *Plato*, that man was *rerum omnium mensura*, the measure of all things; hee is the measure of measures; the yard, the ell, the pace, the furlong, the mile, they are all measured by the body of man and the parts thereof, which likewise serve for the measuring each of other. So that if they hold that *Symmetrie* and *commodulation*, (as *Vitruvius* calls it) which they ought, from the proportion of the head, the hand, the cubit, the foote, the finger, nay the tooth or the least bone, may the dimensions of the whole body bee infallibly collected. As *Pythagoras* gathered the height of *Hercules* from the proportion of his foot; and *Pulcher* a skillfull *Geometrician* the height of a *Gyant* (discovered in *Sicily* by an earth-quake) at the command of *Tiberius* from the proportion of his tooth, sent from thence to the *Emperour* for a taste and tryall of the whole. To lay a ground then to that which I am to say, that the building which I am to raise upon it may stand the surer, first I take it to be an undeniable truth, that the cubit, the foote, the inch, the digit were all of them standards, that is, certaine and constant measures, it being not lawfull for every man to make or take his measures in publique contracts by his owne cubit or foot, or of any whom himselfe would make choyce of, but by that which was common and indifferent to all, legally and publiquely allowed: And this much not only stands with right reason, but appeares to bee true, by that *Amphora Capitolina* amongst the *Romans*, a standing stable measure, kept in the Capitoll, (with which all other measures were to accord) mentioned by *Iulius Capitolinus* in the life of *Maximinus*, as also by the *Roman Congius*, whereof one was lately in the keeping of Cardinall *Farnese*, and is exquisitely effigiated by *Villalpandus* in the latter end

In Cratylus & Thales.

Lib. 3. c. 1.

Gellius out of Plutarch. l. 1. c. 1. Trallianus out of Apollonius d. mirabilibus & longavis.



of his third *Tome* upon the Prophet *Ezekiel*. Among the *Jewes* likewise the Law required that they should not use to have a *double weight* or *measure*, which could not well be avoyded, except they had a *common measure* by which all particulars were to be regulated.

Secondly, this *standard* of cubits or feete was taken from the proportion of a man, *media*, or *mediocris statura*, of a middle stature, and considering that both the *Roman* and *Grecian* foote consisteth of twelve inches, and withall that a foote is the *sixth part* of a mans body, it must needs follow that a man of a *middle stature* consisteth of sixe foote, by the *standard* or *assise*. But because it was observed that in diverse *Climates*, or it may bee in the same *Climate*, in diverse ages men varied in their stature, and consequently that the *middle stature* was not alway and in all places the same, they measured the *digit*, which is the least & last principle of measures in mans body, by *barley-cornes*, allowing foure *barley-cornes* laid athwart for the *digit*, as *Lucas Gauricus* a great and famous *Mathematician* in his booke of *Geometry*, & the parts thereof, hath truly and wisely observed, *Nam etsi, falth hee, ab humanis membris dimensionum partes denominari Veteres voluere: placuit tamen propter humanorum corporum inequalitatem, a certo quodam principio exordiri, ex quo mensura reliqua velut ex certis partibus constituerentur. Statuerunt ergo Geometra granum hordei transversum, id est secundum latitudinem positum, mensuraram minimam.* Though the Ancients have pleased to denominate the severall parts of measures from the severall parts of mans body; yet by reason of the inequality of mens bodies, they thought it reasonable to take their rise from some certaine and unvariable beginning, from whence other measures might likewise be made up of even and certain parts. And to this purpose did the *Geometricians* make the *barley-corne* laid athwart, or according to its breadth, the least and first of all other measures. And that foure of these make up a *digit*, appears by these old verses which I finde in the same Author,

*Quatuor ex granis digitus componitur unus,  
Et quater in palmo digitus, quater in pede palmus.*

One foote foure palmes, one palme containes  
Foure digits, and one digit foure graines.

*Lib. 2. cap. 9.*

Now that the *barley-corne*, the (*Grown* sell as it were, and simplest principle of Measures) or at leastwise the fairest thereof which is used to that end, is the same with us as with the *Ancients*, it cannot well be denied, if the goodnesse and fruitfulnessse of the *Earth* be not decayed, as I have sufficiently proved in a former Chapter, as well by reason, as the testimony of *Columella* and other grave Writers. And besides if we still use the *Graines* of *Barley* for the weight of gold and silver as the *Ancients* did; I see no reason why wee should except against them in this case. Well then, foure graines now concurring to the making up of a *digit*, as it did in former ages, it must of necessity follow that our *digit* is the same with theirs, and consequently our *inch*, and *hand-breadth*, and *foote*, and *cubit*; from whence we collect that a body of sixe foot height according to those measures, being now accounted but a *middle stature*, as anciently it was, our account is still the same, and our stature at least-

wise



wise for the generall the same, as among the *Ancients*. And except it were so, their rules of proportion in *Architecture*, in *lymning*, in *carving*, and the *statuary Art* left us by them could availe us little. For howbeit from them wee might understand what proportion each part should beare to other, yet can we not know what proportion the whole should beare, unlesse their measures were the same with ours. But their workes in those kindes yet remaining, shew that the measure which they allowed for an horse or a man of just and eaven stature, are the same for proportion both with their owne rules and our standing measures used at this day: And at this day doe the best *Architects* observe *Vitruvius* his measures, finding them to agree with, or very little to disagree from ours.

## S E C T. 2.

*That in particular the ordinary Hebrew, Grecian, and Roman measures were the same with ours, or very little different.*

**T**Hose Nations which have left us any notable *Records* of their severall sorts of *measures*, are to my remembrance but three: the *Hebrewes*, the *Grecians*, and the *Romans*. For the first it is cleare that as they had some weights *sacred* or of the *Sanctuary*, which were the bigger, and others of *ordinary* and common use, which were the lesser: so were their measures; there was a *speciall* Cubit which contained an handbreadth more then the *vulgar*, (borrowed it seemes from the *Persians* during the Captivity of *Babylon*) and an *ordinary*, which I take to be the same with, or very little differing from ours. And this in *holy writ* is tearmed the *Cubit of a man*, and the *measure of a man*, that is, of a man growne up to ripe age and perfect stature. And both *Innius* (as before I observed) in his *Annotations* on that of *Deuteronomy*, and *Ribera* in his *Commentaries* on the *Revelation*, seeme both of them to refer it to the *ordinary* measures which *Artificers* commonly use in taking their distances, and making their dimensions. The *first measures* to my remembrance that we read of in the *sacred Oracle of Scripture* are those of the *Arke*, which *S. Augustine* lead by *Origen* held to be *Geometricall*, containing six common Cubits: but it is certaine, that casting the bignesse of it by the *Vulgar Cubit* now in use, it was a vessel of so ample and huge capacity, that it was fully sufficient for the preserving of all sorts of creatures, together with their food by God appointed to be reserved in it. The *length* of it was three hundred Cubits, which multiplyed by the *breadth*, namely fifty Cubits, and the product by the *height* of thirty Cubits, sheweth the whole concavity to have beene *four hundred and fifty thousand cubits*, large enough for a stoage for *Noah* and his company, the beasts, and birds, and their provision, and somewhat to spare, as *Buteo* hath learnedly demonstrated.

Of *Solomons Temple* it is noted that it was sixty cubits long, twenty broad, and thirty high, which *Ribera* likewise makes to bee *vulgar* and usuall cubits. And though the building may seeme to have beene very

icant

Ezech 40.5. &  
43.13.

Deut. 3.11.  
Revel. 21.17.

Gen. 6.15.  
Aug. de Cite  
Dei 15 c. 27.

1. Kings 6. 2.  
De fabrica tem  
pls. cap. 5.



Cap. 3. v. 3.

Cap. 7. v. 15.  
Cap. 3. 15.

1. Kings 7. 2.

v. 10.

Antiquis. l. 15.  
cap. 3.

In Tyberio, c. 63

Libro de Men-  
suris, quibus in-  
tervalla meti-  
mur.

scant after that proportion, yet if wee consider that none might come within this space but the *Priests* that then served, and that both the *Altar of Holocausts*, and the *Court of the Priests* who served not, was without, it will seeme needlesse to require a longer or larger roome for those services to which it was assigned; Yet since these cubits in the second booke of *Chronicles*, are said to be *ex primaria mensura*, after the primary or chiefe measure, it should seeme they were no ordinary cubits, but rather *sacred*, which contained the common and vulgar cubit double, as may appeare by this, in that the pillars of brasle *Iachin* and *Boaz* set up before the porch of the *Temple* in the first of *Kings*, are said to bee *eighteen Cubits high*: but in the second of *Chronicles*, *thirty five*; which together with the basis being *one Cubit high*, make *thirty sixe*, double to eighteen, as a *shekell* of the *Sanctuary* was double to the vulgar: yet can it not bee gathered that the vulgar exceeded ours, nay the pillars with their *Chapiters* and *basis* being by this computation above *sixty foot* in height it may well bee conjectured, that their foot and cubit either came short of ours, or was at most but *equall* unto it. And for *Solomons* owne house which was *one hundred Cubits long*, *fifty broad*, and *thirty high*, generally received it is, that they were of the *Common measure*. We read that some of the stones laid in the foundation of the house built for his wife *Pharaohs* daughter, were of *ten Cubits*, which allowing a foot and a halfe to the Cubit, make up *fifteene foot*, a very large proportion, even by the length of the vulgar foot now in use: But those in *Herods* Temple, *twenty five Cubits long* (as witnesseth *Iosephus* who saw it himselfe) if the cubit by which hee reckoned exceed our ordinary, were of a length altogether incredible. And for mine owne part, I know not how we should compute either the height of *Goliath*, or the length of *Ogges* bed, and the like, but by the vulgar and ordinary cubit, now commonly in use amongst us, as most of the learned doe; and if in so doing they erre not, then are our measures, & consequently our present stature undoubtedly equall with, or at leastwise not much inferiour to theirs that lived in *Moses* time, who as it may well be thought, borrowed this Art of measuring from the *Egyptians*, in whose learning hee was so perfectly skilled.

Now for the measure of the *Grecians*, howbeit *Causabon* in his commentaries upon *Suetonius*, seeme to make the *Grecian* foot, as likewise that of other *Nations*, of lesse extent then the *Roman*; yet *Georgius Agricola*, who studied this point more thorowly, and hath of set purpose composed a large volume of the *Grecian* and *Roman weights and measures*, affirms the *Grecian* to exceed the *Roman* by halfe an inch, and for prooffe thereof doth he mention a pillar to be seene in the Chappell of the twelve *Apostles* in the *Vatican*, which seemed to him to have bene brought out of *Greece*, with this inscription graven in the higher part thereof, *ποδῶν θ*, that is nine foot, and from the measure and proportion of this would hee prove it to exceed the *Roman* by the quantity aforesaid named, yet by his owne confession *Marlianus* who hath written the *Topography* of *Rome*, & exactly described whatsoever therein was worth the observing, hath marked no such difference: And for the Cubit, though



though *Herodotus* in one place speake of *Regius Cubitus*, that contained <sup>Lib. 1.</sup> twenty seaven *digits*, which is three more then the ordinary; yet that their ordinary, either *digit* or *cubit* exceeded ours; I no-where find it expressly observed. And for their *stature* it is precisely noted by the same Author, that *Phya* the wife of *Pisistratus* was held so tall, that shee <sup>Lib. 2.</sup> was exhibited and applauded as another *Minerva*, and yet wanted shee three fingers of foure cubits. Neither addes he, *Cubitorum Regiorum*, of Regall cubits, as in the other passage, which makes me conceive that he might rather meane the *vulgar*. And for the *Persians*, from whom the *Grecians* borrowed their Regall Cubit, he tels us that one *Artaches* a prin- <sup>Lib. 7.</sup> cipall Commander in *Xerxes* his Army, was *statura inter Persas procerissima*, the tallest among all the *Persians*, and yet wanted he foure *digits* of the measure of five Regall Cubits, so that his height according to the vulgar Cubit was about *eight foote*: And I thinke at this day there are few Kingdomes, though much inferiour to that of *Persia*, which cannot shew one at least, not much inferiour to that proportion.

In the third and last place come the Ancient *Roman* measures to bee compared with ours: neither have I met with any who either affirme or so much as conjecture that they exceeded ours: but many that they rather come short of them. *Sr Henry Savill* a severe and exact man in the search of *Antiquity*, speaking of the *quadrantall*, a measure of a *Cubical* <sup>In his view of Military mat- ters.</sup> *Romane foote*, sets this note in the margent, *The Roman foote lesse then ours by halfe an inch*. In like manner *Agricola* censures *Budaus* for making up the *Roman quadrantall*, by the measure of the *French foote*, <sup>De rest. Pond. & mensur.</sup> whereas, saith he, it exceeds the *Romane duobus digitis*, by two fingers: and farther addes that the *standing measure* of the ancient *Romane foote* is yet at this day to be seene cut in stone or marble in diverse places of *Rome*; and namely in the gardens of *Angelo Colocci*: Some of these, it seemes, *Goropius Becanus* met with and measured, and by his owne testi- <sup>Gigantomachia.</sup> mony, found them short of foure of his palmes or *hand-breadths*; & yet, saith hee, *statura mea mediocritate brevior*, my selfe come short of a middle stature. The mile we know was measured by the pace, and the pace by the foote, now that the *Roman mile* came short of ours, appears by the great stones set up at every miles end in the *Appian way*; and the *Italian mile* in use at this day, taken, as it seemes, from the ancient *Roman*, is shorter then ours, neare about the same proportion, as is the *Roman foote* said to bee shorter then our foote. To bring it home then to our present purpose, It is by *Suetonius* reported of *Augustus*, that he was <sup>Cap. 79.</sup> indeed somewhat short, neverthelesse of a comely stature: which from the testimony of *Iulius Marathus*, he notes to have beene *five foote and nine inches*, the just measure of our late famous Queene *Elizabeth*, who as she matched that renowned Emperour in happinesse and duration of reigne, so did shee likewise in the stature of her body, nay if wee admit the mentioned difference betweene the *Roman foote* and ours, shee exceeded him in heighth by more then *two inches*: And I see no reason why *Suetonius* should tearme *Augustus* short, comming so neare the middle stature, except onely because hee came somewhat short of that. The same *Author* writes that *Nero* levied a new legion of *Italians* of <sup>Cap. 19.</sup> *six*



Cap. 68.  
Cod.  
Theodos. titulo  
de Tyran.  
Lib. I. cap. 5.

In Suet. Tyl.  
cap. 68.

In Carmine ad  
Catulinum.

sixe foote-men, which he called the *Phalanx* of the great *Alexander*, by which it should seeme that very few exceeded that stature. And of *Tiberius*, he observes that he was *statura quæ justam excederet*, somewhat, as it seemes, above six foot. *Valentinian* and *Valens* gave order that for the common souldier five foote and seaven inches should suffice; And *Vegetius* witnesseth of *Marius* the Confull, that such as were six foote high, or five and ten inches should be ranked *inter Alares Equites vel in primis legionum cohortibus*, among the principall troupes that served either on horse-backe or on foote. From whence *Causabon* collecteth that such as were seaven foot high were counted *Gyants*, & to that purpose voucheth hee the authority of *Sidonius Apollinaris* who flourished about the yeare foure hundred and forty.

---Spernit senipedem stylum Thalia,  
Ex quo septipedes vidit Patronos:  
Six footed rimes Thalia doth defie,  
E're since she seaven foot Patrons did espie.

Whom a little after hee tearmeth *Gyants*:

Tot tantique petunt simul Gigantes,  
Quot vix Alcinoi culina ferret.  
*Gyants* so many and so hugely maine,  
As scarce *Alcinous* Kitchen can sustaine.

By all which passages it clearly appeares, that our ordinary stature at this day, if it exceed not that of the *Ancient Romans*, yet doth it equall it at least.

Now before I conclude this Reason and Section, it shall not be amisse by the way to remember that *Nicephorus* makes the stature of *Christ* by tradition to have beene, (if *Langus* render him right) *ad palmos prorsus septem*, full seaven hand-breadth. Which length allowing foure hand-breadths to the foote, according to the usuall account, wants one hand breadth of two foote; The stature of a *Dwarfe* of the least size: but if by *palmos* hee meanes *spannes*, whereof about three make up two foote, so likewise could hee be but foure foote and a *spanne* long, too short a stature for a comely body, such as wee may well and piously conceive he had, and all ancient *Christian* writers confesse; and *Lentulus* the *Proconsull* in that *Epistle* to the *Roman Senate*, which goes under his name, confirms as much: And it should seeme by that of the *Apostle*, till wee come to a perfect man, unto the measure of the stature of the fulnesse of *Christ*: that his stature was compleate and perfect, not excessive in height, for then *Zaccheus* needed not to have gone up to a tree to have seene him, nor yet very defective, that having beene apt to expose him to scorne & dirision. And in likelyhood we should have found it somewhere, by some one or other, among so many and malicious *Adversaries*, objected unto him. It is true that none of the *Evangelists*, (most particular and precise in setting downe other Circumstances) have expressed any thing at all touching his complexion, or feature, or stature: Happily to this end, that no picture nor statue might be made of him, as well knowing how inclinable by nature wee are to turne the very resemblances and memorialls of those, whom wee most honour and reverence into  
Idolls.

Lib. I. cap. 40.

Ephes. 4. 13.



*Idolls.* Another thing which I would note is this, that when I call *six foote a middle stature*, my meaning is not, that there are as many found to bee above it, as below it, (which is the vulgar understanding of that word) but because it is, and ever hath beene held by the Learned, the most competent and comely stature; so as hee who is under that, is somewhat too short, and hee who is above it, somewhat too tall in regard of the most even, just, and exact proportion. It was so held among the Romans, as appears by *Vitruvius*, and by the *Commentatours* on *Suetonius* in the life of *Tiberius*: And yet their ranking of *six foote men*, among their *principall troupes*, and *Nero* his making up a legion of them levied from all the parts of *Italy*, which in a kinde of pride and glory he named the *Phalanx* of *Alexander the great*, shew that then very few exceeded that stature: And yet, (which may not be forgotten) was their foote short of ours *three inches* in the measure of *six feete*. And surely, now among us to raise a *Legion* of *five foote* and *nine inches* in any of his *Majesties Kingdomes*, or perchance in some one of our *shires*, would prove, I dare say, no very hard taske, or such as we should hold a matter worth the glorying in.

## S E C T. 3.

*The second reason taken from the ordinary allowance of diet to soldiers and servants, which appeares to bee of like quantitie with us, as was that among the Ancient Grecians and Romans, together with a doubt touching Gods allowance to the Israelites, answered.*

**B**UT I passe from this *first Reason* drawne from the comparison of ancient and moderne *Measures*, to a second no lesse weighty and pressing in my judgment, borrowed from the *allowance of diet*, taking this for my ground, that *ceteris partibus*, men for the most part feed according to the proportion of their bodies; and withall, that their *publike allowance* was made according to their *customary feeding*. To *Hercules*, being a man supposed of a mighty stature, is allowed by *Homer* an *Oxe* at a meale when he was hungry. Of *Maximinus* the Emperour above-named, *Capitolinus* reports that hee often ate in a day *forty pound weight of flesh*, and sometimes *sixty*, as he addeth out of *Cordus*. *Athenaus* alledges *Theodorus Hieropolis*, in his bookes of the *games of Greece*, that the ordinary fare of *Milo the Crotonian*, was *twenty pound of flesh*, and *three Congij*, or *six gallons* of *Wine*. In the yeare one thousand five hundred and eleven, the Emperour *Maximilian* the first, being at *Ausburge* at an assembly of the States of *Germany*, there was presented him a man of an unreasonable height and greatnes, who at a few mouth-fulls and without any stay, would devoure a *whole sheepe* or a *calse*, not caring whether it were rost or raw, saying that it did but sharpen his appetite. *Children* for the most part are not allowed the like quantity as men of riper yeares, though they be growing; nor among men, *dwarfses* the like as *Gyants*: And it stands with great reason, that the *portion* of diet appointed for the nourishing of the body, should in some sort bee answerable

*Sylvius* in his *Commentaries* of the memorable things of our times.



to the *proportion* of the body nourished. If then it shall appeare that the daily bread allowed by the *Ancients* to their *servants* & *souldiers*, was no more then is by us allowed at this day to ours, it will, as I take it, from thence be more then probably inferred, that the common stature and strength of our bodies, is not so much inferiour to theirs, as is commonly supposed.

Sympos. 7. prob.  
4.

Lib. 3.

In Phormione.  
Luc. 12. 42.  
So Iansenius &  
Beza expound  
it.

Mat. 5. 15.

Mat. 4. 21.

Lib. 5. de Affe.

Lib. 5. de Affe.

The ordinary allowance in corne among the *Grecians*, was the measure of a *Chenix* a day, as witnesseth *Suidas*; & from hence, as it seemes, was borrowed that *Motto* of *Pythagoras*, remembred by *Plutarch*, *super Chenicem ne sedes*, sit not upon a *Chenix*, that is, having gotten foode for a day, doe not grow secure, as if that would never be spent. And *Athenaeus* tells us, that *Clearchus* a great Coyner of new words, was wont upon this occasion to call a *Chenix Hemerotrophidem* sustenance for a day. At least-wise in the *Campe* it was so, if we credit *Herodotus* in his *Polymnia*, where he victualleth the common souldier in *Xerxes* army at a *Chenix* a day: The quantity of which allowance wee shall finde anon very neare to agree both with the *Roman*, and that which is in use at this day. The measure then to a *Roman* foot-man for a moneth, saith *Polybius*, was two thirds of a *Medimnus* of wheate, which made up foure *Modij*, the whole *Medimnus* by a generall consent of all the best *Authors* containing six *Modij* in all. With which rate of *Polybius* precisely agreeth *Donatus* upon *Terence*, where he limiteth *dimensum servi*, (in the *Gospell* called, a *servants portion of meate*) to bee foure *Modij* the moneth; the same portion which both *Cato* & *Columella* allow for *Countrey Hindes*. Now that it may appeare what this allowance was according to our measures, we are to know that by the *Roman* *Modius*, howbeit it be usually in our language rendred a bushell, & be so commonly construed in *Schools*; yet it is about a *pinte lesse* then a *pecke*, as is rightly observed, not onely by *Sr Henry Savill* in his view of *military matters*, but by our last *Translatours* of the *Bible*, who though they have set bushell in the *Text*, yet in the *Margin* have they affixed this note, *The word in the originall signifieth a measure containing about a pinte lesse then a pecke*.

First then to compare the *Grecian* and the *Roman* allowance. The *Medimnus* containing forty eight *Chenices*, as witnesseth *Budeus* out of *Pollux*; and six *Modij*, as *Tully*, and *Suidas*, and *Nepos*, and others; the *Roman* being allowed foure *Modij* by the moneth, and the *Grecian* a *Chenix* by the day, their allowances were equall, or not much different, save that the *Roman* seemes to be somewhat larger: foure *Modij* containing after that reckoning thirty two *Chenices*, which amongst them was a *moneths allowance*. With which if we compare our owne measures, it will weekly amount to a *pinte lesse* then a *pecke*, and allowing two gallons to the *pecke*, it will arise to about a *quart* by the day, which is but a competent allowance for a souldier or labour-man (living most upon bread) at this day; as *Budeus* by conference with his *Baker*, hath fully cleared the point. And here it may not bee forgotten that our last *Translatours* (to cleare the whole businesse the more fully) in the *marginall* notes on the sixth of the *Revelation*, at the sixth verse, give us to understand, that the word *Chenix* there used, signifieth a measure containing one wine quart, and the



the twelfth part of a quart: Now I am not ignorant that the Gomer of *Manna*, being the daily allowance of the *Iewes* during their abode in the wilderness, by Gods owne appointment, is by *Rabanus* valued at three *Chænicæ*, and by *Iunius* two and an halfe, bating one fifth. But I should rather ascribe so large an allowance to Gods speciall bounty, then to their necessity; and so much hath *Iunius* himselfe in his Annotations upon that place confessed: *inde colligitur, quàm largiter Deus Israelitas aluerit tam longo tempore*: We may from thence collect, how bountifully God dealt with the *Israelites*, making them so large an allowance for so long a time. And this marvellous great plenty, in likelihood was it that gave them occasion to distaste it, to grow weary of it, and cast out those murmuring speeches against God and *Moses* his servant and their leader, *Animam nostram tædet huius panis vilissimi*, our soule loatheth this light bread; & to fall a longing after the cucumbers and leekes, the onions and garlick of *Egypt*: Though the *Manna*, as well in regard of the delicacie thereof, as the raining of it downe from heaven, be, by the *Psalmist* tearmed, *Angels foode*; and in the booke of *Wisedome* bee commended for having in it a certaine contentfull delight agreeable to every mans taste. It is likewise true that the *Roman* allowance to a horse-man by the testimony of *Polybius*, seemed to be larger then that of the foote-man, there being allotted him monethly seven *Medimni* of oates or barley for his horse, and two of wheat for himselfe: But it may very well bee, as *Lypsius* conjectureth, that he had a spare horse and an attendant or two allowed him, and then his two *Medimni* for himselfe, and his two servants agrees justly with the two thirds of a *Medimnus* to a foote-man.

Numb. 21. 15.

Cap. 11. 5.

Psalm. 78. 25.

Cap. 16. 20.

1. 6.

De militia Romana. l. 3. c. 16.

## S E C T. 4.

Diverse other reasons drawne from experience added, as from the armour, the bed-steeds, the seates, the doores, the pulpits, the Altars of the Ancients, and other doubts cleared.

TO proceed, that which seemes to make the matter more evident, because it strikes more upon the sense, is the view of the roofes, the doores, the tables, the seates, the robes, the bed-steeds, the weapons, the armour, the pulpits, the Altars, the tombes of the Ancients, yet remaining to bee seene; all which argue, that they were of the same stature or very little differing from us. *Aristotle* in his *Mechanickes* gives us to understand, that the bed-steeds in his time, did not commonly exceede six foote: Nay *Magius* himselfe, who hath written a large discourse in defence of the contrary and common opinion, yet at last confesseth, that taking an exact measure of the Tombes at *Pisa*, and other Cities in *Italy*, though some of them were made a thousand yeares since, some more; yet found he them in dimensions *parum aut nihil*, little or nothing differing from those of our times, & withall ingenuously acknowledgeth, that being at *Pisaurum* in the Duke of *Urbines* armory, hee there saw certaine brasse helmets, digged up in the fields neare *Metaurum*, where *Asdruball* was overthrowne by the *Roman* forces, and were verily

Quaest. 26.

Miscellanea. c. 1.



Two of these  
are to be seene  
in the Anato-  
my Schoole at  
Leyden.

rily thought to have laine there since that time : *Qua tamen ab ijs quas modo milites nostri gestare solent ad magnitudinem quod attinet, non discrepant* : which notwithstanding, saith hee, in regard of bignesse differed not from those which our Souldiers now adayes usually weare. My selfe lately viewing a tombe in the Abbey Church at *Malmsbury*, said to bee King *Athelstanes*, found it to be neare of the same dimensions as ours usually are at this day: and looking into the common charnell of the Monasterie of *Glastenburie* amongst a world of bones and skulls, I observed none of any notable magnitude beyond those of the present times. The *Mummes* which have beene preserved in *Egypt*, some of them above three thousand yeares make no shew of any length or greatnes above the bodies of our age. Mr *Sandys* reports that in searching the inside of the greatest *Aegyptian* Pyramis, they found the entryes and passages thereof so low and narrow, as they were often forced to stoope, and sometimes to creepe on all foure, and with him here in both *Bellonius* and *Villamont* (as having beene eye-witnesses thereof) fully agree. And farther, he tels us, that entring into a faire large roome, all of *Theban* marble, and of admirable Architecture, at the upper end thereof, they found standing a tombe, breast high, seaven feete in length, not foure in breadth, in which, no doubt (saith hee) lay the bodie of the Founder, supposed to bee *Cheops*, & yet the dimensions of our tombes now adayes are not unanswerable thereunto. The tombe of *Sebba* King of the *East-Saxons*, who died in the yeare of *Christ* 693, standing in the North wall of *S. Pauls Church* in *London*, is found by measure not to exceed five foote in length; and that of King *Etheldred* not farre distant from it, is likewise not much different from it in measure: but because *Stowe* mentions the translation of their bodies from the old *Church* to the new now standing; I should thinke that those copped Coffins of gray Marble rather inclose their bones piled up, then their bodies at large, specially considering the scantnesse of those measures.

I know that the sword of *Edward* the third, the armour of *John* of *Gaunt*, the tilting staffe of *Charles Brandon*, the walking staves and riding staves of *Henry* the eighth shewed in the *Tower* and other places, farre exceed the ordinary of our times: but perchance some of them like *Sinesius Grandio* in *Seneca* delighted in great things, or I should thinke that sometimes they were rather for shew then for use; as the great *Alexander* (by the testimony of *Curtius*, *Diodorus Siculus*, and *Plutarch* testifie the same) is said to have left behinde him in the *Indies*, Armour of an huge bignesse, rather for terrour and admiration then any thing else. *Erasmus* in his booke of the institution of a Prince tells us, that to flatter their *Emperours*, they anciently represented them in *Collossean* formes, beyond the measure of humane stature; such as that erected to *Nero* by his owne command of 120 foote high, as *Pliny* writeth. lib. 25. c. 7. And for the rest it onely argues the strength and stature of those that used them, not of others who lived in the same age with them: Nay if wee compare the common armour of the age wherein *John* of *Gaunt* lived, or the most ancient in the *Tower* or otherwhere, with that which is now



now in use, wee shall finde no such sensible difference as should argue a decay in stature. Indeepe their *arrowes* generally exceeded ours both in bignesse and length; but this I should rather impute to their continuall practise in shooting from their infancie, then to their strength and stature. The truth whereof appeares by this, that so long as that practise was continued, (which was till the invention and ordinary use of *Gunnes*) so long the like dimensions of their shafts were likewise continued without any diminution, as may bee seene by comparing the arrowes commonly used in *Henry* the seaventh and *Henry* the eight's time, with those in use many yeares before, few of which are full a yard by measure; yet my Lord of *S. Albans* witnesseth, that the rebellious *Cornish* in the reigne of King *Henry* the seaventh, not much above one hundred yeares agoe, shot an arrow of a full *Cloth-yard* long.

The doubt which may be made touching the *Altar* of the *Tabernacle* seemes to bee of great consequence, which by Gods appointment was to be *three cubits high*, that is, *four foot* and *an halfe*, whereas those of later times are not above *three foot*, or *three & an halfe* at most; which seemes to interre the difference in succeeding ages of the stature of those that were to serve at the *Altar*: But I would demaund whether the *Cubit*, *Moses* there speakes of, were according to the ordinary stature of men then living, if so, then a man rightly proportioned being at most but *four of his owne Cubits*, there was left but *one cubit* for the *Priest* above the *Altar*, which was much too little for him to minister with ease: And what then shall wee say to *Solomons Altar*, which was *ten cubits high*, surely it must in reason so be understood, that the height bee accounted frō the lowest floore of the *Temple* or *Tabernacle*, where the people stood; but the *Priest* went up by certaine slope degrees, certaine easie ascents to the *Altar*, so that the height of those ascents from the floore together with the *Altar* it selfe made up the full measure there spoken of. It will bee replied that it was expressly forbidden to goe up by steps to the *Altar*: True indeed, but the reason is there added, *that thy nakednes be not discovered thereon*, so as such decrees of ascent as occasioned not any danger or doubt of discovering his nakednesse, who ministered at the *Altar*, seeme there not to bee forbidden; which is the interpretation both of *Iunius & Abulensis*: allowing then an *Altar* of three foot & an halfe high, & arising to it frō the lower floore of a foot high; the height of the *Altar* from the lower floore will be *four foot* and an halfe, or *three cubits*, which is the measure required in the *Lewiticall Law*, & differs little in height from the *Altars* in forraine parts, or those which are yet standing with us, if wee likewise take their height from the lower floore, which by reason of the continued and easie degrees of ascent to them may not unfitly be counted their *basis* or *foote*. And most certaine it is, that the *Altars* which amongst *Christians* were built for five or six hundred yeares since, and yet remaine, whereof there are in *France*, and *Spaine*, and *Italy* not a few to be seene; serve as commodiously for the stature of the men of this present age, as they did of those, in whose times they were built: whereas, were there such a decay as is supposed



supposed, we now living should hardly reach their tops, much lesse be able to serve at them with any tolerable conveniencie.

## S E C T. 5.

*The same farther proved, first for that the sonne often proves taller then the father. Secondly, for that age and stature holding for the most part correspondence, it being already proved that the age of mankinde is not decreased, from thence it followes that neither is their stature. Thirdly, for that if mankinde decreased in stature by the course of nature, so must of necessity all other creatures, they being all alike subject to the same law of nature. Fourthly, for that if men had still declined since the Creation, by this time they would have beene no bigger then rats or mice, if they had at all beene.*

*De Civit. Dei.  
lib. 15. c. 25.*

*liv. 3. cap. 14.*

*Exercit. 263.*

BESIDES were there such a generall and continuall decay of men in stature as is supposed, either the Childe would alwayes come short of the Parents in stature, or very seldome would it fall out otherwise, whereas now wee finde it by daily experience that the sonne very often not only equals but exceeds the father, and the daughter the mother. *Nicephorus Calistus* in the twelfth booke of his *Ecclesiasticall history*, tells us of one whom himselfe saw, of such an excessive height, that he was held for a monster; *Quem tamen brevis admodum stature mulier in lucem protulit*, saith he, whom notwithstanding a woman of a very short stature brought forth. In like manner *S. Augustine* reports of a woman, who in his time, a little before the sacking of *Rome* by the *Goths*, came thither with her Father and Mother; she was, saith he, of a *Gyant-like* stature, far beyond all that saw her, though infinite troupes came to behold that spectacle, & *hoc erat maxima admirationis*, this was matter of greatest amazement, that both her Parents were but of ordinary stature. I have seene, saith *Marcellus Donatus*, a learned Phyitian, a young maiden of a *Gyant-like* stature, whom they carried from towne to towne to shew her as a prodigious thing, for the sight of whom every man gave something, wherewith her mother that conducted her, and her selfe were maintained. She was in an hired Chamber by herselfe, and there suffered her selfe to be seene with admiration, going as others did; I enquired carefully of every point, and did learne both from herselfe and her mother, who was a woman of meane stature, that the maidens father was not tall, that in all their stocke there was not any one that exceeded the height of other persons. It is likewise reported in the *History of the Netherlands*, that in the yeare 1323, was to be seene in *Holland* a woman *Gyantesse*, to whom the tallest men seemed children, yet her parents of meane stature. So then, if *Gyants* be sometime borne or begotten of such parents, no marvell that the sonne as often proves taller then the father, as he comes short of him. But it commonly fals out in this kinde, though not in that extremity, as with the *Samogitheans*, a people lying betwixt *Prussia* and *Livonia*; of whom *Scaliger* writes, that *per vices tum proceros- tum penè nanos generant*, by turnes they bring forth *Gyants* and *Dwarfes*,



Dwartes, like some trees, saith hee, which beare very plentifully one yeare, and are the next altogether barren: Nature so disposing that what was deficient in the *Dwarfe*, is abundantly repayed in the *Gyant*.

Againe, there is for the most part a mutuall connexion betweene age and stature, (whence it may bee in the *Greeke*, the same word signifieth both) so as that race of men which is tallest and strongest, commonly holdeth out longest, upon which ground, as it seemes, they who invented the fable of the *Pigmies*, withall affirmed, that their women usually brought forth at five yeares, and died at eight: But certaine it is, that in those barbarous countreyes which are not weakened by luxury, as they much exceed us in duration, so doe they likewise in dimensions, both which have beene fully shewed by sundry examples already alleadged, and generally we see, that in the severall kinds of *beasts*, of *birds*, of *fishes*, of *trees*, of *plants*, the bigger they are in quantity, the longer they last, and the lesser they are, the shorter space they continue: Since then it hath beene, as I take it, sufficiently proved in the precedent chapters, that the age of men is not so sensibly impaired in regard of former times, as is commonly conceived, it will from thence consequently follow, that neither is the stature of man, at least wise by any defect in the *Course of Nature*, so manifestly abated, as is imagined.

I say, by any defect in the *Course of Nature*, for then doubtlesse, all other *naturall bodies* should suffer the like defect, even the *Elements* and the *Heavens* themselves, all which, (if I flatter not my selfe too much) I have in my former discourse clearly freed from any such *universall* and *perpetuall declination*. And in truth, reason it selfe will easily teach us, that if men were generally in former ages taller and larger then now they are, so must the *horses* too upon which they rode; and if *horses*, other kindes of *beasts* too; and if *beasts*, *birds*, too; and if *birds*, *fishes* too; and if all these, *trees* too; there being no warrantable reason, as I conceive, to be yeelded, why among other kindes of Creatures, (which wanting reason, are guided meerely by instinct of Nature) some should stand at a stay, contayning their ancient perfection, and others in tract of time decay by degrees. Indeede *Man* among them all by meanes of the abuse of his Reason and free choyce, (which was given him to helpe him, and not to hurt him, had he the grace to make use of it) is most subject to variation, and so to declination: yet as all men doe not alwayes abuse their Reason, at leastwise in a greater degree then their Predecessours, (as shall, God assisting mee, bee hereafter made good) so doe they not alwayes decline in *strength* and *stature*, for then should they by this time scarcely have exceeded the quantity of Rats or Mice; or at most have but equalled that *Dwarfe*, of whom *Nicephorus* reports, (how truly I cannot say) that hee had the shape, the voice and reason of a man, yet was in body no bigger then a Partridge; or that other mentioned by *Sabinus* in his *Commentaries* upon the *Metamorphosis*: *Vidit Italia nuper virum iusta etate, non maiorem cubito, circumferri in cavea psittaci, cuius viri meminit in suis scriptis Hieronymus Cardanus*. There was lately to bee seene in *Italy* a man of a ripe age not above a cubit high, carried about in a Parrets cage,



cage, of whom *Hierome Cardan* in his writings makes mention : But me thinks it being the former which gives bounds to the matter (of it selfe unlimited and boundlesse) and the forme of man being still for essence and naturall functions the same which was from the beginning, the bounds of his quantity cannot vary in any great or notorious difference, but through some exorbitancie and aberration in nature, which as they have beene in all ages, so have monsters too, not only in figure and shape, but also both in excesse and defect.

Dillecti. 6

I will conclude this point with the judgement of *Aypsius* in his third booke of the physiologie of the stoicks, where having proposed the question, *Homines primi an majores & paulatim deinde minores*; and thereupon having alledged the testimony of *Esdra* for the affirmative part, he thus censures it : *Quæ tamen dictio & ratio si vera, & ab ævo in ævum homines minores, quid causa quin jam pygmaei & minus simus? atqui confut nos à bis terque mille annis parum aut nil mutasse, & populari aliqua presumptione illa non veritate scripta.*

CHAP. 5.

Wherein the principall objections drawne as well from Reason as from authority, and experience are fully answered.

SECT. I.

Of sundry fabulous narrations of the bones of Gyanlike bodies digged up, or found in Caves.

**T**He Truth being thus settled, it remaines that wee now dispell those mists and cloudes with which the brightnes of it is sometimes overcast : whereof the chiefe is, the huge bodies and bones that at sundry times have beene digged up, and yet are kept in many places as monuments of *Antiquity* to bee scene. Such are they which are shewen at *Puteoli* or *Puzzele* in the Kingdome of *Naples*, upon which *Pomponius Latius* hath bestowed verses, which he thus concludes.

*Hinc bona posteritas immania corpora servat,  
Et tales mundo testificatur avos.*

Their huge corpes good posterity keepes here,  
To witnesse to the World that once such were.

The like have I scene at *Wormes* in *Germany* and other Cities standing upon the *Rheine* hung up in Chaines, or laid up in Magazines and other publique places; but saith *Philippus Camerarius*, I have heard many dispute and make doubt whether they were the bones of men; or of fishes. Infinite are the stories which to this purpose are recorded, it would require a just volume to collect them into one body, and in truth it shall not neede, inasmuch as I finde it already done by the same *Camerarius*; by *Cassanion* in his booke of *Gyanis*; and *Fazelus* in his first booke and first *Decade* of the affaires of *Sicily*; as also by our *Hollenshed* in the fourth chap. of his first volume; but with this Caution; For my part, saith hee, I will

Astedat. histor.  
82. five. l. 3. c. 2.

Cassan. II.  
Fazelus. c. 6.



will touch rare things, and such as to my selfe doe seeme almost incredible; wherefore I will only point at a few of the most memorable, lest on the one side I should seeme purposely to baulke that rubbe which is commonly thought most of all to thwart my way, or on the other side should cloy the Reader with too many unsavory tales.

It is reported by *Plutarch* out of *Gabinus*, (which I confesse, I somewhat marvell at in so grave an Authour) that *Sertorius* being in *Lybia* neere the streights of *Morocco*, found the body of *Anteus* there buried, sixty cubits, to which *Fazelus* adds ten more, and makes it up seaventy: But *Strabo* in the seaventeenth of his *Geography*; mentioning the same things, layes this censure upon *Gabinus* the Authour of it: *Sed nec Gabinus Romanarum rerum Scriptor in describenda Mauritania fabulis prodigiosis abstinet*: neither doth *Gabinus* in his description of *Mauritania* abstaine from the relation of *Monstrous fables*. In the fourteenth yeare of *Henry* the second Emperour was the body of *Pallas*, (as'twas thought,) companion to *Aeneas*, taken up at *Rome*, and found in height to equall the walles of that cisie: But as *Galeotus Martius* hath well observed, his body was said to have beene burned,

*Arsurasque comas obnubit amictu.*

The locks that shortly should consume in fire,  
He covered with his Robe.

Which I suppose to be likewise true of many of those bodies, which notwithstanding are reported to have beene found intire for their proportions long after their deaths, though turned into ashes many yeares before: It being the custome of those countries to burne, as it is ours to burie our dead. Our *Malmesburienensis* likewise in his second booke and thirteenth chapter *de gestis Regum Anglorum* mentioneth the same, story shall I call it, or fable, telling us that in the yeare of grace 1042, & in the reigne of *S. Edward*, the body of *Pallans* the sonne of *Evander*, of whom *Virgill* speakes, *Roma repertum est illibatum ingenti stupore omnium quod tot secula incorruptionem sui superavit*, was found at *Rome* intire and found, to the great astonishment of all men, that by the space so many ages it had triumphed ouer corruption; and farther to confirme the truth thereof, hee assures us that the gaping wideness of the wound which *Turnus* made in the midst of his breast, was found by measure to bee foure foote & an halfe, a large wound, and the weapon which made it, wee cannot but conceive as large, and by the appearance of it at full, not only the bones and skin and sinewes, but the flesh to remaine incorrupt; a matter altogether incredible. Besides he sets us downe his Epistle found at the same time,

*Filius Evandri Pallans quem lancea Turni  
Militis occidit more suo jacet hic.*

Which himselfe knowes not well how to give credit too, *quod non tunc crediderim factum*, (saith he) which I cannot beleieve was then made, but by *Ennius*, or some other of latter ages: But I proceede:  
*Herodotus* in his first booke tels us, that the body of *Orestes* being taken up, was found to be seaven cubits; but *Gellius* is bold to bestow upon him for his labour the title of *Homo Fabulator*, a forger of fables, rather



Lib 7. c. 16.  
De Mirabilibus  
et longavis.  
De Genealog.  
Deorum. l. 4.  
Cap. 68.

De Civit. Dei.  
Lib. 15. c. 9.

Camden in Es-  
sex.

Not. in Marty-  
rol. l. 1. c. 25.

De ratione con-  
sonandi. lib. 3.  
c. 7. ex Hiperis.

Gygamachia  
Cap 4.

Hollensted, vol.  
1. lib. 1. c. 4.

rather inclining to the opinion of *Varro*, who held the utmost period of mans growth to bee *seaven foote*. What would hee then have said to the body of *Oryon*, which *Pliny* makes *forty six cubits*, or of *Macrofyris* which *Trallianus* makes an *hundred cubits*, or of that body discovered in a vast cave neere *Drepanum* in *Sicilie*, three of whose teeth, wee may beleieve *Boccace*, weighed an *hundred ounces*, and the lead of his staffe, a *thousand and five hundred pounds*. And the body it selfe by proportion of some of the bones was estimated to no lesse then *two hundred cubits*, which make *three hundred feete*, somewhat I thinke beyond *Pauls steeple*. The more I wonder at *S. Augustine*, who confidently assures us, that himselfe with others being on the sea shore at *Vtica*, hee there saw a mans jaw-tooth so bigge, that being cut into small peeces, it would have made an *hundred* such as the men living in his age commonly had, by which computation the body it selfe must likewise in reason have exceeded the bodies of his age an *hundred times*; Yet *Ralph* the Monke of *Cogshall*, who wrote 350 yeares agoe (as witnesseth *Camden*) it may bee in imitation of *S. Augustine*, averres; that himselfe saw the like, which in a Monke is I confesse more tollerable then that which *Ludovicus Vives*, deservedly reputed a grave and learned Authour, upon that passage of *S. Augustine* affirms, that going to the Church on *Saint Christophers* day (the place hee names not, but it seemes to be *Lovaine*, because from thence he dates his Epistle dedicatory to King *Henry* the eight: ) He was there shewed a tooth, belonging as it was thought to that *St*, bigger then a mans fist, the patterne whereof belike was taken from that huge *Colossus* made to represent him at the entrance of *Nostre-Dame* in *Paris*, more like a mountaine then a man; whereas notwithstanding *Baronius* professeth in plaine tearmes, *se non habere quid dicat de Gigantea statura quae pingi consuevit*, that hee knowes not what to say to that Gyantlike stature, in which they commonly set him forth. But *Villavincencius* goes farther, *dubium nemini esse picturam hanc à sanctis Patribus in hunc usum propriè excogitatam, ut Evangelij præconem adumbret*, that no man neede doubt but that picture was devised of holy men to shadow forth the preacher of the Gospel, who whiles hee lifts up Christ by his preaching and carries him about to bee seene and knowne, is indangered in the waves of this world, and yet vpheld by the staffe of hope. The like tooth is to bee seene in the *Netherlands*, pretended to belong to the Gyant of *Antwerpe*, but *Goropius Becanus* rather thinkes it to be the tooth of an *Elephant*, whose conjecture is there in the more probable, for that, (as witnesseth *Verstegan*) at such time as the famous water passage was digged from *Brussells* unto the river of *Rupell* at *Willibrooke*, there were found the bones of an *Elephant*, the head whereof, (which is yet reserved) himselfe had seene. Of latter times it hath beene written, and by some strongly averred, that the body of *William* the Conquerour was found uncorrupt more then foure hundred yeares after it was buried, and in lengtheighth foote, the former of which could not well bee, since his tombe being too narrow for the unbowelled body, (so say our stories) it brake in the laying of it downe; and for the latter there is as little shew, since they who have written his life all agree,



agree, that hee was a man of a *meane* or *middle stature*, though for his limmes *active* and *strong*: And for a full confutation of the said *fable*, (saith *Stow*) when his restless bones, which so hardly had obtained interring, did afterwards as unluckily againe lose it in the yeare of *Christ* 1562, viz: when *Chastillon* conducting the remnant of those that escaped at the battell of *Dreux*, tooke the citie of *Cane*, certaine savage souldiers aswell *English* as others, did beat downe and utterly deface the noble *Monument* of that  *victorious King*, pulling out all his bones, which some of them spitefully threw away, (when they, could not finde the treasure they falsely surmised had beene laid up there) and others, specially the *English*, snatched every one to have some piece of them, not making any wonder of them, as they would have done if they had exceeded the length and bignesse of mens bodies of latter yeares, whereas indeede there was no such thing noted in them, as I have beene certainly informed; (saith the same *Autbourn*) by *English men* of good credit, who were then present eye-witnesses at the spoyle of that *Monument* and bones, and brought some part of them into this *Realme*. *Thevet* likewise in the second Tome of his *Cosmographie*, describing the City of *Cane*, mentioneth the rising of his *Monument*, but of any such monstrous bones or body there found, hee speakes not a word. And besides it is most unreasonable to conceive, that within the compasse of five hundred yeares or little more, there should be such a wonderfull abatement; neither in truth if our measures bee the same as then they were, is it at all possible.

Toward the latter end of his life

Lib. 15. cap. 10

Others with some more shew of truth, have made the bones of King *Arthur* found at *Glastenburie* upon a search, at the command of King *Henry* the second, to have beene of an excessive bignesse: yet *Mr Camden* who reports the story at large out of *Giraldus Cambrensis* (an eye-witness thereof) remembers no such matter.

In Somersetshire.

## SECT. 2.

Of the like bones to bee scene in some Churches of London, and of those which were lately found neere the city of Gloucester.

Out of *Stowes* survey of *London* lately augmented and reprinted Anno 1633. fol 204 together with his owne marginall notes.

In the parish Church of *S. Laurence* saith hee, called in the *Iurie*, because of old time, many *Iewes* inhabited thereabout, I my selfe more then 70 yeeres since, have scene in this Church the shankebone of a man (as it is taken) and also a tooth of very great bignesse, hanged up for shew in chaines of iron upon a pillar of stone, the tooth (being about the bignesse of a man fist) is long since conveyed from thence, the thigh or shanke bone of 25 inches in length by the rule, remaineth yet fastned to a post of timber, and is not so much to bee noted for the length as for the thicknes, hardnes, and strength thereof; for when it was hanged on the stone pillar, it fretted (with moving) the said pillar, and was not it selfe fretted, nor as seemeth is not yet lightned, by remaining dry; but where

The tooth of some monstrous fish as I take it.

A shanke bone of 25 inches long of a man (as it is said) but might bee of an Elephant.



where or when this bone was first found or discovered I have not heard and therefore rejecting the fables of some late writers I overpasse them.

Fol. 303.

Shankebone of  
a man 28. in-  
ches and a  
halfe long.

The parish Church of S. Mary Aldermanbury is a faire Church and hath a churchyard and cloister adjoyning in the which cloister is hang- ed and fastned a shankebone of a man (as it is said) very great and larger by 3 inches and a halfe then that which hangeth it S. Laurence Church in the Jury, for it is in length 28 inches and a halfe of assise, but not so hard and steely like as the other, for the same is somewhat pory and spongy. This bone is said to bee found amongst the bones of men re- mooved from the Charnell house of Pauls, or rather from the cloyster of Pauls Church; Of both which reports I doubt, for that the late Rey- newolfe stationer (who paid for the carriage of those bones from the Charnell to the Moorefeilds) told mee of some thousands of cartloads and more to bee convayed, whereof hee wondred, but never told mee of any such bone to be found in either place; neither would the same have easily bin gotten from him if he had heard thereof, except he had reserved the like for himselfe, being the greatest preserver of antiqui- quities in those parts for his time.

*An extract of a letter sent mee from a freind  
Touching the gyantlike bones taken up this  
Last yeere in Gloucester shire neare the city  
of Gloucester.*

In my last I wrote you, that his Maiesty had appointed my Lord of Cherbury to make inquiry touching the bones found neere Gloucester, with whom I have lately spoken. His Lord-ship shewed mee such bones as hee had collected, which were an huckle bone, a peece of the shoulder- blade, some parts of a tooth, and the bridge of the nose, all of a huge bignesse; but this Lord ships opinion was, that they were not the bones of a man, but of an elephant, the rather because Claudius (who as Dion reporteth brought Elephants into England) did, as hee sayes, build that citty (for which hee voucheth Ponticus Veruntius de rebus Britannicis) who saith the ancient name of the Citty was Claudicestria, and by cor- ruption Gloucester; and Mr Camden (as you rightly observe) saith, that the Romans had a Colonia thereabout. His Lord ship told mee farther that these bones were found mingled with bones and hornes of diverse other beasts as oxen, sheepe and hogs, and shewed mee the ruske of a boare found amongst them; neither were they found inclosed in any coffin of stone as yon have heard reported, indeed there was a great square stone found lying by them, which hee conceaved might be the upper stone of an altar, & that the bones were the reliques of some great sacrifice celebrated in that place.

The bridge of the nose was that which did confirme his Lord ships opinion and mine too, that it could not bee the bones of a man; for the proportion thereof was no way answerable to a mans, but did rather seeme a bone very apt to beare up the long snout of an Elephant. His Lord ship farther told mee, that Dr Harvy (a great Anatomist) had seene the bones and opined, that they were not the bones of a man, but of some



some great beast as an *Elephant* : the same was likewise the opinion of Dr *Clayton* his Majesties Professour of Physicke in *Oxford*, upon the sight of some of the same bones, which were carried out of *Glostershire* toward *London* by the way of *Oxford*.

One of the teeth of this pretended *Gyant*, by the speciall favour of my Lord of *Glocester* I had the happinesse to see, which I found to bee of a stonie substance both for hardnes and weight; and as it should seeme by his Lordships letter to me, himselfe was not confident that it was the tooth of a man.

## S E C T. 3.

*Diverse reasons alledged why such bones might bee found in former ages and not now, and yet the ordinary stature of mankinde remaine the same.*

**N**Otwitstanding all this, I am not so credulous and indiffident, nor so peremptory & daring in this case, as is *Becanus*, *Non credam illud Orionis apud Plinium, licet Lucius Flaccus & Metellus qui visum iussu dicuntur per capita sua jurarent*: I will not credit that story of *Orion* reported by *Pliny*, though *Flaccus* and *Metellus* who are said to have gone to see it, should sweare by their heads it was true. Let us not wrong *Antiquity* so farre, but deale with them as wee desire our posterity should with us: Let us not conceive they were all either so vaine as to affirme they saw that which they saw not, or so weake as not able to distinguish betweene the figure of the bones of men, and those of beasts and fishes: specially when they found the *Skeleton* whole & intire. Much I graunt might be and no doubt was fained, much mistaken, much added to truth thorow error, or an itching desire of *Hyperbolicall* amplifications; yet I cannot but beleieve that many of their relations touching this point were true: howbeit a diminution of the stature of mankinde in generall cannot from thence be sufficiently inforced.

The conceit of *Theophrastus* and *Paracelsus*, that by the influence of the heavens, such bones might bee bred in certaine tracts and veines of the earth, is not altogether to be rejected, for that *Ortelius* in his description of *Moravia* speaks of myrrh in that Countrey neare a place called *Gradisco*, growing under-ground; and lately saith hee one *Wenceslaus* of an ancient and noble family in those parts, whiles hee was about the digging of a fence for his fish-pond, *corpus hominis integrum invenit quod nihil nisi myrrha erat*; hee discovered the whole bodie of a man made wholly of myrrh. *Agricola* likewise witnesseth that that hee had seene the representation of a man shaped by nature in silver, carrying as it were a childe upon his shoulders: Hee also mentioneth a stone found very deepe in the earth at *Salsfeld* in *Thuringe*, representing the breast, the backe and ribbes of a man. Neare *Harlem*, in the yeare 1583, was a rape-roote taken up counterfeiting the shape of a mans hand, so lively, that all the fingers and nayles thereof most distinctly appeared; And if the shapes of other living

*Pliny 36. 18.  
vide Agricolum  
de natura sossilium.*



living creatures as fishes and *Serpents* may by nature bee represented in stones, I see not but shee may aswell expresse the figure of men; now for the former of these at *Alderney* in *Glocestershire* standing 2 miles from the *Severne* upon the hils, to this day are found cockles, periwinkles and oysters of solid stone: which whither they have bin shellfish and living creatures, or else the sports of nature in her works, philosophers may perchance dispute, but can hardly determine.

At *Whitby* also in the north east-riding of *Yorkeshire* are found certaine stones fashioned like *Serpents* folded and wrapped round into a wreath; And at *Huntly* others at the roots of rocks, of diverse bignesse so artificially shaped round by nature in maner of a globe, as if they had bin so made by the *Turners* hand; in which if you breake them are found stonie *Serpents* enwrapped round like a wreath, but most of them headlesse; *Goropius Becanus* reporteth that here in *England* hee saw a stone taken out of the top of a mountaine, which in so lively a manner expressed a perch in his full portraiture as not the least tray was wanting to the perfection therof. Now if nature thus sport her self in the shapes of those Creatures, why may she not doe the like in framing the shapes of men.

Others there are who rather choose to ascribe these superlative prodigious shapes to *artificiall* or *supernaturall*, then to *naturall* and *ordinary* causes. For the former, it may be that either *great Princes* out of ambition and desire of honour in succeeding ages; or *cunning workemen* out of curiosity have framed and composed such peeces which posterity discovering might behold with *astonishment*; and the *infernall spirits* thereby to delude men, and the sooner to draw them from the knowledge and worship of the true *God* to *Idolatry* and *superstition*, have concurred with them herein, and yeeldeth them their assistance; who being able to raise wonderfull tempests in the aire, and stormes in the sea, I see not but they might bee as able to compose such frames under the earth; The wit and art of man may goe farre, but being assisted by the *Devills* helpe it produceth effects, almost incredible. That *insana substructio*, that huge monstrous peece of worke, knowne by the name of *Stone-benge* neare *Amesbury*, though it bee by the Ancients tearmed *Chorea Gigantum*, the *Gyants* daunce; yet shall I never thinke that it was performed by the strength of men; but rather by some sleights or *Engines* now unknowne, or by some *artificiall composition*, they being no naturall stones hewen out of the rocke, but artificially made of pure sand by some glewy and unctuous matter knit and incorporated together, as *Camden* seemes to conjecture; or whether *Merlin* (as the common saying is) brought them thither, reared and disposed them in that order by *Magicke* and the helpe of *Devills*, I will not take upon mee to determine: howsoever it were, it is doubtlesse a worke for admiration nothing inferiour to the greatest *Skeleton* or frame of bones that was ever yet discovered. And for *teeth*, I make no question but they may by meere art be made so lively to resemble the naturall teeth of men, that the wisest will hardly be able to distinguish the counterfeits from the *naturall*.

Lastly



Lastly others there are who sticke not to affirme that the bodies of such men were begotten by *Devils*, who that they have had carnall familiarity with women, is the consent of all *Antiquity*. *Creberrima fama est*, saith *S. Augustine*, *multique se expertos vel ab ijs qui experti essent, de quorum facie dubitandum non est, audisse confirmant, Sylvanos & Faunos, quos vulgo Incubos vocant, improbos saepe extitisse mulieribus, ac earum appetisse & peregisse concubitum, & quosdam Dæmones, quos Dufios Galli nuncupant hanc assidue immunditiam & tentare & efficere plures talesque asseverant, ut hoc negare impudentia videatur*. It is commonly reported and many affirme, that either themselves have found it by experience, or heard it from those of whose credit there was no doubt to be made, who had themselves experienced it, that *Satyres* and *Fayries*, whom they call *Incubi*, have beene often lewd with women, lusting after them, and satisfying their lusts with them: and that certaine *Devills*, whom the *Gaules* call *Dusij*, daily both attempt and performe the same filthinesse such & so many affirme, as to deny this were a point of impudence: nay there are yet many nations, saith *Vives* in his commentaries on that place, which count it an honour to derive their pedigree from *Devils*, who had the company of womē in the shape of men. Thus not a few of the *Ancients* imagined those *Gyants* mentioned in the sixth of *Genesis*, to have beene begotten, as the *Heathen* likewise for the most part derive their *Heroes* & mighty men from the like originall. And that the birthes of such monstrous mixture must needs bee monstrous, *Tostatus* truly observeth: *Talibus conceptibus robustissimi homines & procerissimi nasci solent*, of such conceptions are wont to be borne the strongest and tallest of men. And *Vallesius* having given the reason hereof at large, (which for feare of offending chaste eares, I list not heere to repeate) at last concludes, *Robusti ergo & grandes ut nascerentur, poterant ita Dæmones procurare*: Thus then the *Devills* might procure that mighty huge *Gyants* should be borne, whose both opinion and reasons herein are both approved and farther proved by *Delrio* in his *Magicall disquisitions*. The evidence hereof will yet farther appeare, if wee consider that where God was least knowne and the *Devill* most powerfully raigned, there impure Acts were most frequently practised, which is the reason, as I conceive, that among the *Hebrewes*, the chosen people of God, wee reade of no such matter: nay those *Gyants* wee finde mentioned in holy writ, were for the most part of other *Nations*. But since the incarnation of the *Sonne of God* our blessed *Saviour*, who came to dissolve the workes of the *Devill*, the delusions of these spirits have vanished as a mist before the *Sunne*: though their kingdome bee not at an end, yet is their malice much restrained and their power abated. Which *Plutarch* himselfe ingenuously confesseth in that excellent discourse of his, *Cur Oracula edi disierint*, why the *Oracles* ceased; and to this purpose relates a memorable story, which hee reports from the mouth of one *Epitherses*, sometimes his Schoole-master, that hee imbarcking for *Italy*, and being one evening becalmed before the *Paxe*, (two little *Ilands* that lie betweene *Corcyra* & *Leucadia*) they suddenly heard a voice from the shore, most of the passengers being yet awake, calling to one *Thamus* a *Pilot*, by birth

De Civ. Dei.  
15. c. 23.See Aquin. par.  
1. q. 51. ar. 3.  
ad Sextum. &  
Zaneh. de oper.  
Des. lib. 4. c. 60.  
in thesi. & Fran.  
cisc. Georgius  
tom. 6. prob. 32.  
c. 33.In 6. Gen. quæst.  
6.De sacra Philo.  
sophia. c. 8.

Lil. 2. c. 15.

1. Iohn. 3.



birth an *Egyptian*, who till the third call would not answer: then quoth the voyce, when thou art come to the *Palodes* proclaime it aloud, that the great *Pan* is dead: all in the ship that heard this were amazed, when drawing neere to the forsaide place, *Thamus* standing on the pup of the shippe, did utter what was formerly commaunded, forthwith there was heard a great lamentation, accompanied with groanes and schreeches: This comming to the knowledge of *Tiberius Caesar*, hee sent for *Thamus*, who avouched the truth thereof: And hereby was declared as wee may well conceive, the subjection of *Sathan* by the death of *Christ*: so that now hee had no longer power to abuse the illuminated world with his impostures. By this then appeares both the reason of such vast enormous bodies, as were in former times, and withall the Cause why they have ceased since in succeeding ages. To which we may adde, that if wee should ascribe these effects to *God* himselfe and his extraordinary power, for the manifestation of his greatnesse; yet as other miracles, so likewise these, are now growne out of date and use: hee manifesting himselfe to us in a cleerer manner, rather by the grations power of his word, then the miraculous greatnesse of his power; & so our Conclusion still remaines firme, that the stature of mankind is not generall impaired in regard of any such universall decay in the course of Nature as is pretended.

## S E C T. 4.

An answer to the argument drawne from the testimonies on behalfe of the adverse opinion.

THE second maine rubbe, which to many gives occasion of stumbling, and comes now to be removed, is the Authority of diverse grave writers, and those not onely of latter stampe, but such as have beene, and still are accounted Venerable aswell for learning as antiquity. Among which the most Eminent that I finde named by the adverse part, are *Gellius*, *Pliny*, *Juvenall*, *Virgill*, and *Homer*, and that I may neither wrong the Authours nor Vouchers; I will produce them speaking in their owne words. *Gellius* having alleaged the opinion of *Varro*, that the utmost point of mans growth in the course of nature is seven foote, and having stiled *Herodotus* a Fabler for saying the body of *Orestes* was seven cubits, presently addes, *Nisi si ut Homerus opinatus est, vastiora prolixioraque fuerint corpora omnium Antiquorum, & nunc quasi jam mundo senescente, rerum atque hominum decrementa sint*, Vnlesse as *Homer* thought, men were anciently bigger and taller, and now as if the world waxed old, there be a decrease both of things and men. But this *Nisi* of *Gellius* is too weake thereby to draw him to their side, specially considering what hee had said immediely before out of *Varro*. Which testimony of his prevailes somuch with *Peter Martyr*, that hee cannot yeeld any decrease since the flood, *si rogarer* (saith hee) *existimem corpora humana, quæ postea fuerunt ab ijs imminuta esse quæ ante diluvium producebantur, fortasse annuerem: sed quod à diluvio usque ad hanc nostram*

Lib. 3. cap. 10.

Laconum com.  
c. 12. e. l. 1.



*nostram aetatem perpetuo decrescant, id non facile concederem, verbis praesertim annotatis quae Aulus Gellius, 3. lib. scripsit, ubi ait modum adolescentis humani corporis esse septem pedum: quae mensura hodie quoque videtur esse statura procerioris. In Apochryphis tamen Esdrae legimus, lib. 4. ad finem 5. cap. ne quid dissimulem, & nunc minora esse corpora nostra, & indies imminuenda, quod natura semper magis effecta reddatur. Idemque ut paulo ante dixi Cyprianus videtur statuere. Sed quare non tam facile assentiar, causam attuli, quia de mensura quam Gellius definiuit, hodie nihil propemodum videam immutatum.* If I were demaunded whether I thinke that mens bodies since the flood are decreased in regard of those before the flood, happily I should grant it: but that since the flood downward to this our present age they should still decrease, that would I not easily yeeld, specially observing those words which *Aulus Gellius* hath in his third booke, where hee saith, that the measure of groweth in mans body, is to *seaven foote*, which at this day seemes to bee the height of those of the tallest stature; yet to conceale nothing, wee reade indeede in the fourth booke, and toward the end of the fifth chapter in the *Apocryphall Esdras*, that our bodies are lesse then they were; and that still they shall be lessened more and more, inasmuch as nature is every day weakned more then other, and the same opinion (as I said before) seemes to be approved by *Cyprian*; but why I cannot easily yeeld assent thereunto, I have given my reason, because I finde little or nothing abated of that measure which *Gellius* defined. *Plinies* words I must confesse are more round and resolute, *In plenum autem cuncto mortalium generi minorem staturam indies fieri, propemodum observatur; raroque patribus proceriores, consumente ubertatem seminum exustione, in cuius vices nunc vergat aevum*, which is thus rendred by *Philemon Holland*, Doctor in *Physicke*, whose Latine Copy differed it seemes somewhat from mine; or he added somewhat of his owne. This is observed for an undoubted truth, that generally all men come short of the full stature in times past, and decrease every day more then other, and seldome shall wee see the sonne taller then his father, for the ardent heate of the Elementary fire (whereunto the world inclineth already now toward the latter end, as sometimes it stood much upon the watery Element) devoureth and consumeth that plentifull humour and moisture of naturall seede that ingendreth all things, and this appeareth by these examples following.

Lib. 7 cap. 15.

And then having brought the example of *Orion*, and *Orestes*, he adds, *Iam vero ante annos prope mille, vates ille Homerus non cessavit minora corpora mortalium, quam prisca conqueri.* And verily that great and famous Poet *Homer*, who lived almost a thousand yeares agoe, complained and gave not over, that mens bodies were lesse of stature even then, then in old time.

But if I bee not mistaken, this assertion of *Plinies* directly crosseth himsele in the very entrance of his *Naturall History*, where hee thus be-  
*ginnes; Mundum, & hoc quod nomine alio caelum appellare libuit, cuius circum-*  
*flexu teguntur cuncta, numen esse credi par est, aeternum, immensum, neque ge-*  
*nitum, neque interiturum unquam.* The world, and this which by another name men have thought good to call *Heaven*, beleeve wee ought in all



reason to be a God without beginning and likewise *Endlesse*. If the world bee *Endlesse*, how doth it suffer a perpetuall decrease, and if it suffer any such decrease how is it *Endlesse*. Againe, holding a decrease in *stature*, I see not how he can well avoide a diminution likewise in *age* which notwithstanding in other places hee seemes to deny, or at leastwise having in sundry severall Chapters faire occasions offered, doth not maintaine, but rather chuseth to passe it over in silence, as being thereof somewhat doubtfull. Besides how the ardent heate of the *Elementary* fire should cause any such decay, I cannot for my part conceive, since that heat for any thing we finde is not increased since the first Creation, and this supposed decay is commonly attributed rather to a *deficiency* then an *excesse* of heat. But *Pliny* who held that the Sunne and Starres were nourished by an *Elementary* moisture, must of necessity upon that supposed, though false ground, likewise hold a sensible decay in the World, inasmuch as that moisture cannot possibly suffice those bodies for food. And thus we see how in this assertion he both plainly crosseth himself, and builds it upon a sandy foundation. He was doubtlesse an admirable Man in that which hee undertooke, the *Hystoricall* part of Nature: but whether he deserved the like commendation in that which we call the *Philosophicall* part thereof, I leave it to others to judge, and passe to the examination of the testimonies of the *Poets*. But before I descend to the particulars, it shall not be amisse a little to consider of the *Vanity* of their *fictiones* and *fables* about the *Gyants* which doubtlesse in part gave occasion to this *common Error* touching *Mans* and the *Worlds* decay, though I verily beleeeve that the *Poets* themselves had a *mysticall* meaning therein. They faigned them to be borne of the earth, to have a thousand hands, and snakes for haire, and to wage warre with the Gods.

*Terra feros partus, immania nostra, Gigantes,*

*Edidit, ausuros in Iovis ire domum.*

*Mille manus illis dedit & pro crinibus angues,*

*Atque ait, in magnos arma movere Deos.*

Gyants, wilde monsters, earth great mother bare,

Who durst assaile the sacred seat of Iove,

With thousand hands, and snakes instead of haire,

Arms, arm'd she charg'd them gainst the gods to move.

Which warre of the Gyants, *Cornelius Severus* thus elegantly describes:

*Tantavère nefas olim detrudere mundo*

*Sydera, captivique Iovis transferre Gigantes*

*Imperium, & victo leges imponere Cælo.*

The Gyants did advance their wicked hand

Against the starres to thrust them headlong downe,

And robbing Iove of his Imperiall crowne,

On conquer'd heavens to lay their proud command.

*vid. Fast.*

*Saturnal. lib. 1.  
cap. 20.*

But *Macrobius* his interpretation of this fable is worth the observing: *Gigantes autem quid aliud fuisse credendum est, quàm hominum quandam impiam gentem Deos negantem, & idè existimatam deos è cælesti sede pellere voluisse?* What other thing should we imagine those Gyants to have beene, but



but an impious race of men denying the Gods; and were therefore said to have attempted the chasing of them out of Heaven: Yet these fables no doubt infected the vulgar, as those of *Guy of Warwick*, *Bevis of Hampton*, *Corineus* and *Gog-Magog*, *Robin Hood* and little *Iohn*, *Amadis of Gaule*, *Pontagrue*, *Gargantua*, and the like have since done: And therefore *Plato* banished Poets from his Common-wealth; and *Moses*, (as *Philo* in his booke of *Gyants* witnesseth) both painting and the statuary Art, cosen Germans to Poetry, *Quod veritatem mendacijs vitient, credulis animis per oculos illudentes*, saith hee, because they corrupt the truth with lyes, and deceive credulous mindes by those representations which are presented to their eyes. Yet will we not deny them the favour to heare what they can say for themselves. Let *Iuvenall* then first speake.

*Saxa inclinatis per humum quasita lacertis  
Incipiunt torquere, domestica, seditione  
Tela, nec hunc lapidem quali se Turnus & Ajax;  
Et quo Tydides percussit pondere coxam  
Ænea, sed quam valeant emittere dextra,  
Illis dissimiles, & nostro tempore nata.  
Nam genus hoc vivo jam decreſcebat Homero,  
Terra malos homines nunc educat atque pusillos,  
Ergo Deus quicunque aspexit, ridet & odit.*

Satyr. 15.

Stooping for stones then (in brawles alway  
The readiest weapon) they commence their fray,  
Not that of *Turne* of *Ajax*, or whereby  
The sonne of *Tydeus* brake *Æneas* thigh,  
But such as hands unlike to theirs, and now  
Bred in our dayes well able are to throw.  
For even while *Homer* liv'd this race decreas'd,  
And mother earth hath ever since beene pleas'd  
Cowardly Dwarfes to breed: these deities  
That them behold, deride them and despise.

Now for as much as it is evident that *Iuvenall* herein followed *Virgil* and *Homer*, as will clearely appeare when wee come to the examining of their testimonies, I will likewise referre the answer hereunto, to that place. For *Virgil* then, he speaking of *Turnus* and his great strength, thus Poetizes.

*Saxum antiquum ingens campo qui forte jacebat,  
Limes agro positus, litem ut discerneret arvis,  
(Vix illum lecti bis sex cervice subirent,  
Qualia nunc hominum producit corpora tellus)  
Ille manu raptum valida torquebat in hostem.*

Æneid. 12.

A huge old stone, which then by chance lay in the field  
To bound out severall grounds, and quarrells to prevent,  
Scarce twelve choice men such as now mother earth doth yeeld,  
Could beare it on their necks, yet hee incontinent  
Caught it with puissant arme, and to his foe it sent.  
With which accords that in the first of his *Georgickes* touching the  
V 4 plowing



plowing up of the *Emathean* and *Emonean* fields, where many bloody battels had beene fought.

*Scilicet & tempus veniet cum finibus illis,  
Agricola incurvo terram molitus aratro,  
Exesa inveniet scabra rubigine pila.  
Aut gravibus rastris galeas pulsabit inanes,  
Grandiaque effossis mirabitur ossa sepulchris.*

The time will one day come when in those fields,  
The painfull husband plowing up his ground,  
Shall finde all fret and rust both pikes and shields,  
And empty helmes under his harrow found;  
Wondring at those great bones those graves doe yeeld.

But what credit shall wee give to *Virgil* in these things who tels us of *Enceladus*.

*Fessum quoties mutat latus intremere omnem  
Trinacriam. ---*

As oft as wearied he from side to side doth turne,  
*Trinacria* trembles.

And of *Titius*,

*--- Per tota novem cui jugera corpus  
Porrigitur.*

Whose bodie stretches to nine akers length.

And of *Poliphemus*.

*--- Graditurque per aquor*

*Iam medium, nec dum fluctus latera ardua tinxit.*

And now throughout the maine sea doth he wade,  
And yet the waves his sides durst not invade.

And besides, hee was doubtlesse herein, as in many other passages thorow the *Aeneids*, *Homers* ape, who thus brings in *Hector*,

*Hector autem rapiens lapidem portabat, qui portas  
Stetit ante, deorsum crassus, sed supernè  
Acutus erat, hunc neque duo viri è populo optimi  
Facile ad plaustrum è terra perducerent,  
Quales nunc sunt homines.*

*Hector* caught up a stone before the gate that lay,  
The upper pointed was, blunt was the nether part:  
Two of the better sort such as live now a day,  
Could scarce with all their force mount it into a cart.

To like purpose and very neare the same words is that which hee hath in another place of *Diomedes*, throwing a stone at *Aeneas*.

*Saxum accepit manu  
Tydides magni ponderis, quod non duo viri ferrent,  
Quales nunc homines sunt.*

Into his hands *Tydid*es tooke  
A stone of wondrous weight,  
Two men such as the world now yeelds  
To bear't have not the might.

From whence it is manifest that all the alledged *Authors* herein fol-  
lowed



lowed *Homer*, he being named by *Gellius*, *Pliny*, and *Iuvenall*, & so plainly imitated by *Virgill*, that we need not doubt from whom he borrowed it, rendring *Homers*,

*Quales nunc sunt homines---*

into

*Qualia nunc hominum producit corpora tellus;*

But herein hee exceeds *Homer* that he turnes two into twelve, more tolerably I confesse, because more *Poetically*, that a man may know it at the first blush to be but a *fiction*.

And as for *Homer* himselfe, the founder and spring-head of this opinion, as he was the Authour of many excellent inventions, so as it was truly written of him,

*Hic ille est cuius de gurgite sacro,*

*Combibit arcana vatum omnis turba furores.*

This is the man whose sacred streame hath served all the crew

Of Poets, thence they dranke their fill, thence their furies drew.

And therefore was hee painted vomiting, and the Poets round about licking up his vomit; yet as a ranke and battell soyle that abounds both in corne and weedes, so was hee likewise the fruitfull parent of many errours and fables which were afterward taken up and imbraced with like greedinesse as were his best and choicest inventions. Such is naturally our affection, that whom in great things wee mightily admire, in them we are not perswaded willingly that any thing should bee amisse:

The reason whereof is, for that *as dead flies putrisie the oyntment of the Apothecary: so a little folly him that is in estimation for wisdom.* And this

*Eccles. 1. 12.*

in every profession hath too much authorized the judgement of a few.

I will not stand to make a Catalogue of *Homers* mistakes and fictions,

which his admirers in succeeding ages have entertained as certaine

truthes. That fable of the *Pigmies* (because it hath some affinity with

our present matter) and their manner of fighting with *Cranes* shall suffice for all:

which many not onely *Poets* but great *Philosophers*, and among them

*Aristotle* himselfe relying upon his authority, have taken up

upon trust: whereas all the parts of the world being now in a manner

discovered, there is no such Countrey or people to bee found in it.

And though *Ezekiel* cap. 27. vers. 11. we reade according to the vulgar

*Latine*, *Pygmaei erant in turribus tuis*; yet I should choose rather to follow

the translation of *Iunius* in that place which is *Gammadei in turribus tuis*

*erant*; whereupon hee gives this note: *Qui Pygmaeos interpretantur, ni-*

*untur sola notatione vocis, quia Hebraea vox conjugata significat cubitum,*

*quasi cubitales dicas, ut interpretati sumus: Iud. 3. 16. sed quam bene conve-*

*niat ludicra haec interpretatio cum re militari, ipsi viderint. Nos Gammadeos*

*videm existimamus à cubito dictos esse, sed quia regio fuit Phoenicie cubitali*

*prope projecta in mare, quae postea devorata est à mari, Gammaden putamus*

*dictam, ut scribit Plinius. lib. 2. nat. histor. cap. 91.*

And for this particular opinion, it is not onely objected by *Goropius*,

but by *Magius* freely acknowledged, that *Homer*, by *Plutarches* compu-

tation, (who composed a treatise purposely of his life) living but one

hundred yeares or a little more after the *Trojan* warres, made such a

difference in mens strength and stature, as was altogether incredible

within



*Iliad.* 12.

within the compasse of so short a space : nay himselfe makes *Hectors* speare to be but *ten Cubits* long, the ordinary length they are at, even at this day : and brings *Telemachus Vlysses* his sonne thus speaking to his nurse *Euriclea*.

*Odys.* 19.

*Haudequidem quenquam longinquus sit licet hospes,  
Absque labore feram contingere Chænica nostram.*

No guest though come from farre I thee assure  
To touch my *Chænix* will I once endure.

*g. De Affe.*

From which *Budaus* inferres that even then a *Chanix* was the daily allowance for a man, as it was likewise many hundred yeares after *Homers* time among the *Gracians*. For conclusion, though ten persons be brought to give testimony in any cause, yet if the knowledge they have of the thing whereunto they come as witnesses, appeare to have growne from some one among them, and to have spread it selfe from hand to hand, they are all in force but as one testimony; and if it appeare that the fountaine, from which either immediately or mediately they all draw, bee corrupted, if the testimony of the first man upon whom they depend, prove invalide, then is this one upon the matter no testimony : which is in truth the case of the counter-witnesses produced in this businesse.

## S E C T. 5.

*Of the wonderfull strength of diverse in latter ages, not inferiour to those of former times.*

*Is diebus Cani-  
cul. Collog. 4.*

**B**Ut to grant that *Hector*, and *Ajax*, and *Diomedes*, and *Hercules*, and the like, exceeded in strength, yet can it not be denied, but some such have beene likewise recorded, in succeeding ages, as *C. Marius* by *Trebellius Pollio*, *Maximinus*, by *Capitolinus*, *Aurelian* by *Vopiscus*, *Scanderberg* by *Barlet*, *Galiot Berdesen* a Gentleman of *Catana*, by *Fazell*, *Tamerlane*, *Ziska*, and *Hunniades*, by others; *George le Feure* a learned *Germane* writes, that in his time in the ycare 1529 lived at *Misnia* in *Thuring*, one called *Nicholas Klunher*, *Provost* of the *Great Church*, that was so strong, as without *Cable* or *Pulley* or any other helpe he fetcht up out of a *Cellar* a pipe of wine, carried it out of doores, and laid it upon a cart. I have seene a man, saith *Mayolus* an *Italian* Bishop, in the towne of *Aste*, who in the presence of the *Marquesse* of *Pescara* handec a pillar of marble three foote long, and one foote in diameter, the which hee cast high in the aire, then received it againe in his armes then lasht it up againe, sometime after one fashion, sometime after another, as easily, as if hee had beene playing with a ball or some such littl thing. There was, saith the same *Authour*, at *Mantua*, one named *Rodamas*, a man of a little stature, but so strong that hee brake a *Cable* as bigge as a mans arme, as easily as it had beene a small twine thread mounted upon a horse, and leading another by the bridle, hee woul runne a full *Cariere*, and stop in the midst of his course, or when it liked him best. *Froissard* a man much esteemed for the truth and fide  
lit



lity of his history, reports that about two hundred yeares since, one *Ernando Burg a Spaniard*, and companion to the Earle of *Foix*, when as attending the Earle, he accompanied him to an higher roome, to which they ascended by twenty foure steps, the weather cold, and the fire not answerable, and withall espying out at the window certaine asses in the lower Court loaden with wood, hee goes downe thither, lifts up the greatest of them with his burthen on his shoulder, and carrying it to the roome from whence hee came, cast both as he found them into the fire together. *Lebelski a Polander* in his description of the things done at *Constantinople*, in the yeare 1582, at the circumcision of *Mahumet* the sonne of *Amurath* Emperour of the *Turkes*, writes that amongst many active men which there shewed their strength, one was most memorable, who for prooffe thereof lifted up a peece of wood that twelve men had much adoe to raise from the earth, and afterwards lying downe flat upon his backe, he bore upon his breast, a weighty stone, which tenne men had with much adoe rowled thither, making but a jest of it. Many are yet alive, saith *Camerarius*, that know how strong and mighty *George of Fronsberge*, Baron of *Mindleheim* of late memory was. There is a booke printed and published in the *German* tongue containing his memorable acts, and howbeit *Paulus Iovius* handleth him but roughly, as being an enemy to the *Pope*; yet extolleth he highly his wonderfull great force, being able by the acknowledgment of *Iovius* with the middle finger of his right hand to remove a very strong man out of his place, late hee never so fast: Hee stopp'd a horse suddenly, that ranne with a maine Carriere, by onely touching the bridle, and with his shoulder would hee easily shove a Canon whither hee listed. *Cardan* writes that himselfe saw one dauncing with two in his armes, two upon his shoulders, and one hanging about his necke. *Potocava a Polonian* and Captaine of the *Cosakes*, during the raigne of *Stephen Batore*, was so strong, as witnesseth *Leonclavius*, that hee would teare in peeces new horse-shoes, as it had beene paper. The history of the Netherlands reports, that the woman *Gyantesse* before mentioned was so strong, that shee would lift up in either hand a barrell full of *Hamborough* beere, and would easily carry more then eight men could.

*Meditat. Hist.*  
cap. 82.

*De subtilitate*  
lib. 11.

*In supplem. An-*  
*nal. Turcor.*

*Aventinus Hist.*  
*Romanus l. 4.*

Before these, but long since those ancient Heroes, was the *Gyant Aenother* borne in *Turgan*, a village in *Suevia*, who bore armes under *Charlemaigne*, he felled men as one would mow hay, and sometimes broached a great number of them upon his pike, and so carried them all upon his shoulder, as one would carry little birds spitted upon a sticke. *Hinc apparet* (saith *Camerarius*) *quod nostra aetas & natio tales viros produxerit quod fortitudine & robore cum veteribus conferre licet*. From hence it appears that our age and nation hath brought forth such men, as every way are matchable with the Ancients in activity and strength. Of latter dayes and here at home, Mr *Richard Carew* a worthy Gentleman in his survey of *Cornewall* assures us that one *John Bray* (well knowne to himself, as being his tenant) carryed upon his backe at one time by the space well neare of a But-length six bushels of wheaten meale, reckoning 15 gallons to the bushell, and the miller a lubber of 24 yeares age upon the



the whole: whereunto he addeth that *Iohn Roman* of the same shire, a short clownish grub would beare the whole carkasse of an Oxe, though he never tugged with it, when hee was a calfe, as *Milo* did. To these might bee added diverse other domesticall examples of latter times, save that such kinde of relations seeme as unsavory and incredible to the most part of Readers, as they are certaine, admirable and delightfull to the beholders.

It is most true that the great workes our noble Predecessours have left us, our *Cathedrall Churches*, our ruines of *Castles* and *Monasteries*, our *bridges*, our *high-ways*, and *Cause-ways*, and in forraine parts their *Arch*es, *Obeliskes*, *Pyramids*, *Vawtes*, *Labyrinths*, *Aqueducts*, *Theaters*, and *Amphitheaters* seeme to proclaime, as the greatnesse of their mindes, so likewise of their bodies: But I should rather ascribe this to their industry, their devotion, their charity, uniting their forces and purses in publique workes, and for the publique good, then to the bodily strength of particular men.

#### SECT. 6.

*Two doubts cleared, the first touching the strong physicke which the Ancients used, the second touching the great quantity of bloud which they are said usually to have drawne at the opening of a veine, together with a censure of Fredericus Lumnus touching the decrease of the number of our teeth.*

**A** Great doubt arises touching the little, but strong physicke which the Ancients used, and the great quantity of bloud which they usually drew at the opening of a vein: For the first of these, I should thinke that it rather argueth the strength of our bodies, who notwithstanding our disuse of exercise, and more frequent use of Physicke, and that many times from the hand of unskilfull Emperickes, wee ordinarily hold out as long as they did: And for the strength of their Physicke, let us heare *Goropius* a famous Physitian, and doubtlesse a very learned man, as his workes testifie, and his greatest adversaries cannot but confesse, *Dicunt olim medicamenta multo vehementiora data fuisse quam nunc hominum natura ferre possit.* They say that the Physicke which the Ancients administred was much stronger then the nature of man is now capable of; to which he replyes, *eos qui sic arbitrantur insigniter falli contendendo, ferunt enim corpora aquæ nunc helleborum atque olim eodem vel majori pondere, ut ipse in alijs & meipso sum expertus: Verum inscitia eorum quæ nihil medici habent præter titulum & vestem longam, & impudentem arrogantiam in causa est ut sic opinentur.* I am confident that those who thus thinke are notably deceived, in as much as our bodies can now as well endure the like or greater quantity of *Elleborum*, as I have made tryall in my selfe & others: But the ignorance of such as have indeed nothing in them of the Physitian but the bare title, a long gowne, and impudent arrogancie, is the cause that men so thinke. And with him herein plainly accords *Leonardus Giachinus* of the same profession, who ha-

ving



ving composed a Treatise purposely to shew what dammage arises to learning by preferring *Authority* before *reason*, makes this the title of his first Chapter, *Corpora nostra eadem ferre posse auxilia quibus Veteres usi sunt, idque cum ratione tum experimentia comprobari*: That our bodies now adayes may well enough suffer the same helps of Physicke which the Ancients used, and that this may be made evident as well by reason as experience. And I suppose skilfull Physitians will not deny, but that the Physicke of former times agrees with ours as in the receites, so for the *dosis* and quantity; and for them who hold a generall decay in the course of *Nature*, they are likewise forced to doe this. For if *plants*, and *drugges*, and *minerals*, decay in their vertue proportionably to the body of man, (as in the common opinion) then must it consequently follow, that the same quantity having a lesse vertue, may without danger and with good successe be administred to our bodies though inferiour in strength: *Roger Bacon* in his booke *de erroribus medicorum*, tells us, that the disposition of the heavens is changed every *Centenary* or thereabout; and consequently that all things growing from the earth change their complexions, as also doth the body of man; & thereupon inferres, that *eadem proportionales medicinarum non sunt semper continuanda, sed exigitur observantia certa secundum temporis dissensum*: The same proportions of medicines are not still to bee continued, but there is required a certain quantity according to the variation of time. Where, by the change of the disposition of the heavens, I cannot conceive that hee intends it alwayes for the worst, for so should he crosse himself in the same book, neither for any thing I know have we any certainty of any such change as he speakes of, but this I am sure of, that if together with the heavens, the plants change their tempers, and with the plants the body of man, then needs there no alteration in the proportion of medicines; in as much as what *art* should therein supply, *nature* her selfe prevents & performs: But for mine owne part holding a naturall decay in neither, upon that ground, as I conceive, may more safely bee warranted the continuance of the ancient proportions.

Now touching the *drawing of blood*, I know it is said that *Galen* usually drew *six pounds* at the opening of a veine, whereas we for the most part stoppe at *six ounces*, which is in truth a great difference if true, specially in so short a time, hee living three hundred yeares or thereabout since *Christ*: in as much as allowing for every pound twelve ounces, in reason should men in *Galen's* time bee ordinarily twelve times as strong as now they are; & their length answer in proportion to their strength: & then allowing the like proportionable decrease before *Galen* since the creation, we must conceive them in the beginning of the world to have beene mountaines rather then men, and measure them by miles, not by feete. For decision then of this point, wee must have recourse to *Galen* himselfe, who in that booke which hee purposely composed of *cures by letting of blood*, thus writes: *Memini quibusdam ad sex usque libras sanguinem detractum fuisse, ita ut febris extingueretur*. I remember that from some I have drawne six pounds of blood, which had ridde them of their fever: yet from others hee tooke but a *pound and a halfe*, or one pound;



De methodo  
medendi l. 9. c. 4.

Lib. 9. cap. 14.

pounds, and sometimes lesse, as he saw occasion: neither in old time, nor in these present times was the quantitie ever definite or certaine, but both then and now variable more or lesse according to strength, the disease, age, or other indications; and in pestilent fevers, his advise is, *ubi valida virtus subest, & aetas permittit, usque ad animæ defectum sanguinem mittere expedit*: where the strength and age of the patient will beare it, it will doe well to take blood even to a fainting or sounding; and such was the case (as by his owne words it appears) in which hee drew so great a quantity: Neither is this without example in our age; *Ambrose Paracelsus* French Surgeon, (and a man expert in his profession, as his bookes shew) reports, that hee drew from a patient of his in *four* dayes, twenty seven paillets, every pallet of *Paris* containing three ounces and more, so that hee drew from him about seven pounds, allowing twelve ounces to the pound, which was the account that *Galen* followed, as appears in his owne Treatise of weights and measures; and so continues it in use among Physicians and Apothecaries unto this day. *D<sup>r</sup> Deodate*, a French Physician living in *London*, as I have beene told by a noble friend of mine, who received it from his owne mouth, and doubted not (if it were desired) to get it under his hand, that at three severall times hee drew from a patient of his within the compasse of 24 houres, 21 ounces at a time, 63 in the whole; and yet the sicke partie from whom it was drawne thereupon recovered.

Since this page passed the presse, there came to mine hands a letter of Doctour *Deodates* to my much honoured friend *Sir Richard Anderson*, wherein under his hand hee avowes for the substance thereof, that relation which in that page is by mee reported of a memorable Phlebotomie made by him: the different circumstances are, that I in my booke speake of 63 ounces of blood drawne from the same man within the compasse of 24 houres, whereas hee in the letter mentions onely above 60 drawne within the compasse of three dayes: but by two other circumstances hee much helps my relation, the one that the partie from whom he drew it, was then of the age of 76 yeares, the other that hee survived the cure eight yeares; and that the whole businesse may the more lively appeare in its owne colour, I will hereunto annexe the letter it selfe, the rather for that I hold it to bee an evidence worth the preserving.

To the Right Worshipfull *Sir Richard Anderson*, Knight at Pendlly.

SIR,

**T**O satisfie your request (which shall ever bee to me a strict command) I send you in these few rude lines the particulars of that profuse and very feldome imitable (though in that particular subject beyond measure successfull) Phlebotomie. About 20 yeares agoe I had a house at Brainford by reason of my attendance upon Prince Henry and the now Queene of Bohemia. It hapned that a poore neighbour of mine, a Gardener by his trade, called Goodman Trestram, an old man of 76 yeares, of a ruddie and sanguine complexion fell into a most violent inflammation of the lunges, accompanied with  
a terrible



a terrible fever, shortnesse of breath, stitch of both his sides, a dry cough, and an unquenchable thirst. He requiring my assistance, I did visite him; and finding him in a most desperate case, I resolved to trie what helpe our arte could afford to rescue him from the claws of death, and after a serious consideration, I concluded that a plentiful Phlebotomie was the only though very doubtfull remedy of his disease, being thereunto encouraged by the extraordinary fulnesse and strength of his pulse. Whereupon I sent for a Surgion, and caused him to let him bloud about 20 ounces: by which evacuation (his bloud being extreame-ly purified) he felt a great reliefe for two or three houres: but afterwards all his accidents came upon him againe as instant as before: so that the next morning I was induced to repeate the bleeding in the same quantitie as before, whereby hee found a great but a momentarie ease, for his paines and all other accidents did, recurrere pari quâ prius violentia. The third day visiting him I was amazed to see the unquenchableness of this fire: yet remembering Hippocrates precepts in these cases, mittendum esse sanguinem ad coloris mutationem. I ventured the third Phlebotomie as copious as the two former: towards the latter end of the which, he said he found an extraordinary lightnes and ease more then he had felt before: whereupon I stopped, and after his bloud was settled I found 9 sawcers very bad, but the last faire and pure, which gave me hope of his recovery, which hapned within few dayes after: and hee survived this cure 8 yeares. Thus to obey you I have scribed this paper, wherein I wish I might lively represent unto you both my inward apprehension of your transcendent favours to me and mine, as also my fervent desire to witnesse my selfe in all occasions

Your inviolably devoted  
servant

30 Sept. 1629.

Theod. Deodat.

The whole quantiry of bloud in a mans body of a sound constitution and middle stature, was anciently estimated, and so is still at about three gallons: and I have beene informed by a Doctour of Physicke of D. C. good credit and eminent place in this University, that a patient of his had bled a gallon at nose in one day, and hath done well after it; which (as I conceive) could not bee so little as seven or eight pounds, allowing somewhat lesse then a pound to a pinte, in as much as I have found a pinte of water to weigh sixteene ounces. Now what Nature hath done with tollerance of life, Art may come neare unto upon just cause without danger. And if any desire to bee farther informed in this point, he need goe no farther then the Medicinall observations of Iohannes Shenkius, de capite Humano, where to his 333 observation hee prefixes this title, Prodigiosa narium haemorrhagia, quae interdum 18, interdum 20, nonnunquam etiam 40 sanguinis libra profluxere. Prodigious bleeding at the nose, in which sometimes 18, sometimes 20, sometimes 40 pounds of bloud have issued. The Authours from whom he borroweth his observations, are Mathews de Gradi, in his commentaries upon the 35 chapter of Rasis ad Almanf. Brasavolus comment. ad Aphor. 32. lib. 5. Donatus lib. de variolis & morbillis cap. 23. Lusitanus Curat. 100. Cent. 2. And



againe *Curat. 60. Cent. 7.* his instances are of a Nunne, who voided by diverse passages 18 pounds of bloud, of *Diana* a noble Lady of *Est*, who bled onely at the nostrils 18 pounds, besides what was spilt on the ground; upon her apparell, in napkins and other linnens about her; of one *Andrew*, Cooke to *Fredericke Gonzaga* Cardinall, who bled in one day and two nights 20 pounds. And lastly of a young man named *Berdauid*, from whom there issued at the nose within the space of six dayes 40 pounds, and yet they all lived after it, and did well, *penes Authores fides esto*. For conclusion, *Pasquier* in an Epistle of his to *Turnebus*, Counsellour in the Court Parliament of *Paris* hath observed, that letting of bloud is more frequent now then in former times: and withall that whereas the ancients held the opening of a veine before 14 to be rather hurtfull then helpfull, it is now usually practised by the Physitians of this age, and that nation, and that with good successe.

## S E C T. 7.

*That the custome of women in delivering over their children to be nursed by others is not new; together with a censure of Fredericus Lumnus touching the supposititious decrease of the number of the teeth.*

I Have often heard not onely the vulgar but learned and wise men grievously complayning, that in these later ages of the world the greatest part of women put forth their children to be nursed by others; and that from thence the frequent infirmities of mens bodies now adayes arise, together with a shortning of their age, and a diminution in their stature. Neither indeed can it well bee denied, but that the milke which the infant draweth, is very forcible to the constitution and temper of the bodie, either for the weakning or better enabling thereof; as may appeare by those verses of *Virgill*.

*Aeneid. 3.*

*Nec te diva parens generis nec Dardanus Author  
Perfide, sed duris genuit te cautibus horrens  
Caucasus, Hyrcanaeque admoerunt ubera Tygres.*

*Hemist. 1. in  
Psalm 50.*

*Hemist. 83. in  
Math.*

*Lib. 11. Epist. 31.*

But that this custome, that mothers should as it were abandon their children, that they might be nourished from the breasts of others lately crept into the world, this I deny, fithence *S. Chrysostome* long agoe complained of this negligence, or curiosity, or pride, or luxurie, even of the Christian women of his time, *Considera* (saith he) *pauperem incentiva pietatis habere fulcimina, in divitibus autem multam superbiam; apud pauperes uxor & ancilla & ministra est, & procreat liberos & ipsa mater & nutrix est, apud divites autem non est ita, sed cum generaverit filium statim cum tradit foris & pietatis insignia abscindit superbia, erubescit fieri nutrix quae facta est mater*: And in another place, *Matres multae sunt quae post partus dolores filios alijs tradunt nutricibus, hoc autem ipse non est passus, sed nos proprio sanguine pascit*. This was likewise the complaint of *S. Gregory* in his time, *Prava autem in conjugatorum moribus consuetudo surrexit, & mulieres filios quos gignunt nutrire contemnant, eosque alijs mulieribus ad nutriendum tradant, quod videlicet ex sola causa incontinentiae videtur inventum*.

The



The same likewise appeares from the dissertation of *Phavorinus* the *Philosopher*, recorded by *Gellius*, in which he endeavoureth to perswade a noble woman not to put her children abroad to nursing, but to feed them with her owne milke; which discourse, because it is both peircing and elegant, & doth not only shew the vicious customes of those times in this point, but withall containes weighty reasons for the stirring up of mothers, even of noble birth, that they should nourish their children with their owne milke, and cherish them in their owne armes; I will relate it in the words of *Gellius* himselfe, being both an eye and an eare-witnesse: It was once told *Phavorinus* the *Philosopher* in my presence, that the wife of an auditor and schollar of his was lately brought a bed with a sonne. Let us goe faith hee, both to visite the mother in child-bed, and to congratulate the father; for he was by place a Senatour of a more noble family. Wee goe together, and having followed him to the house, we entred with him. Then having embraced and congratulated the *Senatour* he sits downe, and having enquired the time and tediousnesse of the young womans travell, hee perceived that shee being wearied with her labour and watching was asleepe; whereupon he enters into longer discourse. And I nothing doubt faith he, but she will nurse her sonne with her owne milke; but when the mother of the young woman said, that shee was to be pardoned for that, and nurses were to be gotten for the child, least the painefull office of nursing should adde to the paines she had endured in child-bearing; I pray you woman, faith he, let her be the whole & sole mother of her sonne; for what is this unnaturall and imperfect & halfe kinde of mother, to have brought forth a childe, and to cast it away from her? with her bloud to have nourished in her wombe I know not what, which she saw not: and now not to nourish with her milke that which she sees to be a man, and imploring the duties of a mother? And do you also thinke, faith he, that Nature hath given women their swelling paps as so many more beautifull warts, not for the nourishing of children, but for the adorning of the breast? for so (which indeed is farre from you) many prodigious women endeavour to dry and damme up that most sacred fountaine of the body and feeder of mankind, and endanger their children with contrary and corrupt milke, as if it would dispoile them of the ensignes of beauty: Which indeed they doe with the same folly, as that whereby they use certaine counterfeit sleights to abortiate the fruit conceived in the body, that the smoothnes of their belly bee not wrinkled, and enfeebled with the weight of the burthen and the labour of childbirth. Which thing, deserving all hate and detestation, that a man in his very originall, whiles hee is framed, whiles he is enlived, should be put to death under the very hands, and in the shop of nature: doth not much differ from this, that a child now perfect and borne should bee deprived of the nourishment of that bloud which is proper to him, and begotten with him. But it is no matter (for so 'tis said) if the childe bee nourished and lives, by whose milke it bee done: why then doth hee who so sayes, if hee bee so dull in understanding the sense of nature, not also thinke that it matters not in whose body, in



whose bloud a man bee made and nourished. Is it not the same bloud which is now in the breasts that was before in the wombe, though by reason of much spirit and heate it be turned white? Is not also the art of Nature evident in this, that after the bloud that artificer hath in his inner roomes framed the whole body of man, the time of birth drawing on, it brings forth it selfe into the upper parts, and is at hand to cherish the beginnings of life and light, and offers to the newly borne a knowne and familiar diet. Wherefore it is not vainely thought, that as the vertue and nature of the seede is prevalent to the framing of likeness in body and minde: so the disposition and propertie of the milke prevailes much in the same matter. Nor is that observed onely in men, but also in beasts: for if *Kids* should bee fed with the milke of *Sheepe*, or *Lambes* with the milke of *Goates*, it is manifest that for the most part that there will bee a harder wooll on the one, and a softer haire on the other. In trees likewise and fruites, the water and soyle which feede them have a greater force and power to diminish or improve their naturall disposition, then the seed it selfe which bred them, and you may often observe that a faire and flourishing tree, being transplanted into another place, by reason of the juyce of a worse soyle hath dyed away. What then (with a mischief) is the reason that you will taint the nobility of the childe now borne, and his body & minde kindly begun with his imbred originalls, by the borrowed and base nourishment of anothers milke, especially if shee whom you entertaine to give it milke bee either a slave, or slavish, and (as is usuall) of a forraigne and barbarous nation; if shee be wicked, if deformed, if dishonest or sottish: for oftentimes without difference, whosoever at that time gives milke shee is taken. Shall wee then suffer this our infant to be infected with a pernicious contagion? and to draw a spirit into his body and minde, from a most naughty body and minde? This indeede is the very thing wee so wonder at, that many children borne of chaste women, doe neither resemble their parents in body or minde.

And moreover, this may not be neglected and sleighted, that those who forsake and banish their children from their owne breasts, giving them to be nursed by others, do cut asunder, at leastwise doe weaken & weare out that tie and bond wherewith nature hath knit parents and children together; for when the infant is removed from the mothers eye, that fervor of motherly affection doth by degrees abate, & taking no care for her child, it growes cold, and a son thus left to be nursed by another, is almost as much forgotten as if he had bin lost by death. Also the affection of the infant it selfe is taken up with her alone by whom he is nourished, so that (as we se in those who are exposed) it little affects or regards the mother that begat it: And therefore the Elements of native piety being thus razed and blotted out, the love which children thus brought up, seeme to beare to their father & mother, is not for the most part naturall, but civill and supposed. These things I heard *Phavorinus* deliver in the *Greeke* tongue; whose sentences, as far as I could remember, for the commo good I have here related, but the flowres & flowing plenty of his words can hardly bee expressed by the *Latine* eloquence, at no hand by my simplenes.

Since



Since the writing hereof, I met with one *Iohannes Fredericus Lumnius*, a *Netherlander*, de extremo Dei iudicio & Indorum vocatione, who lib 2. cap 19. endeavouring to prove the vicinity of the last judgement by the worlds decay, makes this maine argument thereof: *Constat* (saith hee) *illos qui supra annos viginti prodierunt in lucem non pauciores habuisse dentes quam 32, cum jam in eis qui infra decennium nati sunt non nisi 20 aut 24 inveniantur*. A bold assertion of a grave Diuine that mankinde should so speedily decrease as in the cōpasse of tenne yeares to loose 12 or 8 teeth of 32; and his booke being printed in the yeare 1567, had the like measure of decay gonne on in proportion since that time, no man long before this day should have had a tooth left in his head to chew his meate. But I wonder he durst publish that to the world which daily experience and the writings of moderne *Anatomists* so evidently convince of falshood; and in truth I thinke there cannot lightly a better argument bee brought for the confirmation of the contrary opinion against himselfe in that point, inasmuch as according to *Hippocrates*, *longevi plurimos dentes habent*; and *Aristotle*, *quibus pauciores & rariores hi brevioris sunt vite*: so that the full number being a signe of longevity, and that of naturall strength, if it appeare (as undoubtedly it doth) that men now adaies have ordinarily the same number of teeth which anciently they had; then must it consequently follow, that likewise ordinarily they are as strong and long-lived as anciently they were: yet herein are we beholding to the same *Author* that what he takes from the age & strength of men, hee addes to their witts: *sed quod humanorum corporum desedit conditionibus, hoc ingenijs accedit, quod de membrorum robore perit; hoc accumulatur intellectus acumine & sagacitate*. That which is lost in the strength of there bodies, is supplied in the quicknesse and sharpnesse of there intellectuall powers.

## S E C T. 8.

A third doubt cleared touching the length of the Duodenum or first gut, as also of the severall opinions of *Iacobus Capellus*, and *Iohannes Temporarius*, touching the decrease of humane strength and stature.

**A** Nother doubt tending to the same end, I received from an other Doctour of *Physicke* of speciall note, & of mine ancient acquaintance, well knowne in *London* for his sufficiencie in his professiō, and from him likewise I must acknowledge the best part of the answer which I shall frame thereunto. The objectiō, because, of any I have met with, it is most fully opened & seriously urged by *Archangelus Piccolhornius* in his *Anatomicall Lectures*, I will expresse in his words, where speaking of the first gut, he thus goes on, *Dicitur etiam Græcis dodecadactylos, nō duodenum, quod duodecem digitos longum illis temporibus videretur: nam his nostris temporibus vix 9 digitorum apices æquat, fortasse quod hanc nostr. ætate homines minores, illis sæculis grandiores essent, idcirco longiora membra proportionē respondentia. Dicitur quoq; pyloros, id est janitor portonarius, translato nomine inferioris orificij ventriculi ad superiorem duodeni par-* Lib. 2. lect. 114



*tem quæ ex eo proximè enascitur.* It is called of the *Grecians* *dodecadactylos*, and of us *duodenum*, because it seemes in those times to have beene 12 inches long, whereas in this age it hardly equals the toppes of nine fingers, perchance because now adayes men being lesse, and then bigger, they had likewise bigger parts of the body answerable thereunto. It is also called *pyloros* or the *porter*, which name is borrowed from the nether orifice of the stomake, and applyed to the higher part of the *duodenum* which groweth out of it; Thus he. Where what he means by the *apices* or toppes of nine fingers, I doe not well apprehend, but *Riolanus* I am sure in his 2 booke and 12 Chapter of his *Anthropographia* tells us plainly that *ab Herophylo duodenum dicitur quoniam olim duodecem transversos digitos longum erat, ubi hodie vix quatuor digitos aequat.* It was by *Herophilus* called *duodenum* because anciently it was 12 inches long, whereas now it is scarce full foure. How long since this *Herophilus* lived I cannot certainly determine, nor well conjecture, his name I finde not in *Gesners Bibliotheca*, indeede *Tertullian* in his booke *de anima* mentioneth him, and so doth *Pliny*, by which it appeares that he lived before them; but how long it appeares not; suppose it to bee 5, 6, or 8 hundred yeares (which is as much as in reason can well bee demanded) and upon that supposition allow him to have lived two thousand yeares agoe, which being granted, and withall that all the other parts of mans body are decayed proportionably to the *duodenum*, (which *Piccolomini* himselfe confesseth, and thereof I thinke no wise or learned man will once offer to make any doubt) this I say being granted, it must of necessity follow that in the space of 2000 yeares, two thirds of humane stature are lost, for that is the proportion of 4 to 12; so as if men now bee five foote high, they were then 15, and 2000 yeares before that againe (if wee shall allow the like proportion of decrease to the like space of time) 45 foot high, and so upward, which how unreasonable it is to affirme or conceive, I leave to the Authors and Patrons of that fancie to imagine. Again I would willingly know whether in *Herophilus* time the *inch* were the same with ours or no, if so, then belike there is no such notorious diminution in stature as from him is collected, and if it be varied according to the diminution of stature, then should our *duodenum* be aswell 12 of our inches now, as was their *duodenum* 12 of their inches then, for to say that theirs was 12 of their inches & ours but 4 of our inches, is both an irregular comparison, & a matter altogether incredible. And I wonder that *Gallen* or *Hippocrates*, or some other of those ancient Physitians had not found the variation thereof in their time in regard of former ages, aswell as wee in ours in regard of theirs; or that finding it, they have left no record or mention of so notable an observation in any of their writings, which me thinks is a strong presumption that indeede either in their practise or reading they observed no such matter. But to make a plaine and full answer to this objection, we neede go no farther then that of *Riolanus* immediately annexed to the passage before alleadged. *Nec mensuram antiquam deprehendes nisi graciliorem & angustiore ventriculi partem à fundo infernè exorrem, usque ad anfractuum principium addideris, quam sæpè 12. digitos æquare vidi.*



*vidi.* Neither shall you finde the ancient measure, unlesse you adde to the *duodenum* the lower and narrower part of the stomacke, and extend it to that place where the guts begin their pleats and windings, and this have I often seene to equall 12 inches: out of which words I make mine answer thus, that if we take *duodenum* strictly, only for so much as is from the lowest orifice of the stomake to the winding guts, then I say it is scantly *four inches* long, but if we take in that thinner part and end of the ventricle which the *Greekes* call *pyloros*, and the *Latines* from thence *janitor* or *portonarius* the porter, then by *Riolans* observation it hath, and no doubt may be found fully as long as the ancient measure. Now that the *pyloros* hath beene by ancient Writers taken into the *duodenum*, and accounted as one with it, not only *Riolan* in the place before alleadged, and *Laurentius lib. 6. cap. 13.* but *Piccolhomini* himselfe confelleth in the latter part of the passage already quoted, and *Leonardus Fuchsius* in the third booke and 1 chapter of his *Paradoxes* brings to that purpose, *Celsus lib. 4. cap. 1.* *Avicen sen. 6. can 3. tract. 1. cap. 1.* *Valesius 4. 22.* *Iohannes Matthaeus de Gradi* in his *Commentaries* upon the ninth booke of *Razis cap. 11:* and lastly *Alexander Benedictus* in his second booke of *Anatomie* chap. 8. and though he there make *Galen* to speake in a different language, yet are *Riolan* and others of another opinion therein.

Whiles this part was even upon going to the Presse, there came to mine hands two bookes written by two learned *Frenchmen*, *Iacobus Capellus* and *Iohannes Temporarius*, the one intituled *de mensuris*, the other *Chronologicae demonstrationes*, in both which the point in hand is touched to the quicke: The former, *Capellus* I meane, in his very preface sharpe-ly censures the Poets, *Homer*, & *Virgill*, & *Iuvenall* for their *hyperbolicall amplifications*, in speaking of the enormous stature of the Ancients, and so doth he *Pliny*, *Solinus*, *S. Augustine*, and *Ludovicus Vives* for following them therein; and then alleadging that passage of *Iulius Scaligers*, where he affirms that the *Samogithians*, a people seated betwixt *Prussia* & *Livonia*, by turnes beget *dwarfses* & *giants*; hee grantes that this *variety*, though not in that degree, yet in some sort may be observed in all *nations*: yet this man after all this flourish tells us, that it cannot bee but some kinde of truth there should be in those complaints of the Poets, & that the world waxes old, though not in *post-hast* as they would have it: yet *sensim* & *sine sensu*, as he termes it, soft and faire, by degrees insensible. The only reason hee buildes upon being this, that the *Measures* of all Nations being proportioned as hee imagineth to their *statures*, and withall that as the Nations rise in *antiquity* one above another, so doe their *measures*: from whence he inferres, that as the *measures* of the Ancients were longer, so were likewise their *statures*. Wherein he manifestly crosseth both himselfe, and as many as I have read of that subject, either occasionally or of set purpose: for himselfe he freely acknowledgeth in another place of the same discourse, that both the present *Parisian* foote in *France* and the *Picen* in *Italy* are bigger then the Ancient *Romane*, for the latter of which, he both vouches and well approves the testimony of *Cardan de subtil: lib. 11: Adiacor antho-*



*ritate scribentium olim de re militari qui tyronum mediocrem magnitudinem quinque pedum esse statuerunt, ut quarta parte pes antiquus mensura pedis nostri minor sit.* I am induced by the authority of those who writing of military matters, set downe five foote for the ordinary stature of a common souldier, to beleieve that the ancient foote was by measure a quarter lesse then ours. Againe himselfe confesseth (neither without manifest folly can it bee denied) that some nations in regard of their Clymate much exceed others in stature, as for the most part do the *Westerne*, the *Easterne*; & the *Northerne*, the *Southerne*; so as if his comparison had beene made betwixt the *ancient* and *moderne* measures of the same nation, it might well have carried at leastwise some semblance of truth, but to make it betwixt different nations though in different ages as he doth, carries with it in my judgment no colour at all: Lastly, he holds not the like decrease in *age*, & *wits*, & *manners*, that he doth in *stature*, nor in the *heavens*, the *earth*, the *beasts*, the *plants*, that he doth in *men*, which though it stand with his purpose; yet how it can stand with the *course* of *nature*, for mine owne part I cannot imagine, as neither can I conceive how there should bee any such *alternatve vicissitude* of stature in all nations as hee holds, and yet withall an universall and perpetuall decrease: all which himselfe it seemes foreseeing modestly, concludes the point: *Nos igitur hac ea potius mente in medium adduximus, ut hac verè nobilis questio ab eruditis viris luculentius & accuratius pertractetur, quam quod veluti de inventa veritate gloriemur & nobis ipsi suffensimus.* We then have produced these thinges to this purpose, that this question truly noble, may by learned men bee more clearly and exactly handled, nor that I would glory in the finding out of a truth, or as if I were only pleased with mine owne conceite. Now for *Iohannes Temporarius* hee doth not mince the matter as *Capellus*, but in his *Chronologicall demonstrations Anno mundi 410*, and fourth Chapter, strikes downe right blowes, telling us roundly and plainly that *nothing is altered in the stature of man since the Creation*, & that *eadem est hominum & primi seculi & insectorum magnitudo*, that the stature of the men of the first age and those which afterward ensued is the same: and that as there were *Gyants* then, so have there since beene in *all ages* downward, and some every way as tall, if not taller then they: and afterward discoursing of the *Arke* and the capability thereof out of *Buteo* (though indeed hee name him not) hee makes *Moses* his *cubit* to bee the same with ours, and the *beasts* then to be of the same bignesse as now they are, & to spend no more *quantity* of *foode* then now they doe; herein likewise treading in *Buteo* his steps, though in some other things touching the *fabricke* of the *Arke* hee dissent from him.



## S E C T. 9.

*Another rubbe removed, taken from the impurity of the seede, contracted by the succession of propagation, as also touching some late memorable examples of parents famously fertile, in the lineage issuing from their bodies, beyond any examples in that kinde in former ages.*

THE last, but in the opinion of many not the least rubbe to bee removed, is drawne from the *impurity* of the seede, contracted by the succession of *propagation*, from whence there must needes in reason succede, as a diminution in the continuance and duration, so likewise an impairing both in the strength and stature of *mankinde*. This argument I finde thus expressed in a treatise published in Mr *Cuffs* name, and intituled, *The difference of the ages of mans life; As is nutrition, faith he, to the particular, so is generation to the species, in the case of their continuance and preservation: Wherefore as by the nourishment wee take for our naturall moisture, there being supplied not so pure humidity as was lost, the particulars decaying by little and little, are at last cleane consumed: so by procreation, (the maintenance of our species) the purity of our complexion being by degrees & time diminished, at length there followes even of necessity an absolute corruption: but for answer hereunto, though it be granted that generation be as requisite to the continuance of the species, as is nutrition for the preservation of the particular, & withall that our foode doth not so kindly and fully supply our radicall moisture, which is daily wasted by our vitall heate feeding upon, it whence finally ensueth the Individualls extinguishing: Yet that every Individuall should necessarily yeeld weaker and worser seede for the propagation of the species then it selfe was generated of, that I constantly beleieve can never be proved: Nay the contrary thereunto is manifested by daily experience, in as much as we often see feeble and sickely parents to beget strong & healthy, short to beget tall, & such as have dyed young, long lived children: And undoubtedly if this were so indeede as is pretended, *mankinde* had long since bin utterly extinguished, and with it had this controversie bin at an end, and not only *mankinde*, but the severall kindes of fowles, and fishes, and beasts, & plants, since they are all maintained by their seed as man is, whose decay notwithstanding is questioned but by few.*

Before I conclude this discourse touching the comparison of the strength of the *Ancients* with ours, it shall not be amisse to remember a *moderne* example or two of *Parents* famously fertile in the lineage issued from their bodies, such as I doe not remember any where to bee paralleled by antiquity. *Aventinus* reports of *Babo Earle of Abensperg* who by 2 wives had 32 sonnes and 8 daughters whom hee brought up in an honourable fashion leaving them all living at his death. This man being commanded by the *Emperour Hen. 2.* to wayte on him in hunting and to bring few servants with him; hee taking the occasion to recommend his family to so great a *Prince*, brings all his sonnes with him being growne

*Annal. Bojor.  
lib. 5.*



growne up to mans estate and being all proper personages. With this troope hee presents himselfe to the *Emperour* who wondring at him & muttering at the multitude hee brought with him, *Babo* thus bespeaks him; Most sacred *Cæsar*, I am come only with one servant, the rest most excellent *Prince*, are your servants my sonnes, whome here I present to your Majesty and freely bestow upon you, as an ornament in peace, and in warre a safeguard, I have trained them up with great care, as becomes their noble birth: they are towardly young men, & I trust in God they will shew themselves worthy of your service and profitable to the state. This present was to the *Emperour* most acceptable, admitting them all to the kissing of his hand hee afterwards advanced them to offices, and enriched them with land; from whose issue good Authors write that many noble families in *Germany* are descended.

Mr *Camden* assures us that not long since in *Richmondshire*, *Sr Christopher Medcalse* being high Sheriffe of that County, came to the *Affises* then held at *Yorke* wayted on with 300 horsemen of his owne name and kinred, and all attyred in a suiteable manner. In the memory of our Fathers, saith *Vives* in his commentary upon the eight chapter of the fifteenth booke of the *City of God*, there was seene a village in *Spaine* of about an hundred houses, whereof all the inhabitants were issued from one certaine old man who then lived, when as that village was so peopled, so as the name of propinquity how the youngest of the children should call him could not be given: *Lingua enim nostra supra Abavum non ascendit*: For our language, saith hee meaning the *Spanish*, affords not a name above the great Grandfathers father. Likewise in *S. Innocents Church-yard*, in the city of *Paris*, is to bee seene the Epitaph of *Tolland Bailly*, widow to Mr *Dennis Capell*, a Proctour at the *Chastellet*, which doth shew that she had lived eighty foure yeares, and might have seene 288 of her children and childrens children; shee died the 17 of *Aprill* 1514. Now imagine saith *Pasquier*, how much shee had beene troubled to call them by a proper denomination that were distant from her in the fourth and fifth degree. *Theodore Zwinger* a Physitian of *Basill*, in the third volume of the *Theatre of mans life*, recites a noble Lady, of the family of the *Dalburgs*, who saw of her race even to the sixth degree, whereof the *Germans* have made this distich.

*Mater ait nata dic nata filia, natam*

*Vt moneat nata plangere filiulam.*

That is to say, The mother said to her daughter, daughter bid thy daughter tell her daughter that her daughters daughter cries. To which forraine examples, one, and that most remakeable, may bee added of our owne Countrey. In *Markeshall Church* in *Essex* on Mr *Honywoods* tombe is this inscription. Heere lieth the body of *Marie Waters*, the daughter and Coheire of *Robert Waters* of *Lenham* in *Kent* Esquire, wife of *Robert Honymood* of *Charing* in *Kent* Esquier, her only husband; who had at her decease lawfully descended from her 367 children, 16 of her owne body, 114 grand-children, 228 in the third generation



generation, and nine in the fourth; shee lived a most pious life, and in a Christian manner died, heere at Markeshall, in the 93 yeare of her age, and in the 44 of her widdowhood. 11<sup>th</sup> of may. 1620.

The more I wonder at *Pliny* that he should report it as a wonder and worthy the *Cronicle*, that *Chrispinus Hilarus pralata pompa*, with open ostentation sacrificed in the *Capitoll*, 74 of his children and childrens children, attending on him. Now some others there are as namely *Huartes* the author of the *Tryall of wits*, who would beare us in hand that more twinns and male children were borne in the first age of the world then now there are; whereas the contrary by evidence of scripture doth rather appeare: neither can I call to minde any example in all antiquity parallel to that of a woman buried in the Church at *Dunstable*, who (as her *epitaph* testifies) bore at three severall times, 3 children at a birth, and five at a birth two other times. And so I passe from the consideration and comparison of the stature and strength of mens bodies, to that of their mindes, consisting in the more noble faculties of the reasonable soule, and the beautifull effects thereof.

## CHAP. 6.

Contayning a discourse in generall; that there is no such universall and perpetuall decay in the powers of the minde, or in the Arts and Sciences as is pretended.

## SECT. 1.

The excellency of the Ancients in the powers of the minde, compared with those of the present, as also their helps and hinderances in matter of learning, ballanced.

Since it is a received conclusion of the choicest, both *Divines* & *Philosophers*, that the reasonable soule of man is not conveyed unto him from his Parents, but infused immediatly by the hand of the Creator, & withall, that the soules of all men at their first Creation & infusion, are equall & perfect alike, endued with the same essence & abilities; it must needs bee, that the inequality & disparity of actions, which they produce, arise from the diverse temper of the matter which they informe, and by which, as by an instrument they worke. Now the matter being tempered by the disposition of the bodies of our parents, the influence of the heaven, the quality of the elements, diet, exercise, and the like; it remaines, that as there is a variety & vicissitude of these in regard of goodnes, so is there likewise in the temper of the matter whereof we consist, and the actions which by it our soules produce: Yea where both the agents and instruments are alike, yet by the diversity of education or industry, their workes are many times infinitely diversified.

The principall faculties of the soule, are *imagination*, *judgement*, and *memory*. One of the most famous for memory among the Ancients, to my remembrance, was *Seneca* the Father, who reports of himselfe, that



Proemio. lib. 1.  
Controvers.

Variarum Lecti-  
onum. lib. 3.

The same doth  
Meursius in his  
Athena Barana  
restitu of Do-  
nellus a Profes-  
four of the civill  
lawes at Leyden

he could repeate two thousand names, or two hundred verses, brought to his Master by his Schoole-fellowes backward and forward: But that which Muretus reports of a young man of Corsica, a student in the Civill Law, whom himselfe saw at Padua, farre exceeds it; he could, saith he recite thirty six thousand names in the same order as they were delivered, without any stay or staggering, as readily, as if hee had read them out of a booke: His conclusion is, *Huic ego ne ex antiquitate quidem quem opponam habeo, nisi forte Cyrum quem Plinius, Quintilianus, & alij Latini Scriptores tradiderunt tenuisse omnium militum nomina.* I finde none among the Ancients, whom I may set against him, unlesse Cyrus perchance, whom Pliny, Quintilian, and other Latine writers, report to have remembred the names of all his souldiers, which yet Muretus himselfe doubts was mistaken of them: Zenophon, of whom onely or principally they could learne it, affirming onely that hee remembred the names τῶν ἐφ' αὐτὸν ἡγεμόνων, of his Captaines or cheife commanders. And Aeneas Sylvius in his history of the Councell of Basill (at which himselfe was present) tells us of one Ludovicus Pontanus of Spoleto, a Lawyer likewise by profession, (who dyed of the Pestilence at that Councell, at thirty yeares of age) that he could recite not the titles onely, but the intimate bodies of the Lawes, being for vastnes and fastnes of memory, *nemini Antiquorum inferior, as hee speaks*, nothing inferiour to any of the Ancients. It is to this purpose very memorable, which *Famianus Strada*, in the first booke of his *Academicall Prolusions*, relates of *Francus Scaez*, who hath, saith hee, so strong a memory, that he hath *S. Augustine* (the most copious & various of the Fathers) readie by heart, alleading every where (as occasion presents it selfe) fully & faithfully, his sentences, and which is very strange, his very wordes; nay if he be demanded any thing touching any passages in any of his volumes (which of themselves are almost enough to fill a Librarie,) *Statim quo loco, quaque pagina differuerit, ea super re expeditè docentem ac digito monstrantem saepe vidimus*; I my selfe have often seene him instantly shewing and pointing with his finger, to the place and page in which he disputed of that matter; This is I confesse the testimony of one *Iesuite*, touching another. But of Dr *Rainolds*, it is most certaine that hee excelled this way, to the astonishment of all that were inwardly acquainted with him, not only for *S. Augustines* workes, but almost all *Classike* Authours: so as in this respect it might truely bee said of him, which hath beene applyed to some others, that hee was a *living librarie*, or *third university*: I have heard it very credibly reported, that upon occasion of some writings, which passed to and fro, berwixt him & *Doctour Gentilis*, then our Professour in the *Civill Lawes*, he publickely professed, that he thought Dr *Rainolds* had read, and did remember more of those Lawes then himselfe, though it were his profession.

And for the excellency of the other faculties of the minde, together with that of the memory. It is wonderfull the testimony that *Vives* (himselfe a man of eminent parts) in his *Commentaries* on the second booke, and 17 Chapter *de civitate Dei*, gives *Budens*; *Quo viro*, (saith he) *Gallia acutiore ingenio, acriore iudicio, exactiore diligentia, maiore eruditione*  
nullum



*nullum unquam produxit, hac vero etate nec Italia quidem*, then which man, France never brought forth a sharper wit, or more peircing judgement, of more exact diligence, and greater learning, nor in this age Italy it selfe. And then going on, tells us, that there was nothing written in Greeke or Latine, which he had not turned over, read, examined; Greeke & Latine, were both alike to him, yet was he in both most excellent, speaking either of them as readily, and perchance with more ease then the French, his mother tongue; he would reade out of a Greeke booke in Latine and out of a Latine booke in Greeke. These things which wee see so exquisitely written by him, flowed from him *ex tempore*; hee writes more easily both in Greeke & Latine, then the most skilfull in those languages understand. Nothing in those tongues is so abstruse & difficult, which he hath not ransacked, entred upon, looked into, & brought as it were another *Cerberus* from darknesse to light. Infinite are the significations of words, the figures, & properties of speeche, which unknown to former ages, by the only help of *Budeus*, studious men are now acquainted with. And these so great & admirable things, hee without the directions of any teacher, learned meere by his owne industry; *Felix & secundum ingenium, quod in se uno invenit, & doctorem, & discipulum, & docendi viam rationemq;*, & *cujus decimam partem, alij sub magnis magistris vix discunt, ipse id totum a se magistro edoctus est*: An happy and fruitfull wit, which in it selfe alone found both a master a scholler, & a methode of teaching, and the tenth part of that which others can hardly attaine unto under famous teachers, all that learned he of himselfe, being his owne reader, and yet (saith he) hitherto have I spoken nothing of his knowledge in the lawes, which being in a manner ruined, seeme by him to have beene restored; nothing of his Phylosophy, whereof hee hath given us such a triall in his bookes *de Affe*, that no man could compose them, but such a one as was assiduously versed in the bookes of all the Philosophers; & then having highly commended him for his piety, his sweet behaviour, and many other rare and singular vertues added to his great wit; hee farther addes, that notwithstanding all this, hee was continually conversant in domestick and state affaires at home, & ambassages abroad, so as it might truely be said of him, as *Plinius Cacilius* speakes of his uncle *Secundus*, when I consider his state affaires, and the happy dispatch of so many businesse, I wonder at the multiplicity of his reading and writing; and againe, when I consider this, I wonder at that, and so leave him with that happy Distich of *Buchanan*:

*Gallia quod Græca est, quod Græcia barbara non est,  
Vtraque Budeo debet utrumque suo:*

That France is turn'd to Greeke, that Greece is not turn'd rude,  
Both owe them both to thee, their deare great learned Bude.

Next to learned Bude amongst the great Heroes and miracles for all kinde of learning most renowned in this latter age, *Ioseph Scaliger* well deserveth his place, if that testimony which *Casaubon* gives of him in his preface prefixed before *Scaligers opuscula*, bee true. *Nihil est quod discere quisque vellet quod ille docere non posset: nihil legerat (quid autem ille non legerat?) quod non statim meminisset; nihil tam obscurum aut abditum*



in ullo vetere scriptore Græco, Latino, vel Hebræo de quo interrogatus non statim responderet. Historias omnium populorum, omnium ætatum, successiones imperiorum, res ecclesiæ veteris in numero habebat; animalium, plantarum, metaliorum omniumque rerum naturalium proprietates, differentias & appellationes quæ veteres, quæ recentes tenebat; accuratè locorum situs, provinciarum fines & varias pro temporibus illarum divisiones ad unguem callebat, nullam disciplinarum, scientiarumque graviorum reliquerat intactam, linguas tam multas tam exactè sciebat, ut vel si hoc unum per totum vitæ spatium egisset, digna res miraculo potuerit videri: which his admirable variety of languages Petrus Scriverius thus elegantly describes.

---eruditione

Idumæus, Arabs, Syrusque & Indus;  
Chaldeus simul, Æthiopsque civis;  
Quemque Achamenij suum vocarent,  
Pelægus simul, & simul Latinus;  
Et Græcus vetus, & quotidianus;  
Et Thuscus simul, & simul Britannus;  
Et quod altera secula obstupefiant  
Hispanus simul & simul Batavus;

In epist. ad Ioh.  
Meursium.

So that Adr: Turnebus deservedly styles him *portentosi ingenij juvenem*. And least these testimonies may happily seeme partiall I will hereunto annex that of *Iulius Caesar Bulergerus* a Doctor of the Sorbon and professor at Pisa, who in the 12 booke of the historie of his time thus writes of the same Scaliger; *Sequitur est annus millesimus sexcentus nonus Iosephi Scaligeri morte feralis: quo nostra ætas neminem majori ad literas genio ingenioque tulit, & forte anteaucta secula parem omni doctrinæ genere non habuerunt.*

And if wee looke over the Pyrenees, *Metamorus* in his Treatise of the Universities & learned men of Spaine, spares not to write of *Tostatus*, Bishop of *Abulum*, si alio quam suo seculo vivere contigisset, neque *Hippolytum Augustinum*, neq; *Stridoni Hieronymum*, nec quempiam ex illis proceribus Ecclesiæ antiquis nunc invideremus. Had hee lived in any other age save his owne, wee should not have needed now to envy either *Hippo* for *Augustine*, or *Stridon* for *Hierom*; nor any other of those ancient noble worthies of the Church. To which *Possevin* in his *Apparatus* addes, that at the age of two and twenty yeares, he attained the knowledge of almost all Arts and Sciences. For Beside *Philosophy* and *Divinity*, the *Canon* & the *Civill Lawes*, *history* and the *Mathematiques*, he was well skilled in the *Greeke* and *Hebrew*.

Fellar. de Eccles. scrip:

*Hic stupor est mundi, qui scibile discutit omne,*

The worlds wonder for that hee,

Knowes whatsoever knowne may bee:

He was so true a student, and so constant in sitting to it, that with *Dydimus* of *Alexandria*, *anea habuisse intestina putaretur*, hee was thought to have a body of brasse, and so much he wrote & published, that a part of the epitaph ingraven on his tombe was;

*Primæ natalis luci folia omnia adaptans,*

*Nondum sic fuerit pagina trina satis;*

The



The meaning is, that if of his published writings, we should allow three pages to every day of his life, from his very birth, there would be yet some to spare; and yet withall hee wrote so exactly, that *Ximenes* his scholler, attempting to contract his Commentaries upon *Matthew*, could not well bring it to lesse then a thousand leaves in *Folio*, and that in a very small print, and others have attempted the like in his other workes with like successe. But that which *Pasquier* hath observed out of *Mon-* Lib. 5. c. 33.  
*strelet*, is yet more memorable, touching a young man who being not above 20 yeares old, came to *Paris* in the yeare 1445, and shewed himselfe so admirably excellent in all *Arts, Sciences*, and *Languages*, that if a man of an ordinary good wit and sound constitution should live one hundred yeares, and during that time study incessantly without eating, drinking, sleeping, or any recreation, he could hardly attaine to that perfection: in so much that some were of opinion, that hee was *Antichrist* begotten of the *Devill*, or somewhat at leastwise above humane condition: Which gave occasion to these verses of *Castellanus*, who lived at the same time, and himselfe saw this miracle of wit.

*Jay ven par excellence  
Un jeune home de vingt ans  
Avoir toute science & les degrez myntans  
Soy se vantant scavoir dire  
Ce qu'onques fut escrit  
Par seule fois le lire  
Comme un jeune Antichrist.*

A young man have I seene  
At twenty yeares so skill'd,  
That every Art he had, and all  
In all degrees excell'd.  
What ever yet was writ  
He vaunted to pronounce  
Like a young Antichrist, if hee  
Did reade the same but once.

Not to insist upon supernaturals, were there among us that industry, & that union of forces, & contribution of helps as was in the *Ancients*, I see no sufficient reason but the wits of this present age might produce as great effects as theirs did, nay greater, inasmuch as we have the light of their writings to guide and assist us: wee have bookes by reason of the *Art of Printing* more familiar, & at cheaper rates, most men being now unwilling to give three hundred ponnies for three bookes, as *Plato* did for those of *Phylolaus* the *Pythagorean*. And by this meanes are we freed from a number of grosse errors, which by the ignorance or negligence of unskillfull Writers crept into the text: yet on the other side it is as true that we are forced to spend much time in the learning of *Languages*, especially the *Latin, Greeke*; and *Hebrew*, which the *Ancients* spent in the study of things, their learning being commonly written in their owne *Language*. Beside the infinite and bitter controversies among *Christians* in matter of *Religion* since the infancie thereof even to these present times, hath doubtlesse not a little hindered the advancement and progresse of other



De Causis corrup-  
tione Artium, l. 1.

other Sciences, together with a vaine opinion, that all *Arts* were already fully perfected, so as nothing could bee added thereunto and that the Founders of them were *Gyants*, more then men for their wits in regard of us, and we very *dwarfses*, sunke below our *species* in regard of them. *Sec non est ita*, saith *Lodovicus Vives*, *nec nos sumus nani, nec illi homines Gigantes, sed omnes ejusdem stature, & quidem nos altius erecti eorum beneficio, maneat modo in nobis quod in illis, studium, attentio animi, vigilantia & amor veri, quæ si absint, jam non sumus nani, sed homines justæ magnitudinis humi prostrati*. It is not so, neither are wee *Dwarfses*, nor they *Gyants*, but all of equall stature, or rather wee somewhat higher, being lifted up by their meanes, conditionally there be in us an equall intention of spirit, watchfulnessse of minde, & love of truth: for if these bee wanting, then are we not so much *dwarfses*, as men of a perfect groweth lying on the ground.

800. Talents.

Saturnal. l. 3.  
c. 14.

Likewise it cannot be denied, but that the incouragements for study and Learning were in former times greater: what liberal<sup>l</sup> bountifull allowance did *Alexander* afford *Aristotle* for the entertainment of *Fishers*, *Faukeners* and *Hunters* to bring him in beasts, fowles, and fishes of all kindes for the discovery of their severall natures and dispositions. Nay the daily wages of *Roscus* the stage-player, as witnesseth *Macrobius*, was a thousand *denarij*, which amounteth to thirty pound of our coyne. And *Esop* the *Tragedian* grew so rich by the onely exercise of the same trade, if wee may credit the same *Author*, as hee left to his Sonne above one hundred and fifty thousand pound sterling: Whereunto may be added, that the *Ancients* copying out their bookes for the most part with their owne hands, it could not but worke in them a deeper impression of the matter therein contained, and being thereby forced to content themselves with fewer bookes, of necessity they held themselves more closely to them. And it is most true which *Seneca* hath as well in reading as eating, in bookes as dyet, *Varietas delectat, certitudo prodest*, Variety is delightfull, but certainty more usefull and profitable.

So that upon the matter, all reckonings being on all sides cast up, and one thing being set against another, as wee want some *helpes* which the *Ancients* had, so are wee freed from some *hinderances* wherewith they were incumbred, as againe it is certaine that they both wanted some of our *helpes*, and were freed from some of our *hinderances*: if then wee come short of their perfections, it is not because *Nature* is generally defective in us, but because we are wanting to our selves, and do not strive to make use of, and improve those abilities wherewith *God* and *Nature* hath endowed us. *Male de Natura censet quicumque uno illam aut altero partu effatam esse arbitratur*, saith *Vives*; He thinks unworthily and irreverently of *Nature* who conceives her to bee barren after one or two birthes; no, no, that which the same *Author* speakes of places, is likewise undoubtedly true of times, *Vbiq; bona nascuntur ingenia, excolantur modo, alibi fortassis frequentiora, sed ubiq; nonnulla*. Every where and in all ages good wits spring up, were they dressed and manured as they ought, though happily more frequently in some places & ages then in others. *Scythia* it selfe anciently yeelded one *Anacharsis*, & no doubt had they taken the same course as hee did, more of the same mettall would have beene found there.

SECT. 2.



## S E C T. 2.

*That there is both in wits and Arts, as in all things besides, a kinde of circular progresse as well in regard of places as times.*

**T**Here is (it seemes) both in *wits* and *Arts*, as in all things besides, a kinde of *circular progresse*: they have their *birth*, their *growth*, their *flourishing*, their *failing*, their *fading*, and within a while after their *resurrection*, and *reflourishing* againe. The *Arts* flourished for a long time among the *Persians*, the *Chaldeans*, the *Aegyptians*, and therefore is *Moses* said to be learned in all the wisdome of the *Aegyptians*; Acts 7. 22. who well knowing their owne strength, were bold to object to the *Grecians*, that they were still *children*, as neither having the *knowledge of Antiquity*, nor the *Antiquity of knowledge*: But afterwards the *Grecians* got the start of them, and grew so excellent in all kinde of learning, that the rest of the world in regard of them were reputed *Barbarians*, which reputation of wisdome they held even to the *Apostles* times, *I am a debtor*, saith *S. Paul*, both to the *Grecians* and to the *Barbarians*, both to the wise and to the unwise. Rom. 1. 14. 1. Cor. 1. 22 And againe, the *Iewes* require a *signe*, and the *Grecians* seeke after wisdome. By reason whereof they relished not the simplicity of the *Gospel*, it seeming foolishnes unto them: And in the 17 of the *Acts* the *Philosophers* of *Athens*, (sometimes held the most famous *Vniversity* in the World) out of an opinion of their owne great learning scorned *S. Paul* and his doctrine, tearing him a *sower of words*, a very *Babler* or *trifler*: yet not long after this, these very *Grecians* declined much; & themselves (whether through their owne inclination, or by reason of their bondage under the *Turke*, (the common enemy both of Religion and Learning I cannot determine) are now become so strangely *barbarous*, that their knowledge is converted into a kinde of affected ignorance, as is their liberty into contented slavery: yet after the losse both of their *Empire* and *Learning*, they still retained some sparke of their former wit and industry.

*Ingenium velox, audacia perdit, sermo  
Promptus, & Isao torrentior, ede quid illum  
Esse putas quemvis hominem secum attulit ad nos  
Grammaticus, Rhetor, Geometres, Pictor, Aliptes;  
Augur, Schanobates, Medicus, Magus, omnia novis  
Graculus esuriens, in caelum iusseris, ibit.*

Quick-witted, wondrous bold, well spoken, then  
*Iseus* fluenter, tell who all men  
Brought with himselfe: a Southsayer, a Physitian,  
Magician, Rhetoritian, Geometrician,  
Grammarians, Painter, Ropewalker, all knowes  
The needy Greeke; bid goe to heaven, hee goes.

But now they wholly delight in ease, in shades, in dancing, in drinking,  
and for the most part no farther endeavour the enriching either of their  
minde or purses then their bellies compell them.



The lampe of Learning being thus neare extinguished in Greece,  
*In Latium spretis Academia migrat Athenis.*

*Athens* forsaken by Philosophie,  
 Shee forthwith travell'd into *Italie*.

It began to shine afresh in *Italie* neare about the time of the birth of *Christ*, there being a generall peace thorow the world, & the *Roman Empire* being fully settled and established, *Poets, Oratours, Philosophers, Historians*, never more excellent. From thence this light spread it selfe over *Christendome*, and continued bright till the inundation of the *Goths* and *Hunnes, & Vandals*, who ransacked Libraries, and defaced almost all the monuments of *Antiquity*, insomuch as that lampe seemed againe to be put out by the space of almost a thousand yeares, & had longer so continued, had not first *Mensor* King of *Africa & Spaine* raised up & spurred forward the *Arabian* wits to the restauration of good letters by proposing great rewards and encouragements unto them. And afterwards *Petrarch* a man of a singular wit & rare naturall endowments, opened such Libraries as were left undemolished, beate off the dust from the moth-eaten bookes, and drew into the light the best *Authors*: *Literas à mul-  
to ævo miserè sepultas è Gothicis sepulchris excitavit.* Hee raised up to life good learning from the sepulchres of the *Goths*, having beene buried by the space of many ages.

*Paulus Jovius.*

He was seconded by *Boccace* and *Iohn* of *Ravenna*, and soone after by *Aretine, Philephus, Valla, Poggius, Omnibonus, Vergerius, Blondus*, and others. And those againe were followed by *Æneas Sylvius, Angelus Politianus, Hermolaus Barbarus, Marsilius Ficinus*, and that *Phoenix* of Learning *Iohannes Picus* Earle of *Mirandula*, who as appeares in the entrance of his *Apologie*, proposed openly at *Rome* nine hundred questions in all kinde of faculties to bee disputed, inviting all strangers thither, from any part of the knowne world, and offering himselfe to beare the charge of their travell both coming and going, & during their abode there: so as he deservedly received that *Epitaph* which after his death was bestowed on him.

*Iohannes jacet hic Mirandula, cetera norunt  
 Et Tagus, & Ganges, forsan & Antipodes,  
 Here lyes Mirandula, Tagus the rest doth know,  
 And Ganges, and perhaps th' Antipodes also.*

And rightly might that be verified of him which *Lucretius* sometimes wrote of *Epicurus* his master:

*Hic genus humanum ingenio superavit, & omnes  
 Præstrinxit stellas, exortus ut æthereus sol.*

In wit all men he hath farre overgone,  
 Eclipsing them like to the rising Sunne.

Yet himselfe in one of his *Epistles* gives this testimony to *Angelus Politianus* his contemporarie; *Quod si plures essent tales, non haberent hac sæcula cur inviderent antiquitati:* Had wee some more such, these times neede not envy antiquity.

This path being thus beaten out by these *Heroicall* spirits, they were backed by *Rodolphus Agricola, Reuceline, Melancthon, Iochimus Camerari-*



us, *Wolphangus Lazius*, *Beatus Rhenanus*, *Almaines*; the great *Erasmus* a *Netherlander*, *Ludovicus Vives* a *Spaniard*; *Bembus*, *Sadoletus*, *Eugubinus* *Italians*; *Turnebus*, *Muretus*, *Ramus*, *Pythæus*, *Budeus*, *Amiot*, *Scaliger*, *Frenchmen*; *Sir Thomas Moore*, and *Linaker* *Englishmen*: The first of which being *Rodolphus Agricola*, *Hermolaus Barbarus* graceth with this *Epitaph*.

*Invida clausernnt hoc marmore fata Rodolphum*

*Agricolam, Frisij spemque decusque soli.*

*Scilicet hoc uno meruit Germania laudis*

*Quicquid habet Latium, Græcia quicquid habet.*

And it is worth the observing, that about this time the slumbring drowzie spirit of the *Grecians* began againe to bee revived and awakened, in *Bessarion*, *Gemmistius*, *Trapezontius*, *Gaza*, *Argyropilus*, *Calcondilas*, and others: nay, those very *Northerne Nations* which before had given the greatest wound to learning, began now as by way of recompence to advance the honour of it by the fame of their studies, as *Olaus Magnus*, *Holsterus*, *Tycho Braye*, *Hemingius*, *Danes*, *Hosius*, *Frixius*, *Crummerus*, *Polonians*: But the number of those worthies, who like so many sparkling starres have since through *Christendome* succeeded, and some of them exceeded these in learning and knowledge, is so infinite, that the very recitall of their names were enough to fill whole volumes: And if we descend to a particular examination of the severall professions, *Arts*, *Sciences*, and *Manufactures*, wee shall surely finde the prediction of the *Divine Seneca* accomplished, *Multa venientis ævi populus ignota nobis sciet*, the people of future ages shall come to the knowledge of many things unknowne to us: And that of *Tacitus* most true, *Nec omnia apud priores meliora, sed nostra quoque ætas multa laudis & artium imitanda posteris tulit*: Neither were all things in ancient times better then ours, but our age hath left unto posterity many things worthy praise and imitation. *Ramus* goes further, and perchance warrantably enough: *Majorem doctorum hominum & operum proventum seculo uno vidimus, quam totis antea 14 majores nostri viderant*. We have seene within the space of one age, a more plentiful crop of learned men & workes, then our *Predecessours* saw in *fourteene*, next going before.

I will conclude this Section with the memorable words of *S<sup>r</sup> Thomas Bodley* my honoured kinsman, and the renowned Founder of our publique *Librarie*, taken from a letter of his to *S<sup>r</sup> Francis Bacon*, upon occasion of his *Advancement of Learning*, sent by *S<sup>r</sup> Francis* to *S<sup>r</sup> Thomas* to be perused and censured by him before it was published. 'I doe not hold it an erroneous conceit to thinke of every Science, that as now they are professed, so they have beene before in all precedent ages, though not in all places alike, nor at all times alike in one & the same, but according to the changes and turnings of times with a more exact and plaine, or with a more rude and obscure kinde of teaching. And if the question should bee asked what prooffe I have of it, I have the doctrine of *Aristotle*, and of the deepest learned *Clarkes* of whom we have any meanes to have any notice, that as there is of every other thing, so there is of Sciences *Ortus & interitus*. Which is also the meaning

*Natural. quest.*  
*lib. 7. cap. 31.*

*Annal. 3. c. 12.*

*Prefat. S. B. I.*  
*Mathemat.*



‘ meaning if I should expound it of *Nihil novum est sub sole* ; and is as  
 ‘ well to bee applyed to *facta* as *dicta* ; *ut nihil neque dictum neque fa-*  
 ‘ *ctum, quod non & dictum & factum prius.* I have farther for my war-  
 ‘ rant that famous complaint of *Solomon* to his sonne, against the infinite  
 ‘ making of books in his time : of which in all congruities it must needs  
 ‘ be understood, that a very great part were observations and instructi-  
 ‘ ons in all kinde of literature, and of those there is not so much as one  
 ‘ petty pamphlet (only some parcells of the *Bible* excepted) remaining  
 ‘ to posterity. As then there was not in like manner any footing to be  
 ‘ found of millions of Authours that were long before *Solomon*, and yet  
 ‘ we must give credit to that which he affirmed: That what soever was  
 ‘ then or had beene before, it could never bee truly pronounced of it:  
 ‘ *Behold this is new.*

## CHAP. 7.

*Touching the three principall professions, Divinity, Law, and Physicke.*

## SECT. 1.

*Of the Divinity of the Gentiles and Iewes before Christ, and the next  
 ages after Christ.*

**W**E will begin with the high and noble profession of *Divi-*  
*nity*, this among the *Gentiles* was partly prophane and fa-  
 bulous in their vaine discourses, touching the *Genealogie*,  
 the number and nature of their *Gods*, and partly mixed with much error  
 & weakenes in their *Metaphysickes*; *professing themselves to be wise, they be-*  
Rom. 1, 21. 22. *came vaine in their imaginations, and their foolish heart was darkened. Ante*  
*Christum quam molestæ disputationes, saith Ludovicus Vives in his 5 booke*  
*& 9 chap. de veritate fidei Christianæ*, how irkesome were the disputes:  
 how tedious their deliberations in comparing honesty with profit, be-  
 cause they knew not what was honesty, nor in very truth what was truly  
 profitable. How diverse and uncertaine were their ends of goodnesse:  
 which held mens mindes in suspense: but *Christ* hath now fully cleared  
 and opened all points, we are now well acquainted with the true end &  
 the meanes that conduce to that end, what is honest, what profitable,  
 what hurtfull, the resolutions are now easie and perspicuous, and in the  
 fourth chap. of the same book, *nunc reconditissima mysteria scitu digna &*  
*necessaria, melius nostra mulierculæ intelligunt, quam maximi olim philosophi,*  
 Our silliest women now better understand the deepest mysteries wor-  
 thy or needfull to bee knowne, then the profoundest Philosophers  
 then did. They were (as the *Apostle* speakes in another case) *ever*  
*learning*, but never came, nor indeed could ever come to the know-  
 ledge of the truth, in as much as the meere naturall man perceiveth  
 not, nor can perceive the hid things of God, the mysteries of the know-  
 ledge of heaven, which made them to bee, as *Minutius Fælix* in his  
*Octavius* hath truly observed, *semper adversus sua vitia facundi*, alwayes  
 eloquent



eloquent in declayming against their owne vices; but wee (saith hee) *qui non habitu sapientiam sed mente praeferrimus*, who doe not place, or weare wisdom in the robe but in the minde: *Non eloquimur magna sed vivimus*, wee speake not bigge but live well, and glory in this, that wee have found that, which they with all eagernesse sought, but could not finde. His conclusion is, *Quid ingrati sumus? quid nobis invidemus, si veritas divinitatis nostri temporis aetate maturuit? fruamur bono nostro*: Why are wee ingrate? why doe wee envy our selves, if the true knowledge of the deitie have beene brought to ripenesse and full perfection in our age? In Gods name let us enjoy our owne blessing. Among the Jewes the only visible Church, the sacred Oracles of God, containing the revelation of supernaturall truthes, were indeede preserved: But hereunto, their *Talmudists* and *Cabalists*, their *Scribes* and *Pharisees*, their *Sadducees* and *Essenes* added such traditions, such fictions, such corrupt glosses and malicious interpretations, as the fruit of their doctrine lay hid under the leaves, and as the learned in their language well know, very little use can bee made of their best *Commentaries* upon Scripture; howbeit they presumed that their chiefe skill lay that way: So that wee neede not doubt, but the most excellent *Divines*, have all beene since the coming of *Christ*. It is to mee very strange, that not only the *Pharisees* should bee infected with this opinion of the *Pythagorians*, touching the dwelling of the same soule in diverse bodies successively, and in diverse ages; but that *Herod*, and the whole nation of the Jewes, should be tainted with that grosse error, as appeares in that they held our *Saviour* to bee *Iohn the Baptist*, or *Elias*, or one of the *Prophets*; all which they knew to be dead, and some of them long before: Their meaning being that the soule of the *Baptist*, or of *Elias*, or of one of the *Prophets*, was by traduction passed into our *Saviours* body; as *Pythagoras* writes of himselfe, that hee was first *Euphorbus*, and then *Callidas*, then *Hermotimus*, then *Pyrrhus*, and lastly *Pythagoras*: but yet farre more strange it is, that the *Apostles* of our *Saviour* themselves should be thus misled, and yet it should seeme by that their demaund touching him that was borne blinde, *Master, who did sinne, this man or his parents*, that he was borne blinde; that they were indeed possessed with that opinion, for how could they conceive that hee should sinne before he was borne, but in some other body which his soule actuated before? and in truth *Saint Cyrill* upon that occasion, is induced to thinke, that they were swayed with the common error of that nation and those times; and *Calvin* confidently cries out, *Prodigij sane instar hoc fuit quod in electo Dei populo, in quo caelestis sapientia per Legem & Prophetas lux accensa fuerat, tam crasso figmento fuerit datus locus*. Truly this is a prodigious kinde of wonder, that among the elect people of God, who were enlightened by the heavenly wisdom of the Law and the Prophets, way should be given to so palpable a fiction. Yet I know not whether their stupidity were greater in this, or in that other demaund of theirs, at our *Saviours* ascension, *Lord wilt thou at this time restore the Kingdome of Israel?* where *Calvin* againe stands amazed, that they should all with one consent (for so much doth the text imply) joyne together in such a foolish question as hee

*Iosephus de bello*  
lib. 2. 7.

*Mat. 14. 2.*  
*Mat. 18. 28.*  
*Luc. 9. 19.*

*Ioh. 9. 2.*

*In Gra. & Cat.*  
113

*Comment in lo.*  
*cum.*

*Act. 1. 6.*



hee tearmes it, *mira profectio illorum fuit ruditas, quod tam absolute tantaque cura per triennium edocti non minorem incitiam produnt, quam si nullum unquam verbum audissent, totidem in hac interrogatione sunt errores quot verba* wonderfull in truth was their rawnesse and rudenesse, that having been so exquisitely and diligently taught by three yeares space, they notwithstanding bewray as much ignorance, as if they had never heard so much as one word of instruction, as many errors are in their question as words: But this likewise of restoring them a *temperall kingdome*, then was, and at this day continues to be, the *common error* of that whole nation, neither by any meanes will they be beaten from it: That which to me seemeth more admirable, is, that S. Peter himselfe, even after the descending of the *holy Ghost*, was ignorant of the calling of the *Gentiles*, of whom together with the *Iewes*, the *Catholique Church* was to be made up: whereby it should seeme, that then likewise he was ignorant, that himselfe was the head of the *Catholique Church*, as by those who hold themselves the onely *Catholiques*, hee is now made, yet may it not be denyed, or so much as doubted, that the holy and blessed *Apostles* were all indowed with singular gifts and graces, as well for knowledge and wisdom, as all kinde of morall vertues, fitting for so high a calling, and that in their writings, they were the pen men of God, inspired by the *holy Ghost*: but leaving them, let us descend a little lower in the *Church of Christ*. As then the three first *Centuries* are commended for *Piety, Devotion, and Martyrdome*, so is the fourth for learned and famous *Divines*. *Habuit hac. etas si quae unquam alia plurimos praestantes & illustres Doctores*, say the *Magdeburgians*: This age if ever any abounded in excellent and famous *Doctours*, as namely *Arnobius, Lactantius Eusebius, Athanasius, Hilarius, Victorinus, Basilus, Nazianzenus, Ambrosius, Prudentius, Epiphanius, Theophilus, Hieronymus, Faustinus, Didymus, Ephraim, Optatus; Cyrillus Hierosol. Didymus Alexand. Gregorius Nyssenus, Chrysostomus, Iuvencus, Sedulius, Apollinaris, Philastrius*, to which number they might well have added, (for that he began to shew his worth in the same *Century*) that renowned pillar of truth and hammer of heresies S. *Augustine*. These and the like great *Divines* of those ages I much honour, & *eorum nominibus semper assurgo*, I confesse I reverence their very names; yet most certaine it is, they had all their slips and blemishes in matter of doctrine: But before this age, *Tertullian*, and *Origen*, and *Cyprian*, are specially branded for notorious errors, and *Vincentius Lirinensis* gives this rare commendation of the *Fathers*, assembled in the Councell of *Nice*, that they were *tanta eruditionis, tantaque doctrina*, of so profound learning and singular knowledge, *ut prope omnes possent de dogmatibus disputare*, that almost all of them could reason of matters of faith. Yet in those very times, was the Church so rent and torne in sunder with *Capitoll* heresies, trenching upon the very vitall parts and fundamentall principles of *Christian Religion*, touching the sacred *Trinity*, and incarnation of our blessed *Saviour*, *ut illis temporibus ingeniosa res fuit esse Christianum*, so as in those times it was a matter of wit to be a *Christian*: such were the *nicities* wherein their Teachers differed, and such their *subtilties*, they bound their schollers to maintaine.

Censur. 4. c. 4.

Contra haereses.  
cap. 41.

Erasmus.

It



It is the testimonie of S. Gregory in his moralls, that as the world groweth elder in age, so it increaseth in the knowledge of religion and supernaturall truths; *Vrgente mundi sine superna scientia proficit & largius cum tempore excrescit*: And within a while after, *Quicquid in sancta Ecclesia initijs latuit finis quotidie ostendit*. But more fully doth hee speake to this purpose in his Homilies upon Ezekiel; *Hoc quoque nobis sciendum est, quia & per incrementa temporum crevit scientia spiritalium patrum; plus namque Moses quam Abraham, plus Propheta quam Moses, plus Apostoli quam Propheta in omnipotentis Dei scientia eruditi sunt. Factor, si ex ipsa Scriptura non loquitur: pertransibunt plurimi & multiplex erit scientia. Dan. 12.* And againe, *Quanto mundus ad extremitatem ducitur, tanto nobis aeterna scientia aditus largius aperitur*.

Lib. 9. cap. 6.

Homil. 16.

But that which to mee seemes most strange, is, that so many of them were infected with the error of the *Millenaries*, that so many, specially of the *Greeke Fathers*, held that the *Angells* were created long before the creation of the visible world, that a number both of the *Greeke* and *Latine* maintained, that the soules of men departed this life, went neither to heaven nor hell, till the resurrection of the bodie, but remained in certaine hidden receptacles they knew not where, that *Anti-Christ* was to come of the tribe of *Dan*, that the *sonnes of God*, who in the sixth of *Genesis*, are said to have fallen in love with the *daughters of men*, were the blessed *Angells*: upon which occasion, *Pererius* a learned Iesuite hath these memorable words, *Pudet dicere quae de optimis Scriptoribus hoc loco dicturus sum*: I even blush to utter those things which heere I am to speake of excellent writers, they being not onely false, but absurd and shamefull, unworthy the wit and learning of famous men, as also of the purity and holinesse of the blessed *Angells*; yet truth inforceth mee to speake, partly least that should seeme probable to any man, by reason of the countenance of so grave *Authors*, which is no way to be approved; and partly, that from hence it may appeare how much the *Church of Christ*, from that time to this hath profitted in the knowledge of holy Scriptures and divine mysteries: *Nam multa quondam vel doctissimis viris, aut obscura & dubia, aut etiam incognita, nunc vel mediocriter eruditis perspicua, indubitata, exploratèque percepta sunt*: for many things anciently either obscure or doubtfull, or altogether unknown to the most learned among them, are now become even to meane *Clarkes* cleere and certaine. And with him fully accords *Andradius* in his defence of the *Tridentine Councell*, *God hath revealed many things to us that they never saw*. And *Dominicus Bannes* a famous schoole-man: *It is not necessary, that by how much the more the Church is remote from the Apostles times, by so much there should be the lesse perfect knowledge of the mysteries of faith therein, because after the Apostles times, there were not the most learned men in the Church, which had dexterity in understanding and expounding matters of faith*. *Roffensis* likewise our Countrey-man strikes upon the same string: *it cannot be unknowne to any, but that many things are more narrowly sifted and clearely understood by the helpe of latter wits, as well in the Gospel, as other parts of the Scriptures, then formerly they have beene; and lastly, to make up the musicke full, Cardinall Cajetan beares a part*, *Let*

Comment. or locum.

Lib. 20.

24 25. pag. 58.

Conjunct. assert. Luch. 21. 8.

Let in 1. Cor.

80



no man thinke it strange, if sometimes wee bring a new sence of holy writ, different from the Ancient Doctours, but let him diligently examine the Text and context, and if hee finde it to agree therewith, let him praise God, who hath not tyed the exposition of the sacred Scriptures, to the senses given by the ancient Doctours. These testimonies I the rather vouch for that the Authours of them being professed Champions of the Roman Church, withall professe themselves to bee the greatest friends to the ancient Fathers, but conclude this Section with that of Casaubon in his *Prolegomena* to his exercitations, *Postquam è densissimis tenebris lux literarum emergerat, omnes artes, omnes scientia & disciplina, ipsa imprimis Sacra Theologia brevi tempore ita sunt exulta, ornata, aucta, ut eo nomine florentissimo cuique priorum seculorum quod proximè est elapsum videatur posse anteponi.*

## S E C T. 2.

*Of ensuing ages.*

2. Tim. 3. digressione 17.

1. Theff. 1. 8.

Comment. in  
Cant. Dec. 1. 2.  
cap. 21.

Anno 798.

**Y**Et not to conceale a truth, these were lightsome times in regard of those succeeding ages that followed after, when Divinity was woven into distinctions, which like Cobwebs were fine and curious in working, but not much usefull. And in the meane time for the most part in the Scriptures and holy Languages there was so great ignorance, *ut Græcè nosse suspectum fuerit, Hebraicè propè Hæreticum*, that, as witnesseth *Espencaus* himselfe a Doctour of the Sorbon, to bee skilled in Greeke was suspicious, in the Hebrew almost hereticall; which suspicion *Rhemigius* an interpreter of S. Pauls Epistles, surely was not guilty of: for commenting upon these words, *à vobis diffamatus est sermo*, hee tells us, that *diffamatus* was somewhat improperly put for *divulgatus*, S. Paul being not very sollicitous of the propriety of words: whereupon *Ludovicus Vives* demaunds, *quid facias principibus istis Scholarum qui nondum sciunt Paulum non Latine, sed Græcè scripsisse*: What shall we say to these Masters in Israel, who know not that S. Paul wrote not in Latine, but in Greeke.

*Vignier* in his Ecclesiasticall History affirmeth that *Gerbertus* the first Archbishop of Rhemes and Ravenna, afterwards Pope under the name of *Silvester* the second, was reputed a *Magitian*, because hee was well studied in the Mathematiques; as witnesseth *Dithmarus* and *Glaber Historiographers* of the same age.

King *Alfred* in his preface upon the Pastoralls of S. Gregory (which he translated into English) saith, that when hee came first to his Kingdome, he knew not one Priest on the South-side of the river *Humber*, that understood his service in Latine, or that could translate an Epistle into English; And *Clemangis* in his booke *de corrupto Ecclesie statu* cap. 6. *non à studijs aut schola, sed ab aratro etiam & servilibus artibus ad parochias regendas passim proficiscebantur, qui paulo plus Latine Linguae quam Arabice intelligerent; imò & qui nihil legere & (quod referre pudet) Alpha vix nosset à Beta discernere, & si parum docti, negligentius sanè morati, utpote qui absque literis in otio educati nihil nisi impudicitias, ludos, commensationes, jurgia vaniloqua sectentur.*

St Thomas



S<sup>r</sup> Thomas Moore in his Epistle to the University of Oxford lately published, speakes of certaine good fellowes there, calling themselves *Trojans*, who opposed the *Grecians*, that is, such as studied the *Greeke* tongue; whereof one proceeded to that madnesse, that in a publique *Lent Sermon*, *Non modo contra Græcas literas & Latinam & politiam, sed etiam liberaliter adversus omnes liberales artes blatteravit*; Hee not onely rayled against the *Greeke* tounge, and the more polite *Latine* phrase, but very liberally against all the liberall arts.

It appeares by the rescript of Pope Zacharie to Boniface a German Bishop, that the *Friest* in those parts baptized in this forme, *Baptizo te in nomine Patriæ, & Filia, & Spiritua Sancta*: And by Erasmus, that some *Divines* in his time would take upon them to prove, that Heretiques were to be put to death, because the *Apostle* saith, *Hereticum hominem devota*, which it seemes they understood as if he had said, *de vita tolle*. I have somewhere read, that two *Fryars* disputing whether God made any more worlds then one, the one wisely alleadging that passage of the *Gospell* touching the ten Lepers which were cleansed, *Annon decem facti sunt mundi*, as if God had made tenne worlds, the other looking into the text, replies as wisely, with the words immediately following, *Sed ubi sunt novem?* but what is become of the nine? So as from thence hee would prove but one to be left. Hee that is disposed to make himselfe merrie in this kinde; may finde in Henry Stephens his Apologie of *Herodotus*, a number of like stuffe, I will onely touch one or two of the choicest. *Du prat* a Bishop & Chancellour of France, having received a letter from Henry the eighth King of England, to Francis the first of France, wherein among other things hee wrote, *mitto tibi duodecem Molossos*, I send you twelve mastiffe dogs, the Chancellour taking *Molossos* to signifie *Mules*, made a journey of purpose to the Court to begge them of the King; who wondring at such a present to bee sent him from England, demaunded the sight of the letter, and smiling thereat, the Chancellour finding himselfe to bee deceived, told him that hee mistooke *Molossos* for *Muletos*, and so hoping to mend the matter, made it worse. Another tale hee tels of a Parish Priest in *Artois*, who had his Parishioners in suite for not paying the Church, and that the charge thereof lay upon them and not upon him, he would prove out of the 17 of the Prophet *Jeremie*, *Parveant illi, non parveam ego*. I remember Arch-Bishop Parker somewhere in his *Antiquitates Britannicæ*, makes relation of a French Bishop, who being to take his oath to the Archbishop of Canterbury, & finding the word *Metropolitica* therein, being not able to pronounce it, he passed it over with *Soit pour diél*, let it be as spoken.

An old Priest in King Henry the eighths time, alwayes read in his Portie, *Mumpsimus Domine*, for *Sumpsimus*; whereof when he was admonished, he said, that he had now used *Mumpsimus* 30 yeares, and would not leave his old *Mumpsimus* for their new *Sumpsimus*; and when they had most grossely broken *Priscians* head, being taken in the fact, their common defence was, those words of S. Gregory, *non debent verba celestis Oraculi subesse regulis Donati*, the words of the heavenly Oracles ought not to be subject to the rules of *Donatus*.

3. Para. Decret.  
de consecr. ds.  
finet. 4. Can. 24

R. Pacatus de  
fructu doctrina



Anno 1547.

But about 200 yeares since, together with the *Arts*, the *languages* likewise began to revieve in so much as *Hebrew* and *Greeke* are now as common as true *Latine* then was, *Hebraei ipsi Vatablum Hebraicas literas Lutetia profitentem admirati sunt; Christiani vero maximo cum fructu docentem audiverunt*, saith *Thuanus*; The many exact translations and faire editions of the *Bible* in this later age, deserved here to have beene remembered; as also the *Samaritan Pentateuch*, which about 4 or 5 yeares since the most renowned father in *God*, and most excellently learned *Prelate*, the present *Archbishop* of *Armach*, and *Primate* of *Ireland*, not without great charge (as a rare jewell) got into his hands. It being a matter of speciall moment and yet scarce heard of among *Christians* for many ages past, as witnesseth *Mr Selden* in his preface to *Marmora Arundelliana*, and *Dr Feild* in his third booke of the *Church* and first chapter tells us, that in this last age of the world wee have from the *Nestorians* received the *Syriacke New Testament*, delivered unto them, as they say, from *S. Marke* the *Evangelist*, and religiously preserved amongst them till our times. See the preface of *Guido Fabritius* set before the translation thereof in the *Kings Bibles*. And for the true sence of *holy Scripture*, never had the *Church* more judicious and faithfull Interpreters, then by the *Divine Providence* it hath enjoyed these last 100 yeares.

*Piscator* in his preface to his *Commentarie* on the *Proverbs* & the *Canticles*, undertakes a long discourse to shew how far wide the foure most noted Doctours of the *Westerne Church*, namely *Ambrose*, *Hierome*, *Augustine* and *Gregory* were in the exposition of many passages of *holy Scripture*, together with the causes thereof. Whereunto hee makes this entrance; *Visum mihi est hac praefatione indicare causas expositionum falsarum quibus scripta illorum (quod citra contumeliam dico) referta sunt, ut ex hac antithesi elucescat, quanta beator sit in hoc negotio etas nostra quam etas fuit illorum, ac proinde ut gratia Deo pro tanto beneficio & doctrinae caelestis luce agantur*. And then having performed (as he conceiveth) what he promised, he thus concludes; *Atque hac sunt exempla falsarum sacrae Scripturae Veteris Testamenti expositionum quae in quatuor illorum precipuorum Ecclesiae Latinae patrum scriptis occurrunt: Unde jam perspicui potest saeculum nostrum saeculo illorum quod ad intellectum S. Scripturae attinet longe beatius esse. Faxit Deus ut hoc ipsius beneficium gratis animis agnoscamus*: Besides, the *Sermons* of this latter age, specially in this land, have doubtlesse beene more exquisite and effectually, then ordinarily they have bin in any precedent age, insomuch as it is observed, that if there were a choice collection made of the most accurate, since the entrance of *Q. Elizabeth*, to these present times, (leaving out the largenesse of applications thereupon) it would prove one of the rarest peeces that hath been published since the *Apostles* times.

Bibl. sanct. l. 4.

*Conciones Cornelij Massi* (saith *Sixtus Senensis*) *Hetrusca lingua edita; Gregorij magni, Basilij magni, Chrysostomi & ceterorum Graecia patrum sermonibus propter doctrinae & facundiae majestatem comparanda*. And yet for mine owne part I should thinke the *Sermons* of *Bishop King*, or *Bishop Andrewes*, or *Bishop Lakes*, and some others, nothing inferiour to his, and in some respects farre beyond them.

Hereunto



Hereunto might bee added for practicall *Divinity*, the decisions of *cases of conscience*, which the *Ancients* did not handle professedly, but onely upon the Bye, and the many singular treatises tending to devotion, which I wish they were as well practised as they are written. And no doubt but the great agitation of *Controversies*, which these latter times have produced, hath not onely sharpened the spirits of *Divines*, but made the grounds of *Christian Religion* to bee better understood. For, as *S. Augustine* speakes of the *Fathers* writing before *Pelagius*, *ante exortum Pelagium securius loquebantur Patres*; before the rising of *Pelagius* the *Fathers* spoke more securely: so may wee truly say, before *Luther* arose and awakened the world, *Divines* spoke and wrote more loosely then since they have done: The sparkes of truth being forced out of contention, as the sparkes of fire are out of the collision of the flint and steele.

To conclude this Section touching *Divinity*, it is most true which a learned *Divine* of our owne times and, *Church* hath rightly observed, *D. F.* that whosoever shall peruse the *Church* storie digested into *Centuries* or *Annales*, or cast but a glance of his eye upon the *Catalogues* of writers, made by *Saint Hierome*, *Suidas*, *Photius*, *Gennadius*, *Tritemius*, *Illyricus*, *Ball*, and *Bellarmino*, shall finde the ages of the *Church* to resemble the starres of the skie. In some parts wee see many glorious and eminent starres, in others few of any remarkeable greatnesse, and in some none but blinkards and obscure ones: In like manner, in some ages of the *Church*, we may behold many worthy and glorious lights-like stars of the first or second magnitude, in others few of any note or bright lustre, and in some none but obscure and unknowne *Authors*, resembling the least and obscurest starres in the skie. After wee have passed the eight age of the *Church*, wee fall into *Cymerian* darkenesse. *Bellarmino* cannot speake of the ninth age with patience. *Seculo hoc nullum extitit indoctius aut infelicius, quo qui Mathematicæ aut Philosophiæ operam dabat vulgo Magus putabatur*: never was there any age more unlearned or unhappy then this, in which he that studied the *Mathematickes* or *Philosophy*, was commonly held a *Magician*. *Sabellius* is at a stand in admiring the palpable *Egyptian* darkenesse thereof: *Mirum est quanta omnium bonarum artium oblivio per id tempus mortalium animos obrepserit, ut ne in Pontificibus quidem ullis sive Principibus quicquam illuceret quod vitam juvare possit.* A wonder it is, how strange a forgetfulness of all good arts about this time crept upon the mindes of men: so as neither in *Prelates* nor *Princes* appeared any thing which might further civility. *Genebrard* after a sort blesteth himselfe from it, *Infelix dicitur hoc seculum, exhaustum hominibus doctrina & ingenio claris, sine etiam claris Principibus atque Pontificibus*: This is called the unhappy age, voyde of men renowned either for wit or learning, as also without any famous either *Princes* or *Prelates*: So great an alteration there is in the studies and endeavours of men in diverse ages, sometimes for the better, sometimes for the worse, and then by Gods blessing for the better againe.

I will conclude this Section with that of *Platina* in the life of *Paul* the second, *Bishoppe* of *Rome*, who lived about that age; *Paulus hereticos*



hereticos eos pronunciavit qui nomen *Academia* vel serio vel joco deinceps commemorarent. Humanitatis studia ita oderat & contemnebat, ut ejus studiosos uno nomine hereticos appellaret. Hanc ob rem Romanos adhortabatur ne filios diutius in studijs literarum paterentur, satis esse si legere & scribere didicissent.

## S E C T. 3.

*The Lawyers of this last age, preferred before those of former times.*

**N**Ext Gods Lawes, those of the *Empire* seeme to challenge their place, howbeit with us, having neither that reward nor employment as they deserve, they have lost both their ranke and dignity, but in forraine parts where they are cherished and honoured, they marvellously flourish, in so much as in some transmarine Kingdomes their *Lawyers* are held, and for the most part undoubtedly are more sufficient Schollers then their *Divines*; and within this last Centenarie, much more sufficient then the writers and professours of the same facultie in many precedent ages, as well in that part which is professed in Schooles, as the practique expressed in judgements and pleadings. He that shall judiciously compare *Baldus* and *Bartolus*, *Iason* and *Accursius*, with *Cuijaci*, *Alciatus*, *Ottomannus*, *Duarenus*, all *Frenchmen*, shall easily finde these latter not onely for their phraze more polite, and for their methode more exact, but for the marrow & true sence of the Law more profound. I will instance onely in the two first. For *Cuijaci*, it is a memorable testimony which is yeelded him by *Massonius*; *Jacobus Cuijaci* juris Romani radices tanta cura effossas in lucem protulit, ut ceteri ante eum ignorasse illas, ipse solus post multos & quasi vixisse diligentius, & penitus invenisse videatur: *James Cujace* with so great industrie digged up and brought to light the very rootes of the *Imperiall* Law, that both others before him seemed to be ignorant of them, and hee alone after others to have sought them more diligently, and discovered them more fully: but that of *Pythæus* outvies this of *Massonius*, where in an *Epitaph* erected to him, he doubts not to stile him, *Romani juris à primis Conditoribus interpretem primum & ultimum*, the first and the last interpreter of the *Roman* Law since the first founders thereof: adding withall, that what cleare and native light soever is at all brought to that science, this present age hath derived it from him, and to him posterity must owe it, which he hath well expressed in this *Distich*:

*Cuijaci Themidisque vides commune sepulchrum,  
Conduuntur simul hic quæ periere simul.*

*Cujas* and *Themis* here lie in one common grave,  
They dy'd together and one sepulchre they have.

Whereunto may bee added the grave testimony which *Arias Montanus* gives *Alciot*.

*Eloquio jus Romanum lucebat & arte,  
Turba obscurarunt barbara legulei.  
Andreas prisco reddit sua jura notori,*

*Consultosque*



*Consultosque facit doctius inde loqui.*

The Civill Law with art and eloquence did shine,  
But barbarous pertifoggers did the same obscure;  
In season *Alciat* came and did the Lawes refine,  
And taught the Lawyers thence to speake more pure.

Yet *Cuijaci* himselfe, whether out of judgment or modesty I cannot affirme, was content to yeeld the bucklers to *Govianus*, touching whom *Thuanus* witnesseth, that himselfe heard him thus protesting, *Govianum* *ex omnibus juris Iustiniani interpretibus, quotquot sunt vel fuere, unum esse, cui, si quaratur quis excellat, palma deferenda sit:* that of all the Interpreters of the Lawes of *Iustinian*, which either are, or have bin, if the question should bee, who amongst them most excelled, *Govianus* was the onely man, to whom the price was of right to bee adjudged. Now for the latter part, which is the *practique*, it may easily be evidenced to any who will bee pleased to looke into it; that by the observations, experience, paines, and learning of the Lawyers of those latter ages, it is grown to much more exactnesse and perfection, then former ages had. Which appears by the judgments, decisions, arrests, and pleadings of the highest Courts of the greatest part of the Christian Nations, which are extant in great numbers, as the decisions of the severall *Rotes* of Italy at Rome, at Naples, at Florence, at Genoa, at Bononia, at Mantua, at Perusium, and the rest. The judgments of the Imperiall chamber at Spire, which is the last resort of the Germane Nation: and the arrest of the severall Courtes of Parliament in France, as Paris, Aix, Burdeaux, Grenoble, and the rest: to which may bee added the pleadings of Monsieur *Servin*, the French Kings advocate, and others of that nature, which are all published and extant, partly in Latine, and partly in their owne languages, with that variety and learning as much exceeds the former ages.

#### SECT. 4.

*Ancient and Moderne Physitians compared especially in the knowledge of Anatomy and Herbarie, the two legges of that Science.*

THE third great Profession is *Physicke*, in which besides the uncertaine and fabulous reports of *Apollo* and *Esculapius*, wee reade not of any excellent till *Hippocrates*, and after him being much decayed, it was revived by *Galen*, *ut sub eo rursum nata medicina videatur*, so as it seemed under him to be borne againe. Two speciall parts thereof are the knowledge of the body of man, and the knowledge of simples: touching the former, the opening and anatomizing of mens bodies. It was doubtlesse among the Ancients in very little use, I meane the Egyptians, the Hebrewes, the Grecians, the Romanes, and the Primitive Christians. First then I know the Egyptians are by some said to have beene this way most skilfull, but considering how excessively curious & ceremonious, or rather superstitious they were in preserving their bodies intire & unputrified, I conceive their opening thē to have beene rather for the imbowelling & imbaulming, then the anatomizing of them: and for the Gre-



*cians* they could not well practise it, in as much as they usually burnt their dead bodies, by the testimony not onely of *Homer* and *Herodotus*, (whose authorities yet in this case might passe as sufficient) but likewise of *Thucydides* and *Plutarch*, witnesses beyond all exception, whereof the latter in the 3 booke and 4 question of his *Symposiaques* gives us to understand, that their custome was with the bodies of ten men to burne one of a woman, because they supposed their flesh to bee more unctuous, and thereby to helpe forward the burning of the rest more easily and speedily; The same author likewise writes of *Pyrrhus* in his life that the rest of his body being consumed to ashes, only his great toe with which he cured the *Spleene* remained unburnt. And surely had Anatomy bin in use among the *Grecians*, mee thinkes Physitians and Anatomists should somewhere discover it in the works of *Hippocrates* yet extant, which I presume cannot be showne; once I am sure, that when at the instance of the *Abderites* he came to visite *Democritus*, he found him (as may be seene in his Epistle to *Damogetus*) cutting up severall beasts, who being by him demaunded the reason thereof, *Democritus* returnes him this answer, *Hæc animalia quæ vides propterea feci, non dei opera perosus, sed fellis bilisque naturam disquirens*, these beasts which thou seest, I cut up, not because I hate the works of God, but to search into the nature of gall and choller: now if he feared lest the cutting up of beasts might be censured as an hating of Gods workes, hee must needs much more have feared that censure, had hee cut up the bodies of men.

But among the *Iewes* it is evident, that this Art could not bee in use, for that their executed malefactours were put to death either by burning or stoning, (whom they buried under an heape of stones) or by crucifying them upon a crosse, and for these they had expresse charge, *Deu. 21.* at the last verse, that they should not suffer them to hang all night upon the tree, but in any wise must they bury them the very day they were crucified: and besides it was most precisely enjoined them *Numbers 19. 11.* that they might not so much as touch the dead body of any that was either executed, or died otherwise, and hee that touched it was by the law of *Moses* so farre held uncleane, that if he presumed to enter into the tabernacle before he was purified, he was to be cut off from *Israel* for defiling it; nay, if in this case he but touched bread or portage, or wine, or oyle, or any meate, hee thereby made it uncleane, as appeares *Aggæ 2. 13.*

Some more doubt seemes to bee touching the ancient *Romans*, but I thinke it may easily bee shewed, that from the *Grecians* they likewise tooke up & practised the burning of dead bodies: the places which they commonly used to this purpose were by them called *puticuli* or *culina*, & the pots or vessels in which they preserved the bones & ashes of the burnt bodies, *Urna*, whereof I have seen one in *M. Chambers* his keeping at *Bath*: but all the difficultie seemes to consist in this, when this custome began among them, and when it ceased; for the former it is commonly held, that it was not in use among the *Romans* before *Sylla* the Dictator, who having himselfe cruelly tyrannized upon the dead body of *Marius*, & fearing lest the same measure might be shewed to himselfe, commanded



manded that his body instantly upon his death should be burned, whereas *Plin.* 7.54. only sayes, that he was the first of the *Cornelian* family that had his body burnt; & *Tully* 2 *de legibus* restraines it more narrowly, *Primus è patritijs Cornelijs igni voluit cremari*, he was the first of the *Cornelian* nobility that commanded it; and hee that attentively reades the *Roman* story will easily finde, that this custome was practised among them long before *Sylla*, even from the first foundation of *Rome*, so witnesseth *Ovid* in his 4. *de Fastis*, speaking of *Remus* the brother of *Romulus*;

*Arsurosque artus unxit.*

The limbes that now were to be burnt  
His brother did annoynt.

And againe:

*Vltima plorato subdita flamma rogo est:*

The last fire now was set unto his hearse.

After this *Numa* being by sect a *Pythagorian*, forbad his owne body to bee burnt, as witnesseth *Plutarch* in his life, which he needed not have done had not the custome then beene usuall. and *Tullus Hostilius* his successor had not his body therefore burnt because he was stricken dead with lightning, for so was the Law. After this again *Tully* in his second *de legibus* tells us, that the Law of the 12 Tables commanded, *Hominem mortuum in urbe nè sepelito, nè urito*: let no dead body be buried or burned in the Citie, which (as he there addes) was for feare their buildings might from thence take fire: now the Lawes of the 12 Tables were composed, as witnesseth *Gellius* 20.1. in the 300 yeares after the foundation of the City, which was almost 400 yeares before *Sylla*; and if any desire further satisfaction in this point, I referre him to the learned and copious *Annotations* of *Blasius Vigerus* in *French* upon the first *Decade* of *Livie*, which Authour himselfe hath excellently translated into that language; among other examples produced by him to their purpose, he makes it plaine out of *Livie lib. 8.* that the body of the sonne of *Manlius* the *Consull*, (who contrary to his fathers command fought out of his ranke, & was therefore by a command from the same mouth put to death) was presently carried out of the campe and burned with all military pompe, and this he assignes to the yeare 412 by his computation, above 270 yeares before the death of *Sylla*.

Now this practise of the *Romans* I have the longer insisted upon partly for the checking of a common error, holding that before *Sylla* the *Romans* burnt not their dead bodies, and partly to shew that many of those monstrous Gyantlike bodies, which as well among the *Romans* as *Grecians* are said to have beene digged up, where undoubtedly burnt, but chiefly that hereby it may appeare, that the noble and usefull practise of anatomizing mens bodies, was not in use among them, neither indeed could it bee, considering they held it unlawfull, *aspicere humana exta*, as *Pliny* speakes in his proeme to his 28 booke, to looke upon the entrals of mens bodies, and *Dion* in his 55 tells us, that it was granted to *Tiberius* to touch the body of *Augustus*, *quod nefas aliàs erat*, which was otherwise unlawfull: & from hence it was that their *Vespilliones*, *Coriarij*, *Pollinctores*, *Libitinarij*, and other officers of that kinde imployed about



Sen. nat. quest.  
3. 18.

about the washing, the annointing, the carrying forth, the burning and providing things necessary about the dead, were not suffered to live in the City, and the bodies themselves were burnt without the City, and few there were that went forth of the city gates to wait on the funerals of their neereft and deereft friends.

Now the Antiquity of this custome being cleared, a second doubt there is, when it ceased: manifest then it is, that it continued in use till the *Antonius*, and then began it by degrees to be disused, *Macrobius* witnessing in the seaventh booke and seaventh chapter of his *Saturnals*, that in his time it was in a manner growne out of use, yet certaine it is that the bodies of *Pertinax* and *Severus* fifty yeares after, were both burned, as reporteth *Dion* of the one, and *Herodian* in his fourth book of the other: and neere about this time it was that *Galen* lived, so as I verily beleeeve hee never or very seldome opened the bodies of men, I know that *Riolan* and *Laurentius* have both of them zealously defended him against the Neotericks, who charge him with much weakenesse and ignorance in this Art, but I cannot observe that either of them hath produced so much as one cleare passage out of any part of his workes, to prove that he ever so much as once opened the body of man: dogges indeed, & swine, & apes it appeares he opened, & once an Elephant, but for his usuall opening of mens bodies, in my minde they bring no sufficient proofes, which *Laurentius* himselfe well perceiving, modestly concludes his answer to the first instance brought against *Galen* with a *verisimile est*, it is likely that he cut up the bodies of men.

But let us passe on from the *Jewes* and *Gentiles*, to the Primitive *Christians* who were (as their workes shew) professed adversaries to this practise. *Tertullian* in the fourth chapt. of his booke *de anima*, speaking of *Herophilus*, doubts whether he may call him *medicum* or *lanium*, a Physitian or a butcher, *qui hominem odijt ut nosset* saith hee, who hated mankinde that he might know it, & *S. Augustine de Civit. dei* 22. 24. harpes much upon the same string, *Etsi medicorum diligentia nonnulla crudelis quos anatomicos appellant laniavit corpora mortuorum*: howbeit the over-diligent crueltie of some Physitians whom they call *Anatomists* hath butchered the bodies of the dead: And to like purpose is that of *Boniface* the eight, *extravag. commun. lib. 3. tit. 6. cap. 1.* where he severely threatens such with the thunderboulte of *excommunication* irrevocable, but onely by the sea *Apostolique*, who exenterate dead bodies, and cut the flesh from the bones, mangling it into gobbets, *quod non solum* (saith hee) *divinae majestatis conspectui abominabile plurimum redditur, sed etiam humane considerationis obtutibus occurrit vehementius abhorrendum* which is a practise abominable in the eyes both of God and men. Out of all which it appeares that this practise of anatomizing the dead bodies of men, so profitable to bring us to the knowledge of our selves, and consequently of our maker, so necessarie to Physitians & Surgeons, was never brought into the bodie of a perfect art, till this latter age. *Nos multa quotidie prioribus seculis incognita observamus*: we observe many things utterly unknowne to former ages: And this last age in truth hath yeelded men singular in this art. *Vesalius, Vassens, Varolius, Sylvius,*

Laurentius.



us, Fallopius, Piccolhomineus, Columbus, Riolanus, Bauhinus, Laurentius, who followed Henry the fourth of France in his civill warres, & gained much experience by cutting up the bodies of such as were slaine in the field, *ut videatur hæc ars nunc summum perfectionis fastigium attigisse*, they be his owne words, so as this Art now, and never before seemes to have reached the very top of perfection. Never was it in any age so illustrated with lively and exquisite pictures, so encouraged with stipends, so furnished with schooles, fitting instruments, & all manner of helpes, & generally so honoured as it is at this day. And truly I have often not a little wondred with my selfe, that an Universitie so famous in forraine parts as this of Oxford, was never to my knowledge provided of a *publique Lecture* in this kinde, till now; as neither was it for a *garden of simples*, now in good forwardnes by the noble munificence of the Heroicall Earle of Danbie, nor of a *History Lecture*, nor of an *Arabique*, though it were long since solemnly decreed in the Councell of Vienna, that this University, as likewise Paris, Bononia, Salamanca, and Rome (which were undoubtedly then accounted the principall Universities in Christendome) should each of them have maintained two professors in that language, as also in Chalde & Hebrew: *Clementinarum, lib. 5. Tit. 1. cap. 1.*

Now for the knowledge of *Simples*, the other legge, as it were upon which *Physicke* stands, as *Theophrastus* was in many things amended by *Pliny*, and *Pliny* by *Dioscorides*, so hath *Dioscorides* himselfe by the happy travels of *Ruellius*, and *Rouillius*, and *Leonardus Fuchsius*, who in his Epistle to *Ioachim* Marquesse of *Brandenburge*, tells us, that this part of *Physicke* was a while since so utterly neglected and defaced, that had not God raised up industrious and learned men to restore it, *actum planè de Medicina Herbaria fuisset*, it had beene utterly lost: But *Hermolaus Barbarus* was he, who by translating *Dioscorides* out of Greeke into Latine, and by adding his *Corrolarium* thereunto touching the same subject, first recovered the ancient lustre thereof. And since, by reason of the discovery of many parts of the world unknowne to the Ancients, many plants, gummes, drugges, and minceralls, are by *Mondeus* and others knowne to us, which they never heard of.

To these *Herbalists* of this later age may bee added *Gerard* our owne Countrey-man, and *Dodonæus*, of whom *Meursius* gives this testimony; *De eo hoc fatendum, in sua arte illi pares paucos, superiorem neminem, usquam extitisse.* *Athenæ Palæstræ.*

## S E C T. 5.

*Of the profitable use of extractions, and the Paracelsian Physicke, either wholly unknowne to the Ancients, or little practised by them.*

**T**O the perfitting of the *Anatomicall* and reviving of the *Botanicall* art in this latter age, may bee added a new kinde of *Physicke* professed by a new sect of *Physitians*, never heard of in the world before; and altogether differing from the *Ancients*, as in name and tearmes of art, so likewise in rules, in matter, and methode & manner of proceeding,

as



as well for *doctrine* as *practise*; a founder it had (if wee may credit himselfe) descended of a noble and ancient familie among the *Helvetians*, the name which hee gives himselfe *Philippus*, *Theophrastus*, *Bombastus*, *abHoenhaim*, or *Paracelsus*, by which name he is now commonly known; borne he was in or about the yeare 1494, and died at *Salisburge* in *Germanie*, in the yeare 1541, being then but forty seven; a man strangely composed, as *Bullinger*, and *Gesner*, and *Operinus*, a Citizen of *Basile* (his bosome friend and individuall companion for some yeares) have characterized him: without learning, without civilitie, without religion, being never heard to pray, a great hater of women, and yet an excessive lover of wine, exceedingly vaine-glorious in his words and writings, & yet sordide in his apparell, and base in the company he willingly made choice of, which for the most part were Coach-men and Cartars, or bores of the Countrey, & with these would he sit up drinking all night, and (then seldome shifting himselfe) cast himselfe downe on a bed to sleepe, prodigall he was in his expenses, yet seldome wanted money, & sometimes having not a pennie in his purse over night, hee would draw forth handfulls of gold in the morning, which made men beleeve hee had indeed the art of transmutation of mettals, and that he carried with him the Philosophers stone in the pommel of his sword, which he alwayes wore: he spent some time in most of the Universities in *Christendome*, consulting in matters of physicke with *Doctours*, *Surgeons*, keepers of *Bathes*, wise men, *Magitians*, *Alchymists*, *Monkes*, and of all kinde of people: And lastly, passing into *Arabia*, he there likewise spent tenne yeares more in the same studies, (if we may credit *Bickerus* in *Hermete redivivo*) and so returning (as he there speakes) loaded with the spoiles of the *East*; hee brought to light in those parts of the world the use of *Hermeticall*, *Spagyricall*, or *Chymicall* Physicke, (as they tearme it.) So as where *Galen* mentions in his time but three sects of Physitians, *Empirikes*, *Methodists*, and *Dogmatiques*; we have now a fourth that goe under the name of *Chymiques*, *Hermetiques*, or *Paracelsians* (& a branch of them as I conceive, is the order *Rosae Crucis*) who treading in the steppes of their master, have changed *Aristotles* three principles of naturall bodies, matter, forme, and privation; into *Salt*, *Sulphur*, and *Mercury*; and from the severall temper of these three, they affirme all sicknesses and health to arise. I will not in all things undertake the defence of them, neither can I if I would; the truth is, they magnifie themselves too much, and overvaluing themselves and their owne wits, and worth, they too much disesteeme the precepts and practise of the Ancients; yet it cannot bee denied, but by reason of their artificiall *extractions*, *separations*, and *preparations* of their medicines; they have had happy successe in the curing of some desperate diseases, which in former ages have bin thought incurable; and *Paracelsus* himselfe, even by the acknowledgment of his adversaries, wrought wonders in the speedy healing of inveterate and festered ulcers; for that he was able by meere art to make *Homunculos* little men, or to raise the dead to life, or to prolong the life of a man to some thousands of yeares, (as hee vainely boasteth of himselfe) is I confesse no part of my Creede. Well then, leaving their vanities to themselves,



I doubt not but the most learned Physicians of this age, who sticke most to Galen, (if they be not led with faction or fancie, but with judgement, reason, and experience) will easily confesse at times a profitable use of the Paracelsian extractions in their practice, as being lesse loathsome, & cumbersome, and withall more active and vigorous, more spirituall and operative; as on the other side it must be granted, that being applied without good advise and moderation, they cannot but prove dangerous, by reason of their peircing and searching nature; so as the joyning of the Galenicall and Paracelsian Physicke together, making use of them both as occasion serves, is by 1 Audernacus, 2 Sennertus, 3 Quercitan, and some others of best note, held the best and safest course. I cannot here omit Quercitanes words to this purpose: *Si Hippocrates, vel Aristoteles, vel ipse etiam Galenus nunc revivisceret, obstupesceret certe tot ornamentis artem hanc adauctam atque illustratam, tot novis inventis ditatam, tot mirificis operationibus confirmatam*: If Hippocrates, or Aristotle, or Galen himselfe were now alive, they would wonder to see this art enlarged and beautified with so many ornaments, enriched with so many new inventions, confirmed by so many strange practises and experiments. Whereupon hee interres: *Verissimum itaque est quod sapientum quidam medicorum nostri seculi ait, creverunt cum ingenijs & ipse scientia artesque magna & incredibilia incrementa sumpserunt*: It is most true, which one of the wisest Physicians of our age affirmes, together with good wits the sciences sprang up, and the Arts are incredibly improved.

1. De veteri & nova medicina.  
2. De Chymicorum cum Galenico consensu.  
3. Pharmacopaeae dogmaticorum refutatio.

*Ad Paracelsum verò quod attinet*, (they are the words of the same Author) *equidem mihi nequaquam proposui ipsius theologi a patrociniū suscipere, sed prae illud testimonium quo Erasmus illum quibusdam epistolis ornavit ausim ego dicere & tueri, multum illum penè divinitus in re medica docere, & quae nunquam satis admirari & prae dicari grata posteritas possit*, Touching Paracelsus I will not take upon mee the defence of his divinity; but beside that testimony which Erasmus in some of his epistles affords him, I dare affirme and maintaine, that in Physicke hee hath taught many things by a divine inspiration after a manner, and such as gratefull posterity will never bee able sufficiently either to commend or admire.

Neither can I here in silence pass over that weapon salve first found out and brought into the light by the same Paracelsus, as the most received opinion is. Some there are I confess, who have written against it, but those who have written in defence of it, are no less learned and judicious, as namely Paracelsus himselfe, Oswaldus Crollius, Iohannes Ernestus, Burgravius, Rodolphus Goclenius, Iohannes Baptista ab Helmont a Doctor of phisicke at Brussells, Robert Flud Doctor of physicke of our owne nation, And to these adhere or at leastwise incline, Cardan, Baptista Porta, and my Lord of S. Alban, but on the other side I finde the practise hereof censured and cryed downe by Libavius, Tidicans, Keckerman, Iohannes Roberti a Iesuite, with whom joyne the universities of Louvain and Doway, who have written on both sides so learnedly as I may truly concerning them take up that of the Poet.

----- Vitulo tu dignus & hic.

A a

Yet



yet certaine it is, that the good though strange effects hereof have bin found by many and evident experiments, if wee may beleieve the relation of such, whose place and authority well deserves credit.

## CHAP. 8.

*Touching History, Poetry and the Art Military.*

## SECT. 1.

*That the moderne farre exceeded the Ancients in Chronologie and Cosmography, the two eyes of History.*

**A**S the two legges of *Physicke* are *Anatomie* and *Herbarie*, so the two eyes of *History* are *Chronologie* and *Topographie*, computation of times, and description of places: in both which it is certaine, that the *Modernes* have so farre exceeded the *Ancients*, as these seeme to have seene nothing in a manner in regard of them. First then for *Chronologie*, how dim sighted are the *Ancients* in the computation of times, how miserably doe they wander up and downe in the darke, & knocke their heads each against other, and how excellently have latter Writers, and specially *Ioseph Scaliger* in that most elaborate worke of his *de emendatione Temporum*, cleared those mists, and chased away that darknes. *Baronius* toward the end of his *apparatus* set before his *Annals* doubts not to affirme, that the Church of God anciently was wont to compute the yeares from the beginning of the world not according to the *Hebrew* originall, but according to the 70 interpreters; and *Genebrard* not farre from the end of his first booke assures us that the *Septuagint* or rather their corrupters of them added of their owne about 600 yeares.

Ex. 1. in Favon.  
1590.

It is to this purpose a notable speech of *Casaubons*, *Scientia temporum quantoperè fuerit post renatas literas exulta, quàm admiranda acceperit incrementa, asinus est qui ignorat inter literatos, malignus & beneficiorum Dei ingratus aestimator qui dissimulat, stupenda enim sunt quæ summi viri in nostra præsertim Gallia & Germania præstiterunt*. He that knowes not how much the knowledge of times hath beene laboured since the new birth of good letters, among the learned, can bee held but an asse, and hee who dissembles it, envious, and an ungratefull under-valuer of Gods blessings toward this age: admirable things they are which in this kinde men of note have atchieved, specially in our *France* and *Germany*. To which rich testimony of *Casaubon* fully accords that of *Scaliger* himselfe in the first cap. of the forenamed booke; *venio ad nostros, recentiores dico, qui hodiè summo cum fructu, sacra Græca & Romana historia tempora digesserunt. Li heroica virtute chronologiam negligentia & contemptu majorum intermortuam ac sepultam, è tenebris & oblivionis silentio quotidie eruere conantur. Certè meum semper iudicium fuit eam rem maiore cum laude ab illis restitutam, quam ab antiquis proditam fuisse. Nam non solum*  
pleraque



*pleraque in ratione temporum pristina integritati reddiderunt, sed & longe meliora efficerunt.*

The learned workes in *Chronologie* of *Funccius*, *Buntingius*, *Bucholcerus*, *Helvicus*, *Calvisius*, *Genebrardus*, *Gordonus*, *Salianus*, *Torniellus*, *Wolphius*, *Petavius*, and our *English Lively* (of whose skill in *Chronologie*, the same *Cusanus* makes honorable mention, *cont. Bar. Exer. 16. n. 13.*) their workes, I say, published to the world, make their words good, and fully testifie what hee there affirms. The computation of the yeare even among the *Grecians* (then held the wisest people of the world) was for a long time grosse and uncertaine, till *Meton* the *Athenian* corrected it; which invention of his being intertained with great applause, and passing from *Greece* to *Rome* was there inserted into their Calender in Golden letters, being from thence called the *golden number*, which name it still retaineth unto this day: but afterward, this being likewise found defective, *Calippus* devised a new *Cycle* containing foure of *Metons*; and after this againe *Hipparchus* a noble *Astronomer*, framed another, containing foure of *Calippus* his periods, each of them finding some error in the former observations, which they diligently amended; yet not so exactly, but a farther information still needed, which *Iulius Caesar* made, by the advice of the best *Mathematicians* then to be found, who more precisely examining the courses of the *Sunne* and *Moone*, reduced the yeare unto the former which is now in use with us containing 365 dayes and six houres, which houres in foure yeares make up one whole day that is intercalated every fourth yeare, the 24. of *February*: this worthy worke of *Casars*, *Plutarch*, and *Scaliger*, parallel with his greatest triumphs; yet was it not so accurate, but the first Generall Councell held at *Nice*, found in it somewhat amisse and reformed it: though some mistake was herein also observed by *Bede*, *Argyrus*, *Campanus*, *Iohannes de sacro bosco* and others, and thereupon was the right ordering thereof attempted by *Nicholaus Cusanus*, and *Petrus de Alliaco* Cardinalls; *Paule of Middleborough*, and *Lucas Gauricus* Bishops, *Regiomontanus*, *Stoflerinus* and *Pighius* learned men; but *Aloysius Lilius* was hee who composed a treatise thereof, which after his death being by his brother *Antonius* Dr of physicke, presented to *Gregorie* the 13<sup>th</sup> Bishop of *Rome*, he approved it so well as he sent Copies thereof to the chiefe Princes, and Universities under his jurisdiction, to crave their opinions thereupon, and consents thereunto; and for the better setting thereof, called to *Rome* the most famous *Mathematicians* through the world, professing the *Romish Religion*, who consulting of this great businesse by the space of ten yeares, at last agreed upon that Calender, which is called either *Gregorianum*, because it was published in the yeare 1582 during the Popedome, and by the command of *Gregorie* the 13<sup>th</sup>, or *Lilianum*, because it was for the maine ground thereof the invention of *Aloysius Lilius*, which though it be opposed by *Scaliger*, *Gernianus*, *Vietta*, *Mestlin* and others, yet hath *Clavius* (who was himselfe present and a principall actor in that *Mathematicall Synode* in *Rome*) undertaken the defence thereof against them all, how justly I leave it to the skilfull in that profession to judge, but this I thinke, that it is an easier matter to finde fault with that, then to finde out a better.



Now for *Topographie*, the other eye of *History*, *Strabo* often, and that deservedly censures *Eratostenes*, *Hipparchus*, *Polybius*, *Possidonius*, the gravest *Authours* among the *Ancients*, and *Ptolomie* sharply takes up *Marius Tyrius*, though otherwise a diligent *Writer*: yet both *Strabo* & *Ptolomie* themselves, if they be compared with our latter *Geographers*, *Hondius*, *Mercator*, *Thevet*, *Merula*, *Ortelius*, *Maginus*, *Cluerus*, *Gemma Frisius*, *Appian*, *Hunterus*, *Guicciardine*, *Michael Trammassinus*, *Franciscus Demongenitus*, *Bernardus Puteanus*, *Andreas Vavisor*, *Tramontanus*, *Petrus Martyr*, and the learned *Munster* how defective how imperfect would they bee found. Vpon the last of which this *Epitaph* is deservedly bestowed:

*Vrsatius Hist.*  
*Sasib.*

*Germanus Esdras heic*  
*Straboque conditur;*  
*Siplura quaris, audies*  
*Seb: Munsterus Ingelb.*  
*Theologus & Cosmogr:*  
*Inter primos summus.*  
*Solemne ascensionis mem:*  
*Anno Sal. M. D. L. II.*  
*Major sexag: morte pia*  
*Illustravit.*

Anno 1344.

The ignorance of former ages in this point was so grosse, that what time *Pope Clement* the sixth, as wee reade in *Robert of Avesbury*, had elected *Lewis* of *Spaine* to bee *Prince* of the *Fortunate Ilands*, and for to aide and assist him, mustred *Souldiers* in *France* and *Italy*, our *Countrey-men* were verily perswaded that hee was chosen *Prince* of *Brittaine*, as one (saith hee) of the *Fortunate Ilands*: yea and our very *Ligier Embassadors* there with the *Pope*, were so deeply in this opinion, that forthwith they with-drew themselves from *Rome*, and hasted with all speed into *England*, there to certifie their *Countreymen* and friends of the matter: It is very observable, indeed admirable, that neither *Herodotus*, nor *Thucydides*, nor any other *Greeke* authour contemporarie with them, have so much as mentioned the *Romans* though then growing up to a dreadfull power, and being both *Europeans*; and for the *Gaules* and *Spaniards*, the *Grecians*, as witnesseth *Budeus* in his fourth booke *de asse*, were so utterly ignorant of them, that *Ephorus* one of their most accurate writers, tooke *Spaine*, which hee calls *Iberia*, to bee a *Citie*, though the *Cosmographers* make the circuit of it to containe above 1136 *French miles*, so true is that of *Fracaistorius* in his *Epistle* to *Paule* the third *Bishoppe* of *Rome* prefixed to his booke which hee intitles *Homocentricorum: Majores nostri: &c.* Our ancestours knew little *Westward* beyond the *Fortunate Ilands*, and *Eastward* as little beyond *Catygara*, so as of the whole habitable world, hardly one halfe thereof was knowne to them. The head of *Nilus* was to the ancients utterly unknowne, as witnesseth *Herodotus* in his *Euterpe*, *Strabo* in his *Geographie lib. 17.* *Diodorus Siculus* in his *Bibliotheca lib. 1.* to which *Ovid* in his *Metam.* alludes:

*Nilus*



*Nilus in extremum fugit perterritus orbem,  
Occulitque caput, quod adhuc latet.*

Lib. 2.

*Nile fled for feare to the worlds utmost bound,  
And hidde his head, which cannot yet bee found.*

And with him doth *Lucan* accord,

Lib. 10. Pharf.

*Et te terrarum nescit cui debeat orbis  
Arcanum nature caput, non prodidit ulli:  
Nec licuit populis parvum te Nile videre,  
Amovitque sinus, & gentes maluit ortus  
Mirari quam nosse suos.*

Nor knowes the wondring world in what world bred,  
So nature, *Nile* conceales thy sacred head,  
None seeing thee not great; thy fountaines shee  
Hath set apart, and would that they should bee  
Rather admir'd then knowne.

Notwithstanding that the first originall of this river was sought after by many great Potentates, and that with excessive travell and charge, as namely *Sosistris*, *Cambyses*, *Alexander*, *Philadelphus*, *Nero*, yet was it discovered by none of them. *Sed hoc tempore ut alia multa comperta sunt veteribus incognita, sic etiam deprehensa sunt primordia Nili*, saith *Pererius* in *Gen. lib. 3. de Paradiso*: but now as many others things are found out unknowne to the ancients, so likewise among others the head-spring of *Nilus*, and that in vast marishes neere the mountaines of the *Moone*, not farre from the famous promontorie of *Good hope*, where is the utmost bound of the Continent, according to the latitude of the Globe of the earth, Southward:

Yet that which to me seemeth more strange, is that those two learned Clearkes *Lactantius* and *Augustine*, should with that earnestnesse deny the being of any *Antipodes*. Their words are worth the noting, thereby to see their confidence and eagernesse in the maintenance of so evident a mistake. *Quid illi, saith Lactantius, qui esse contrarios vestigijs nostris Antipodes putant, num aliquid loquuntur? aut est quisquam tam ineptus qui credat esse homines quorum vestigia sunt superiora quam capita? aut ibi quae apud nos jacent inversa pendere? fruges & arbores deorsum versus crescere, pluvias, & nives, & grandinem sursum versus cadere in terram? Et miratur aliquis hortos pensiles inter septem mira narrari, quum Philosophi & agros, & maria, & urbes, & montes pensiles faciunt?* What shall wee thinke of them who give out there are *Antipodes*, that walke opposite to us, doe they speake any thing to the purpose, or is there any so blockish as to beleieve there are men whose feet are higher then their heads, or that those things there hang, which with us lye on the ground? that the plants and trees spring downward, that the snow and raine, and haile fall upward upon the earth? and need any man marvell that hanging gardens are counted in the number of the seven wonders of the world, since the Phylosophers have made both fields and seas, cities and mountaines all hanging? *Lactantius* is herein seconded by *Augustine*: *Quod verò & Antipodes esse fabulantur, id est homines à contraria parte terra ubi sol oritur quando occidit nobis, adversa pedibus nostris calcare;*

De Civitate Dei  
lib. 2. c. 24.De Civitate Dei  
lib. 16. c. 9.



Aveninus in  
hist. Bojorum  
An. 645.

*calcare vestigia, nulla ratione credendum est.* Their fable of the *Antipodes*, that is, men dwelling in the opposite part of the earth where the Sunne rises when it sets to us, having their feete opposite to ours, is a matter altogether incredible, and by no meanes to bee beleevd. But *Zachary* Bishop of *Rome*, and *Boniface* Bishop of *Mentz*, led (as it seemes) by the authority of these Fathers, went farther herein, condemning one *Virgilius* a Bishop of *Salzburg* as an *Heretique*, only for holding that there were *Antipodes*. But time and travell have now discovered the contrary so evidently, that, we may as well doubt the being of a Sunne in the firmament as the experimentall clearenes of this truth.

And as evident it is now likewise found to bee by certaine experience, that under the middle or *burning Zone* (which the *Ancients* by meanes of excessive heat, held altogether *inhabitable*) there is as healthfull, temperate, and pleasant dwelling as any where in the world, as appears by the relations of *Benzo*, *Acosta*, and others. Yet that the *Ancients* held them *inhabitable*, appears by those verses of *Ovid*.

---- *Dne dextrâ calum totidemque sinistra  
Parte secant Zona, media est ardentior illis;  
Sic onus inclusum numero distinxit eodem  
Cura Dei, totidemque plaga tellure premuntur.  
Quarum qua media est, non est habitabilis æstu.  
Nix tegit alta duas; totidem inter utrumque locavit  
Temperiemque dedit mixta cum frigore flamma.*

And with him doth *Virgill* fully accord;

*Quinque tenent calum zona, quarum una corusco  
Semper sole rubens, & torrida semper ab igne  
Quam circum extrema dextra levæque trahuntur  
Ceruleâ glacie concreta atque imbribus atris,  
Has inter mediamque dua mortalibus agris  
Munere concessa Divum.*

Besides the *Ancients* (as it seemes) were altogether ignorant of the new World discovered in the yeare 1592 by *Columbus*, now knowne by the name of *America* or the *West-Indies*, whatsoever from *Platoes Atlantis*, or *Solomons Ophire* be feightly pretended to the contrary: Of the discovery whereof our English Latin Epigrammatist thus wittily writes.

*Cedere diluvium camposque patere liquentes,  
Nuncia de calo prima Columba venit.  
Æquora sic ultra nostris incognita, primus  
Nunciat immensos esse Columbus agros.  
Aurum, arrham secum tulit alter, & altera olivam;  
Alter divitias; altera delicias.*

Yet I confesse I have often wondred not a little at *Senecaes* bold propheticall spirit touching that discovery:

Seneca in *Medea*

<i>Venient annis</i>	<i>Secula seris,</i>
<i>Quibus Oceanus</i>	<i>Vincula rerum</i>
<i>Laxet, &amp; ingens</i>	<i>Pateat tellus,</i>
<i>Typhisque novos</i>	<i>Detegat orbes,</i>
<i>Nec sit terris</i>	<i>Ultima Thule,</i>

In



In latter times an age shall rise,  
Wherein the Ocean shall the bands  
Of things enlarge: there shall likewise  
New worlds appeare, and mighty lands  
*Typhis* discover, then *Thule*  
The worlds end shall no longer be.

This prophesie wee have found fulfilled not onely in the discovery of those vatt Regions before unknowne, but in opening by meanes of Navigation, and the helpe of the *Compassse* every creeke and corner of the habitable world, worth the knowing: so that now it hath, and never before had it, *thorow lights* made in it. Nay particular Countreys have bin of late yeares most exactly described by severall Writers. The *Netherlands* by *Lewis Guicciardine*, *Great Brittain* by the renowned *Camden*, & the like by others. Neither have there wanted some who have descended to Provinces and Shires, Master *Carew* to the survey of *Cornewall*, Master *Lambert* to the perambulation of *Kent*, and Master *Burton* to the description of *Lecestershire*: yea particular Cities, *Rome*, *Venice*, *Paris*, *London*, and the Houses of great Princes have found their particular Maps and delineations so fully and perfectly exprest, as in *Braunius* may bee seene, that a man who never saw them but in representation, may now speake as particularly of them, as if hee had beene borne and bred in them.

## S E C T. 3.

*That the defect of the Ancients in Naturall and Ecclesiasticall history is justly corrected by the Modernes, and in Civill history the Modernes are matched with the Ancients: And of the knowledge of weights and measures, and the true valuations of coynes recovered & restored by later writers, which thorow the neglect of former ages had well nigh perished.*

**T**He body of *History*, branches it selfe into *History Naturall*, *Ecclesiasticall*, and *Civill*. For the first it is most certaine, that even *Aristotle* himselfe and *Pliny* were ignorant of many things, and wrote many not onely uncertaine, but now convinced of manifest error and absurdity, *Conradus Gesnerus* hath laboured this part of *History* most industriously: but others who have undertaken severall pieces of this burden more exactly, some *de animalibus insectis, crustaceis, testaceis, Zoophytis*, as *Abdrovandinus*. Some of fishes, as *Rondoletius*: Some of Bathes, as *Baccius*, and *Blanchellus*, and *Michael Savanorola*; Some of Metals, as *Georgius Agricola*; and some of plants and vegetables, as *Mathioli*, *Ruellius*, *Fuchsius*, *Bauhinus*, *Lobelius*, to whom may bee added the commendable paines of *Gerrard* in our owne language. And some others againe purposely of some one particular kinde of beasts, or birds, or fishes, or plants, or bathes, or metals.

*History Ecclesiasticall* hath likewise beene shamefully abused by thrusting into it many *fabulous narrations* of the lives of *Saints* and deaths of *Martyrs*: and so much doe the *Romanists* themselves acknowledge, as



Cap. 1.

namely Mariana though a Iesuite, in his booke of the comming of James the Apostle into Spaine; *Quis enim negare negare possit fastos Ecclesiasticos aliquando adulatione temporum, aut potius incuria hominum, multis maculis contaminatos, libris alyis quibus preces Ecclesiastica ritusque sacramentorum continentur multas fuisse inspersas confusasque fabulas & commentas. Addam, nonnunquam in templis reliquias dubias, prophana corpora pro sanctorum (qui cum Christo in caelo regnant) exuvijs sacris fuisse propositas; Est enim miserum negare non posse, quid sit turpe confiteri; at nescio quo pacto fictis sepe fabulis & preposteris mendaciorum nugis populus magis quam veritate & sinceritate capitur, ea est mentis nostra inanitas, has sordes ubi semel irrepserunt in Ecclesiam, sacramentorum ritus, libros Ecclesiasticos, nobis fortassis dormientibus, atrectare nemo audet, mutire nemo, ne impietatis suspicionem commoveat scilicet, & religioni adversarius esse videatur.* Which words of Mariana I wonder how they escaped the Index expurgatorius; yet Canus a Dominican Fryer comes little short of him; *Dolenter hoc dico, multo severius a Laertio vitas Philosophorum, quam a Christianis vitas Sanctorum fuisse scriptas; longeque incorruptius & integrius Suetonium res Caesarum exposuisse, quam exposuerint Catholici, non res dicam Imperatorum, sed Martyrum, Virginum, & Confessorum.* In like manner, Ludovicus Vives unto the same purpose much complaines; *Quae de sanctis scripta sunt, praeter pauca quaedam multis fadata sunt commentis, dum qui scribit affectui suo indulget, & non quae egit Divus, sed quae ille egisse cum velle, exponit.* To whose testimonies it shall not bee amisse to adde that of Cardinall Bessarion, who as Bodin reports it, when hee saw many cannonized for Saints at Rome, whose courle of life hee much misliked, professed that hee much doubted whither those things were true which by the Ancients were delivered touching their pretended Saints; and in truth I thinke, wee may justly say, that the greatest part of them who have beene conversant in writing these kinde of Legends, proposed none other scope to themselves then that which did the Comedian to himselfe.

Prolog. And.

*Poeta quum primum animum ad scribendum appulit,  
Id sibi negoti credidit solum dari,  
Populo ut placerent quas fecisset fabulas.*

Baronius, and before him the Magdeburgians, have both very diligently, though with different purposes travelled herein; in so much that now betweene them both, wee have made up a compleate History of the Church, which former ages never saw.

Lib. 10. cap. 1.

Civill History indeed the Grecians and Romans excelled in, but with much partiality on both sides, and many speeches they have put into the mouthes of Commanders and others, meerely fained; Quintilian doubts not to oppose Salust to Thucydides, and to equall Titus Livius to Herodotus; and besides, they lay in darkenesse and obscurity, for the space of many hundred yeares together, till this latter age, in which they were not onely drawne into the light, but emulated and equalled. Cornelius Tacitus so much magnified, as that Tacitus the Emperour by a publique edict commanded him to

Grm. tit. 1. 4. c. 2

bee



bee laid up in all Libraries, and copies of him to bee transcribed ten times every yeare: Sr Henry Savill sharply censures for his stile, taking occasion from those words in the life of *Agricola*, *bonum virum facile crederes, magnum libenter: at te* (saith he) *Corneli Tacite bonum historicum facile credimus, bonum oratorem crederemus libenter*, were it not for this & some other sayings of the like making: *Fuit illi viro*, saith *Tacitus*, (judging of *Seneca* as we may of him) *ingenium amatum, & temporis illius auribus accommodatum*: How that age was eared long or round I cannot define, but sure I am it yeelded a kinde of sophisticate eloquence and riming harmony of words; where-under was small matter in sense, when there seemed to be most in appearance, and diverse instances he brings out of *Tacitus*; and as Sr Henry Savill taxes him for his phrase; so doth *Strada* for his History, in that not content with bare relations, he addes of his owne conjectures, animadversions, interpretations of actions, sometimes favouring of detraction, sometimes of flattery, and for the most part, as it best served his turne, to make way for the displaying of his wit in his politicall observations and precepts, as he shewes by diverse passages taken out of him, accusing him likewise of irreligion: and with *Strada* herein accords *Lipsius*, who calls *Tacitus*, *immemorem, secumque pugnantem*, unmindefull of what he had said, and crossing himselfe: *Bonamicus, sectantem veri speciem relictam veritate*, a follower of the shadow of truth, leaving the truth it selfe: *Cesar Baronius*, who convinces him of envy and lying: *Tom. 1. Annal. lib. 21. cap. 24.* as likewise doth *Marsilius Ficinus de Christiana religione, cap. 35.* and *Dion nepos in vita Probi Imperatoris*. And to passe by others, *Tertullian*, who lived in the next age after him, stiles him *mendaciorum loquax*, a loud liar, and in truth his vaine and fabulous narration touching the Jewes, in the last booke of his history, together with his virulency against the Christians, *Annal. 15. 10.* shew him to have beene none other, whatsoever he pretend to the contrary: But I leave him and returne to *Civill Historie* in generall, of which *Gerardus Iohannes Vossius*, the famous Professour of History at *Leyden*, hath composed an art not attempted to my knowledge by any of the Ancients, which he intitles *Ars Historica*, and digested it into 32 Chapters: the same learned Authour hath in two volumes given his judgment of all the Greeke and Latine Historiographers, amongst which hee doth not alwayes preferre the former before the latter, but in his first Booke and first Chapter of *Latine Historie* tells us: *Habet Historia quasi pueritiam suam, habet adolescentiam, item etatem statam, denique sua ei quoque senectus fuit: nec minus ea gradibus suis distincta, quam variare illam in hominibus videmus: Historie* hath its childhood, it hath its youth, as also its manhood or full growth, and lastly its old age, and all these no lesse distinct in their severall stations, then we see them vary in men: but herein is the difference, men ordinarily returne not from decrepite age to youth againe, as *Historie* did, by confession of the same Authour in his third Booke and Contents of the first Chapter: *a longa historia senectute ad ea transit tempora, quibus, (ut rerum omnium Circuitus sunt) literarum etiam & eloquentiae honos capit revirescere*, after a long old age of *Historie*, we are now come to those times (such a revolution



lution there is of all things) in which the honour of learning and eloquence began to reſlouriſh.

In cap. 9.

Orat. pro Gal-  
la.

To come nearer home, *Sr Walter Rawleigh*, for ſo farre as he hath gon in the *History of the world*, is matchable with the beſt of the *Ancients*. *Francis Guicciardine*, *Comines*, *Thuanus* not inferiour to any. The ſecond of which, *Lyſſius* in his note upon the firſt booke of his *Politickes*, doubts not to compare *cum quovis antiquorum*, with the beſt of the *Ancients*: and the third, for elegancie of ſtile and variety of weighty matter, *Lanſius* equalls *cum quibuſvis ſive veterum, ſive recentium in eo genere ſcriptis*: with any writings in that kinde either of the *ancients* or *moderne*, and the particular *Histories* of moſt *Countries*, have received, as it were, new light and freſh colours in this latter age. The *Spaniſh* from *Mariana*, and *Turquet*; the *French* from *Peter Mathew*, and *Du Serres Aubignaus*; the *High Dutch* from *Paulus Iovius* and *Sleidan*; the *Low Dutch* from *Meteranus* and *Vbbo Emmius*; the *Scottiſh* from *Buchanan*, the *Irish* from *Stannihurſt*, the *Sicilian* from *Fazelus*, the *Turkiſh* from *Knoles*; and for our owne ſtorie, it lay diſperſed in the narrations of ſeverall writers, and thoſe for the moſt part *Monkes*, till *Polidor Virgil* collected it into one body: but in my judgement *Sr Henry Savill* and *Mr Camden* have better deſerved, by preſenting us the *Authours* themſelves in two ſeverall volumes: Some peeces hereof wee have very well done in our owne language, as the three *Norman Kings*, *Henry the fourth* and *Edward the ſixt* by *Dr Hayward*: *Edward the fifth*, or rather *Richard the third* by *Sr Thomas Moore*; *Henry the ſeaventh* by my Lord of *S. Albanes*; the life of *Queene Elizabeth* by *Mr Camden* ſince tranſlated. But for the entire courſe of our *Chronicles* fully and fairely done, the worthy travells and great expence of *Mr John Speede* in the accurate performance of that noble worke well teſtifie his fervent zeale to his Countrey, and deſerves both acceptance and commendation of all good Patriots.

Neither have there beene wanting ſuch as have written, and that very commendably the lives of particular men, eminent for vertue, or learning, or place. *Onuphrius* and *Cicarella* come nothing ſhort of *Anaſtaſius* and *Platina* in the lives of the *Popes*. The lives of the *Emperours*, *Petrus Mexias* hath well performed. *Serrarius* of the *Archbishops* of *Mentz*, and *Mathew Parker* *Archbishop* of *Canterbury* of his Predeceſſours. *Barlet* hath with good approbation published the life of *Scanderbegge*, *Zenocarus* of *Charles the fifth*, *Catena* of *Pius Quintus*, *Doctour Humphreys* of *Bishop Jewell*, *Sir George Paule* of *Archbishop Whiregiſt*: and *Dr Carleton* late *Bishop* of *Chicheſter* of *Mr Gilpin*: and it were to be wiſhed that this kinde of *History* were more in uſe, as well for the honour of the deceaſed, as the incitement of the living; in which kinde *Thevet*, and *Paulus Iovius*, and the right Reverend Father in God, *Doctour Godwine*, now *Bishop* of *Hereford*, deſerve both prayſe and imitation.

An appendix of *hitoric* is the right valuation of *weights* and *meaſures*, and *coynes*, which though they were doubtles knowne to the *Ancients* who uſed them; yet ſince for many ages paſt, the knowledge of them

hath



hath much growne out of use, and was in a manner lost; which bred a marvellous great mistake and confusion in *historie*, untill by the worthy paines of *Budeus*, *Gesnerus*, *Alciatus*, *Glarianus*, *Agricola*, *Villalpandus*, *Mariana*, and our learned Countrey-man *Edward Brierwood*, late professour of *Astronomie* in *Gresham Colledge*, it was againe regained and restored: And if any desire to see all that have written of this subject, I referre him to *Gasper Wolphius* his treatise, intituled, *Virorum illustrium alphabetica enumeratio qui de ponderibus ac mensurarum doctrina scripserunt.*

## S E C T. 3.

*A comparison betweene the Greeke and Latine, as also betweene the ancienter and latter Latine Poets, and those that have written in other languages, and that poetry as other arts hath fallen and risen againe in this latter age.*

**T**OUCHING *Poetrie* for the inventive part thereof, *Sir Philip Sidneyes Arcadia* is in my judgement nothing inferiour to the choicest peece among the Ancients, and for the Poets themselves it is true of the most ancient, both among the *Greekes* and *Latines* which *Bartas* hath of *Marrot*:

Thee *Marrot* I esteeme even as an old *Colosse*  
All spoyled, broken, overgrowne with mosse,  
Worne picture, Tombe defac'd, not for fine worke I see,  
But in devout regard of their antiquity.

*Volcatius Sidigitus* having named nine of the *Roman Comedians*, addes *Gellius* 15.24. in the close of all:

--- *Decimum addo antiquitatis causa Ennium.*

*Ennius* as tenth I adde,  
Because hee ancient'st is.

*Quos (sicut praesens tempus ostendit) non solum neglectui, verum etiam risui habere jam coepimus*, saith *Macrobius*, speaking of the ancient Poets in his sixth booke *de somnio Scipionis* and first chapter; whom (as the times present shew) we now begin not only to neglect but to laugh at.

This controversie being it seemes on foote in *Horace* his time, (as in all ages it hath beene) he wittily demaunds this question.

*Si meliora Dies, ut vina, poemata reddat,  
Scire velim pretium chartis quotus arroget annus.*

If as time betters wine, it betters Poems too,  
Tell me how many yeares doth give the price enough.

And in the end concludes,

*Qui veteres ita miratur laudatque Poetas  
Ut nihil anteferat, nihil illis comparet, errat.*

Who praises and admires old Poets much doth erre,  
If nought he doth compare, or nought to them preferre.

*Vis imiter veteres Chrestille tuosque Poetas,  
Desperiam si scis carmina quid sapiant.*

Saith



Lib. II. ep. 55. Saith *Martial*,

Thou would'st *Chrestillus* that I imitate  
The Poets ancient, and of thy palate;  
But with this caution let me surely perish  
If thou canst best judge what verses best do relish.

*Hercules Ciopharus* witnesseth, that *Palnudes* well knowing that Greece had not a Poeme so abounding with delight and beauty, as *Ovids Metamorphosis*, translated it into that language. And generally the Latine Poets, who came after the Greeke in time, are notwithstanding by *Scaliger* preferred before them; And by name *Virgill* before *Homer*, *Virgilius artem ab eo rudem acceptam lectioris naturæ studiis atque iudicio ad summum extulit fastigium perfectionis*: *Virgill* receiving from him an unpolisht art by the studie and judgement of a choiser temper, raised it to the utmost point of perfection. And againe, *Equidem unum illum censeo scivisse quid esset non ineptire, unum esse inter omnes unicum, singulis autem instar omnium*. Truly I thinke hee onely knew what it was not to trifle, that hee was the onely one amongst them all, and instead of all being compared with any one. To which I know not what can bee added, except that of *Macrobius* exceede it. *Hæc est Maronis gloria, ut nullius laudibus crescat, nullius vituperatione minuat*: This is *Virgils* commendation, that a man can neither adde to him by praying him, nor take from him by dispraying him. *Juvenall* puts him in equall ballance with *Homer*.

Scaliger.

*Conditor Iliados cantabitur, atque Maronis,  
Altis soni dubiam facientia carmina palmam.*

And againe,

Scaliger.

*Committit Vates, & comparat inde Maronem  
Atque alia parte, inrutina suspendit Homerum.*

But *Propertius* doubts not to preferre him before *Homer*,

*Cedite Romani Scriptores, cedite Cray,  
Nescio quid majus nascitur Iliade.*

And so doth a late friend of mine, no lesse commendable for his Poetry then *Divinity*, who upon occasion of this controversie agitated betwixt *Scaliger* and *Lypsius*, sent me these ensuing verses.

## VINDICIÆ VIRGILIANÆ

Sive

### IVLII CÆSARIS SCALIGERI

*Virgilium Homero præponentis contra*

*I. Lips. Apologia.*

**V** Tcunque contra Iustus acriter pugnet,  
Sententia tamen libens tua accedo,  
Vatum severe censor & gravis Iuli,  
Cui Mantuanus omnium est apex summus  
Quotquot fuerunt, sunt, erunt Poëtarum.  
At Sol Stagira Cæsaris Deus primam  
Tribuit Homero, tribuit & Plato palmam.

Plato



Plato Poëtas exulare qui cunctos  
 Re prater unum hunc publicâ suâ iussit.  
 Tribuit uterque non nego merentique :  
 Sed tribuit olim seculis & haud paucis  
 Fulvum priusquam hunc hauserat Maro Solem :  
 Coeva namque floruiſſet *Aeneis*,  
 Nec occupasset *Ilias* & *Vlyſſea*,  
 Apollinarem noster iste censurâ  
 Sophi utriusque lauream reportasset.

Nam quod paterculum citas tuum *Lipsi*,  
 Acremque testem *Fabium*, utrumque laudantem  
 Et preferentem calculo suo *Chium*.  
 Ratione aberras, remque non putas recte.  
 Non quantacunque merita vasis nomen  
 Addunt, nisi atas temporisque longinqui  
 Adſit vetuſtas: nam recentibus livor  
 Malignus obſtat denſa nubila obtendens,  
 Suamque ſumma eruginem affricat laudi:  
 Ingens tua olim dignitas fuit *Publi*,  
 Incomparabilisque: verum adhuc cauſas  
 Declamitante *Fabio*, & improbe ſcriptis  
 Mendacibus *Velleio* adhuc adulate,  
 Novitas & invidia tue obſuit fama.  
 Nunc cum tibi adſint defuere qua ſacra,  
 Simul & tui occidit malignitas avi:  
 Emunctioris miror ut aliquis naſi,  
 Rerumque liber eſtimator & prudens,  
 Tibi aut *Homerum*, aut quemlibet Poëtarum  
 Cuicunq; ſit anteponat aut æquet.

Duo Poëtam verba reſque commendant,  
 Vtroque noster ſummus in genere vates.  
 Fœcunda fateor & beata verborum,  
 Graio ſupellex: interim tamen ſapè  
 Friget, jacetque negligens, levis, laxus.  
 Maroniana oratio gravis, caſta,  
 Illuſtris, apta, nobilis, ſibi conſtans,  
 Et mole commoda, artuum & toris firma:  
 Quati Deorum interpres, & *Camænarum*  
*Apollo* præſes, ipſaque utitur *Suada*.

Momenta verò quiſquis eſtimans rerum  
 Præponderare *Publio* putat *Chium*,  
 Ille aut *Achillis* pervicaciam ſevi,  
 Vaſrique *Vlyſſis* callidos dolos inter  
 Prudentiamque & fortitudinem, Herois  
 Piumque pectus *Dardani* quid eſt nescit:  
 Aut veritati authoritate prælatâ,



*Errare cum maioribus suis mavult  
Quam vera sapere cum minoribus, quorum  
Vecordia hoc est, imperitia est illud.*

*Sed iste Chius author, inquires, primus,  
Rerumque origo est, unde ceteri vates,  
Suumque suxit ipse Publius nectar.  
Primo negamus esse originem primam,  
Nam quas ab illo posterius hauriunt, illas  
Et ipse ab alijs forte fabulas hausit.  
Tum quicquid inde mutatur hic noster  
Non a Magistro id accipit, nec ut discat,  
Sed ut Magister adprobat quod est rectum,  
Aut devianti comiter viam monstrat,  
Docetque recte dicta perperam fari.  
Aut saltem ab illo si qua didicit, & quis non  
Sapiens per alium didicit atque profecit?  
Tamen ita didicit jure dicere ut possit,  
Πολὺν μάθηται χρεῖσθες διδασκάλων.*

Iohannes Dünæus  
S. T. B.

So much was the people of Rome affected with the recitation of Virgills verses, that they exhibited no lesse honour and reverence to him, reciting them, then to the Emperour Augustus himselfe: Yet if I should match Virgill himselfe with Ariosto or Torquato Tasso in Italian, Bartas in French, or Spencer in English, I thinke I should not much wrong him. Of the latter of which, our great Antiquary in the life of Queene Elizabeth, Anno 1591, gives this testimonie; *Musis adeo ardentibus natus, ut omnes Anglicos superioris ævi poetas (ne Chancero quidem concive excepto) superaret*, hee was borne so farre in favour of the Muses, that hee excelled all the English Poets of former ages, not excepting Chaucer himselfe his fellow Citizen. And among the Latine Poets, as they began their infancie or child-hood in Livius Andronicus, Ennius, Accius, Pacuvius, Nevius, Plantus, so they came to their full strength in Terence, Catullus, Tibullus, Ovid, Horace, Virgill, plus est exacti iudicii in una Comadia Terentiana quam in Plautinis omnibus, there is more exact judgement in one of Terence his Comedies, then in all those of Plantus. They declined in Martiall, Iuvenall, Silius, Statius: grew old in Serrus, Sidonius, Severus, Ausonius, but sprang up and reflowered againe in Palingenius, Aonius, Politianus, Cerratus, Vida, Pontanus, SanaZarus, Fracastorius; quos cum quovis veterum compares, multis, & non ignobilibus anteponas, saith the same Scaliger, whom a man may safely compare with any of the Ancients, and preferre before many of them, and those not of the lowest ranke. Crinitus his censure of the Latine Poets differs not

idem Scalig. 16.

Erasmus.



not much from this of *Scaligers*: and *Famianus Strada* hath so well both censured and imitated the chiefe of them, that hee comes nothing short of the authours themselves, which is the more to be wondred at, in that therein hee is to act so different parts, and to apply himselfe to so different vaines; nay his imitation of *Claudian* in expressing a controvertie betweene a *Lutist* and a *Nightingale*, for quicknesse and life may without prejudice bee equalled with any thing that *Antiquity* can boast of in that kinde.

It is true that (*Mantuan* excepted) few of the *Monkes* or *Fryars*, (who were counted the onely *Schollers* for a while) excelled in *Poetry*, for the most part they only delighted in rhyming, without either sharpnesse of wit, or neatnesse of stile, and sometimes they wanted all three: witnesse those poore verses upon *Venerable Bede*.

*Presbyter hic Beda requiescit carne sepultus,  
Dona Christe animam in caelis gaudere per ævum,  
Daque illi Sophia d' ebriari fonte, cui jam  
Suspiravit ovans intentus semper amore.*

*Presbyter Bedes* corse rests buried in this grave;  
Grant *Christ* his soule in Heaven eternall joyes may have:  
Give him of to be drunke the well of wisedome, to  
Which with such joy and love he striv'd and breathed so.

Which verses *William* of *Malmesbury*, though himselfe a *Monke*, bitterly censures, as being shamefull ones, unworthy the monument of so worthy a man: Neither can the shame, saith hee, be lessened by any kinde of excuse, that in the Monastery, which whiles hee lived, flourished as a Schoole of good letters, not a man could bee found to commend his memory to posterity, but in so barren and slender a stile. Yet were these tollerable verses in regard of those which passed with applause in succeeding ages, the famous King *Ethelbert* had this *Epitaph* set upon him:

*Rex Ethelbertus hic clauditur in poliandro,  
Familians certus Christo meat abque Meandro,*

King *Ethelbert* lyeth heere  
Clos'd in this Polyander,  
For building Churches sure he goes  
To *CHRIST* without *Meander*.

*Gervasius* de *Blois*, sonne to King *Stephen*, and Abbot of *Westminster*, was there buried with this,

*De Regum genere pater hic Gervasius ecce  
Est & defunctus, mors rapit omne genus.*

Bb 2

Even



Even father Gervase borne of Kings race,  
 Loe is dead, thus death all sorts doth deface.  
 Upon the Great Scale of Edward the Confessor was this verse ingra-  
 ven,

*Sigillum Eadwardi, Anglorum Basilei.*

But I most pittie the mishap of Francis Petrarch a man of singular lear-  
 ning, and himsele an excellent Poet as those times afforded, that his  
 bones could finde no better an Epitaph then this at Arqua in Italy;

*Frigida Francisci lapis hic tegit ossa Petrarchæ,  
 Suscipe virgo parens animam, sate virgine parce,  
 Fessaque jam terris cæli requiescat in arce.*

This stone doth cover the cold bones of Franc. Petrarch,  
 Thou Virgin Mother take his soule, thou Christ pardon grant,  
 Now weary of the earth he rest in Heavens Arke.

But when together with the regeneration of other kindes of learning,  
 Poetry likewise grew in request, among an infinite number which excel-  
 led in this kinde, I will onely instance in two, Ronsard and Buchanan: of  
 the former of which Pasquier hath written this singular Epigram.

Lib. I.

*Seu tibi numeri Maroniani,  
 Seu placent Veneres Catullianæ,  
 Sive tu lepidum velis Petrarcham,  
 Sive Pindaricos modos referre,  
 Ronsardus numeros Maronianos,  
 Ronsardus Veneres Catullianas,  
 Nec non Italicum refert Petrarcham,  
 Nec non Pindaricum refert laporem.  
 Quin & tam bene Pindarum emulatur,  
 Quin & tam variè exprimit Petrarcham,  
 Atque Virgilium, & meum Catullum  
 Hunc ipsum ut magis æmulentur illi:  
 Rursus tam graviter refert Maronem,  
 Vt nullus putet hunc Catullianum.  
 Rursus tam lepidè refert Catullum,  
 Vt nullus putet hunc Maronianum,  
 Et cum sit Maro totus & Catullus,  
 Totus Pindarus, & Petrarcha totus,  
 Ronsardus tamen est sibi perennis.  
 Quod si nunc redivivus extet unus  
 Catullus, Maro, Pindarus, Petrarcha,  
 Et quotquot veteres fuere vates,  
 Ronsardum nequeant simul referre  
 Unus qui reliquos refert Poetas.*

Whether thee Maro's number please,

Or



Or elegant Catullus vaine,  
 Or Petrarchs Thuscan gracefulness,  
 Or Theban Pindars lofty straine:  
 Ronfard doth Maro's rimes expresse;  
 And Elegant Catullus vaine,  
 And Petrarchs Thuscan gracefulness,  
 And Theban Pindars lofty straine.  
 He so expresseth Pindars stile,  
 So doth Catullus emulate,  
 Virgil and Petrarch, that the while  
 They all seeme him to imitate.  
 Grave Maro he resembles so,  
 None would him thinke Catullian:  
 So elegant Catullus too,  
 None would him thinke Maronian;  
 Though all Catullus, all Virgill,  
 All Pindar he and Petrarch bee,  
 Yet the same Ronfard is he still.  
 Maro, Catullus might wee see,  
 Pindar or Petrarch live againe,  
 And all th'other Poets more or lesse,  
 All joyntly hit not Ronfards vaine,  
 Who onely doth them all expresse.

To which we may adde *Pythæus* his *Epitaph* upon the same *Ronfard*.

*Summe poetarum quos prisca & nostra tulerunt,  
 Quosque ferent Gallis posthuma sacra tuis:  
 Parce nec ista tibi veluti data iusta putato,  
 Sed tanquam summis manibus inferias.*

Greatest of Poets whom old or present times,  
 Or future to thy *French* shall ere bring forth,  
 Pardon, those are not rights fitting thy worth,  
 But to thy great ghost like some sprinkling rimes.

Yet *Ronfard* himselfe being demaunded what hee thought of *Bartas* his Poems touching the workes of the first weeke, Truly *Bartas* (quoth hee) hath done more in one weeke, then I in all my life.

*S. Goulart in  
 not. ad Bartas.  
 Babyl. n. 52.*

Of the latter, namely of *Buchanan*, *Ioseph Scaliger* gives this testimony,

*Namque ad supremum producta poetica culmen  
 In te stat, nec quo progrediatur habet:  
 Romani imperij fuit olim Scotia limes,  
 Romani eloquij Scotia limes erit.*

Unto the highest pitch hast thou advanced Poetrie,  
 Rais'd to the height in thee it stands, and higher cannot flie.  
 Scotland sometime the limit was of Roman Empirie,  
 By thee of Roman eloquence Scotland the bound shall be.



## S E C T. 4.

*In military matters the Romans exceeded the Grecians, and have themselves beene matched, if not surpassed in latter ages, in weapons, in fortifications, in stratagems, but specially in Sea-fights.*

*Sir Walter Ram-  
leigh in his hi-  
story of the  
world.*

*Part. 1. lib. 5.  
p. 1. 501.*

**T**Hough *Mars* and the *Muses* have little affinity, and seldome lodge together, yet will I not feare to joyne the *Art Military* next to *Poetrie*. And though the knowledge hereof belong not to my profession, yet I dare say, it will not be gain-said, but as *Alexander* herein exceeded his Predecessours, so did *Julius Caesar* him, & generally the *Romans* the *Grecians*; yet a worthy Knight and expert Captaine himselve demaunding the question, whether was the better Souldier, the *Grecian* or *Roman*, makes answer the *Englishman*. And truly I thinke, hee who well considers what noble acts *Edward* the third, the *blacke Prince* his sonne, and *Henry* the fifth performed in *France*, and upon what tearmes and conditions, with what numbers, and against what enemies, will easily beleeve, that he spake not so much out of affection as judgement: The *Grecian* built his glory, and erected his triumphes of victory and trophies of honour, upon the delicacie of the *Persian* and nakednesse of the *Indian*, and the *Roman* for the most part, upon the division and rudenesse of poore barbarous nations; but the *English* his, upon the ruines of a stout warlike, and every way accomplished nation: and for *Caesar* himselve, if I should parallel him with *Charlemaigne*, *Hunniades*, *Tamerlane*, *Castriot*, *Ziska*, *Alexander Farnesius*, Prince of *Parma*, *Maurice* Count of *Nassau* and Prince of *Orenge*, or the great *Henry* of *France*, I thinke I should not disparage him. Of which latter *Pythæus*, comparing him with the great *Alexander*, hath composed this Epigram.

*Cui palma vestrum deferatur bellica  
Certavit orbis, resque stetit anceps diu,  
Sed mors secundum, Henrice, te litem dedit  
Fecitque primum & ultimum simul ducem.*

Which of you twaine the warlike palme should weare  
Hath the world strove, and long beene at a pause,  
But death O *Harry* gave to thee the cause,  
Both first and last of Captaines name to beare.

*Orat. pro Germ.  
pag. 1140.*

And of the late famous Prince of *Orenge*, *Lansius* doubts not to affirme, that hee was second to none of the ancient Captaines in greatnesse of minde, in wisdom of Counsell, in warlike vertues, and in the glory of his atcheivements.

The armour and weapons now used in the warres, as well for offence as defence, are nothing inferiour to the *Ancient*, nay many of them are doubtlesse more commodious, & some much more terrible: what childish weapons were the long-bow & crof-bow, if we regard annoyance of the enemy, in comparison of the *Gunne* and great *Ordinance*: and yet nothing so many are now flaine in the warres as then: so as the present  
are



are both of more ready dispatch, and for the most part in conclusion of the warre lesse bloody. I am not ignorant that discouries have beene written by fouldiers on both sides, some preferring the *bow* before the *gunne*, others the *gunne* before the *bow*, but the latter have beene by the most judicious preferred before the former, and time and experience have found their judgment true.

*Piccartus* likewise in his commentaries upon the fourth booke of *Aristotles* politicks by many reasons proves the *Cavallary* of these times by many degrees to exceed that of the Ancients, And for the managing of great horles. *Sigismundus Locotellus* of *Ferraria* the Schollar of *Fredericus Grifonius*, the great master of that art, so farre excelled all that went before him that hee purchased thereby to himselfe great love, and honour, and riches, as well from his owne countrey men as strangers; and by the imitation of great rewards was earnestly sued unto by the greatest Princes of *Christendome* to repaire unto their courts.

But for the matter of *Fortification*, there is no question, but this age exceeds any that have gone before it, as far as we can trace the prints & footsteps of *Antiquity*. It being now brought into Art, the professors whereof wee name *Enginers*, a word unknowne to *Ancestours*, at least in that sence: But the *Italians* are they who likewise in this Art have shewed themselves most skilfull; as well in the precepts as practise thereof, and have carried away the *Bell* from all other Nations, as may appeare both by their bookes and workes.

Yet *Bertius*, in his booke lately published *de pontibus & aggeribus*, is bold to affirme that the *Pollizado* lately made by the *French King* before *Rochell* for the taking of it, was a worke in that kinde beyond any thing which other nations or the ancients had seene; his words in his preface to the Reader to that purpose are these; *Hanc ego lucubratiunculam nunc eo, ut visis uno intuitu omnibus, iudices postea lector, annon superiorum regum temporumque gloriam rex noster Christianissimus non tantum assequutus sed etiam pratergressus sit.*

And for *Stratagems* of warre, whether we take them in their projects or effects, I conceivethose of latter ages to be nothing inferiour to those of auncient times, howsoever *Poliænus* and *Iulius Frontinus* in their severall bookes of that subject be pleased to admire them: What a blunt invention was that of the *Trojane* horse, in comparison of the surprize of *Amiens* by the *Spaniard*; or of *Breda* by the States of the *united Provinces* in the *Netherlands*; or the disordering of the *Spanish* fleete, by *Sir Francis Drake* in 88; or the sending of doves out of the besieged towne of *Leyden* for the bringing backe of intelligence by the advise & direction of *Doufa*, of which *Heinsius*,

---- *Qui falleret hostem*

*Doufa virum nequijt mittere, misit avem.*

But that recorded by *Sir Walter Rawleigh* in the fourth booke of his first part of the *History* of the world, and acted in *Queene Maries* time, is in my judgment matchable to any that ever yet I heard of. Hee thus relates it: The *Iland* of *Sarke* joyning to *Garnefay*, and of that government, was surprised by the *French*, and could never have beene recovered



vered againe by strong hand, having corne and cattell enough upon the place, to feede so many men as would serve to defend it; and being every way so unaccessable as it might bee held against the great *Turke*; yet by the industry of a Gentleman of the *Netherlands*, it was in this sort regained: Hee anchored in the roade with one ship of small burthen, and pretending the death of the Merchant, besought the *French*, being some thirty in number, that they might burie their Merchant in hallowed ground, and in the Chappell of that Isle; offering present to the *French* of such commodities as they had aboard: Where to (with condition that they should not come to shore with any weapon, no not so much as with a knife) the *Frenchmen* yeelded: Then did the *Flemings* put a coffin into their boate, not filled with a dead carkasse, but with swords, Targets, and Harquebushes. The *French* receiving them at their landing, and searching every of them so narrowly, as they could not hide a penknife, gave them leave to draw their coffin up the rocks with great difficultie; some part of the *French* tooke the *Flemish* boate and rowed aboard the shippe to fetch the commodities promised and what else they pleased; but being entred, they were taken and bound. The *Flemings* on the land, when they had carried their coffin into the Chappell, shut the doore to them, and taking their weapons out of the coffin, set upon the *French*, they runne to the cliffe and cry to their company aboard the *Fleming* to come to succour, but finding the boate charged with *Flemings*, yeelded themselves and the place.

Lastly, for *Sea fight*, this age undoubtedly surpasseth the *Ancient*, theirs being but *boyes play* in comparison of ours. What poore things were their *Gallies* to our ships, their pikes and stone-bowes and slings, to our Canon & musket shot; how untowardly the managing of their vessels, in regard of that skill, which latter ages have found out and practised: And herein I dare match our owne *Nation* (if perchance the *Hollander* have not gotten the start of us) with any in the world: onely it were to bee wished, that some worthy pen would undertake the reducing of these kindes of fights into an *Art*, as many have done the landservice, by setting downe rules and precepts for it, gathered out of observation: Sir *Richard Hawkins* hath done somewhat in this kinde, but brokenly and glancingly, intending chiefly a discourse of his owne voyage: Sir

*Lib. 5. c. 1. p. 6.* *Walter Rawleigh* tells us in his history of the world, that himselfe had entred upon such a worke, at the command of Prince *Henry*, but upon his death put it by: The intendment was noble, and the writer doublelie very able; so as it were to be wished, that those peeces and fragments which he left behinde him, touching that subject, were sought up and brought to light, that they might serve, if not for sufficient directions in matter of practise, yet for patternes and delineations to such as would farther advance and perfect so worthy a businesse; there being no one thing (as I conceive) which can bee more important for the state, or more concerne the safety and wellfare of this *Island*.



## CHAP. 9.

*Touching Grammar, Rhetorique, Logicke, the Mathematicques, Philosophy, Architecture, the Arts of Painting and Navigation.*

## SECT. I.

*Touching Grammar, Rhetoricke, and Logicke.*

**B**Ut leaving these considerations to *Souldiers*, let us returne to our owne *Element*, taking a view of the *liberall sciences*, among which *Grammer* deservedly challenges the first ranke, as being indeede the key that opens the doores to the rest. This latter age hath herein excelled so farre, that all the great learned Schollers, who have of late risen, specially if they adhered to the reformed Churches, have beene by the *Fryers*, and such like people in a kinde of skorne termed *Grammarians*: But these *Grammarians* are they, who by the helpe of *Philologie*, and the languages, have discovered so many forgeries and suppositious writings, now by all acknowledged so to be, which before passed as currant, as well in the workes of the *Fathers* of the Church, as prophaine *Authours*. These are they, who have presented us with so many exact *Translations* out of *Greeke* and *Hebrew* into *Latine*, & againe out of *Latine* into other languages. And howsoever *Albericus Gentilis*, and some others have written in defence of the *Latinity* of that translation of the Bible, which goes under the name of the *Vulgar*; yet can it not bee denied, but it is justly accused of much incongruity & barbarisme, which by latter *Translations* have beene reformed. These are they, who have vindicated infinite *Authours* from a number of foule corruptions, which by tract of time had crept upon them, thorow the ignorance or negligence of *Transcribers*, or *Printers*, or both: So that they have herein in a manner restored the *Authours* to themselves, making them speake in their owne words and sence; and besides by annotations, animadversions, commentaries and expositions, by the search and helpe of coynes, old Epitaphes, inscriptions, and such like remainders of Antiquity, have further added a marveilous great light unto them.

But for the manifold and needefull use of the mysticall art of *Criticks*, I referre the Reader to *Heinsius* his *Prolegomena*, prefixed to his *Aristarchus Sacer*. To which may be added the exquisite helpe of *Dictionaries*, *Lexicons*, and *Grammars* in this latter age beyond the precedent, not only for the easier learning of the Westerne languages, *Latine*, *Italian*, *Spanish* and *French*, but specially of the Easterne, the *Hebrew*, the *Chalde*, the *Syriacke*, the *Arabique*. The Christians scarce saw any grammar in *Hebrew* before that of *Capnio*, or *Reuchlin*, nor of *Chalde* before that of *Munster*, nor of *Syriacke* before that of *Tremellius*, *Masius*, and *Guido Fabritius*; nor of *Arabique* before that of *Raphelengius*, *Baptista*, and *Erpenius*: and (which is worth the observing) of all the annient Fathers, but onely two; among the *Latines* *S. Hierome*, and *Origen* among the *Grecians*,



*Grecians*, are found to have excelled in the *Oriental* languages, this last centenary having afforded more skilfull men that way then the other fiftene since *Christ*. To Grammar may likewise be referred the usefull art of *Brachygraphy*, or writing by short markes, which though it were practised among the *Romans*, as appeares by *Plutarch* in the life of *Cato Uticensis* and that of *Martial*.

Lib. 14. Epig.  
708.

*Current verba licet, manus est velocior illis,  
Nondum lingua suum, dextra peregit opus.*

Though words be swift, swifter the hand doth runne,  
The tongue hath not, the hand its worke hath done.

Yet have wee not certaintie that either the *Grecians*, or the *Hebrewes*, or any of those Easterne Nations had before the *Romans* the use or knowledge thereof, and besides, this invention for ought wee finde was lost in succeeding ages, but in these latter recovered againe, or somewhat at leastwise equivalent thereunto. And to *Brachygraphie* may be added, the writing by *Zifers* or *notae furtivae* secret markes for the hiding of the writers minde from others save him to whom hee writes it, as also the wittie invention of dezifring or discovering the most difficult of those secret characters; in both which, how farre latter ages have excelled the former, appeares not onely by the testimony of *Pancirollus*, and *Salmuth* in his commentaries upon him, but of *Hermannus Hugo* in his 17. chapter *de prima scribendi origine*.

*Anagrams*, *Chronograms*, and variations of verses though they bee not much usefull, yet are they the blossomes of wit which being ripened are fitter for greater matters. Of these we finde nothing among the Ancients; and incredible it is that which *Lansius* hath demonstrated in his Preface to the Reader of one verse, which by his computation may bee turned no less then thirty nine millions, nine hundred sixteen thousand and eight hundred severall wayes; his verse is.

*Lex, rex, grex, res, spes, jus, thus, sal, sol (bona) lux, lans.  
or thus.*

*Mars, mors, fors, fraus, fex, stix, nox, crux, pus (mala) vis, lis.*

In the next place, *Rhetorique* presents it selfe, which in truth was brought to the height among the *Grecians* and *Romans*, specially whiles their states remained popular: But in the general declination and decay of *Arts* which followed after, this likewise was well neare extinguished, that little life of it which remained, being reserved onely in the predicaney of *Postillars*, or the patheticall sermons of *Friers*, till *Sadoletus*, *Bembus*, *Muretus*, and others revived and reduced it to its ancient lustre.

*Logicke* indeed is it, wherein wee are thought to be most defective in regard of former ages; and it is true, that the *Schoole-men* had set their stocke, the utmost of their endeavours upon this part of learning, their whole life being in a manner little else but a perpetuall wrangling and altercation, & that many times rather for victory & ostentation of wit, then a sober & serious search of truth: so as their entrance being vaine, their end was likewise fruitlesse. What huge volumes have they compiled



piled of the *Predicables* and *Predicaments*: as if in them consisted the very spirit and soule of *Logicke*; whereas in truth they are rather an *Appendix* or *preparative* unto it, then *part* of it. By which meanes they kept men so long in the *porch*, that they entred not into the *house* till it was more then time to goe out of it. *Latter ages* finding this intollerable inconvenience, have well compacted the body of this Art into a lesser compasse (yet so as *Aristotles* Text is not to be neglected) and to this body have they not improperly added the doctrine of *Methods* as a necessary limbe thereof: whereas wee doe not finde that anciently, it was so held either by the *Founders* or principall *Masters* of this science, or at leastwise they have left us no sufficient *Rules* and precepts touching this most usefull part. Even *Hooker* himselfe (though otherwise no friend to *Ramistry*) acknowledgeth that it is of marvellous quicke dispatch, shewing them that have it as much almost in three dayes, as if it dwelt threescore yeares with them: and againe, that the minde of man is thereby restrained, which through curiosity, doth many times with perill wade farther in the search of truth then were convenient. And for *Raymundus Lullius* (a man it seemes of a strong braine) some great wits are of opinion, that by his *ars brevis*, greater matters may in the sciences bee more speedily effected, then by any helpe of the *Ancients* that went before him.

## S E C T. 1.

*Touching Astronomie and Geometry, as also the Physickes and Metaphysickes.*

FOR the *Mathematickes*, *Regio-Montanus* might in *Ramus* his judgement safely enough compare with the best of the *Ancients*: *Noriber-gatum Regio-Montano fruebatur, Mathematici inde & study & operis gloriam tantam adepti, ut Tarentum Archyta, Syracuse Archimedi, Byzantium Proclo, Alexandria Ctesybio non justius, quam Noriber-ga Regio-Montano gloriari possit*: Then did *Norinberg* injoy *Regio-Montanus*, and from thence purchased so great honour both of the studie and practice of the *Mathemrtiques*, that *Tarentum* could not more justly glory in *Archytas*, nor *Syracuse* in *Archimedes*, nor *BiZantium* in *Proclus*, nor *Alexandria* in *Ctesybius*, then might *Norinberg* in *Regio-Montanus*. I wil onely touch the two most noble parts thereof, *Astronomy* and *Geometry*. It was the opinion of the greatest part of the *Ancients*, not only, *Grecians*, *Egyptians*, *Arabians*, and *Hebrewes*, but many *Doctours* of the *Christian Church*, as appears by *Espencaus* in his *Treatise de Calorum animatione*, that the *Heavens*, or at least the *starres* were *living bodies*, informed with quickening soules. *Multi scriptores Ecclesiastici cæli rotunditatem non modo negarunt, sed etiam sacris literis adversari existimârunt*, saith *Pererius* in his second booke and third question upon *Genesis*; many of the *Ecclesiasticall Writers* not onely denied the *spericall* or circular figure of the *Heavens*, but were of opinion that it crossed the holy *Scriptures*. *S. Augustine* himselfe in diverse places seemes to make a doubt of it: but *Chrysostome*



some in his *Homilies* upon the Epistle to the *Hebrewes* dare challenge any that should defend it, & herin is he followed by *Theodoret* & *Theophilact*. But these fancies are now so generally cryed downe, that to revive the would be counted no lesse then folly, & to defend the absurdity. How grossly was *Tacitus* mistaken in the life of *Agricola*, in yeelding the reason of the short nights in the northerne parts of this Iland, as *Sr Henry Savile* in his Annotations upon that place hath made it evident. In how many things are *Aratus* & *Endoxus* corrected by *Ptolomy*, & *Ptolomy* himselfe by *Regio-Montanus*, *Alphonsus*, *Purbachius*, *Copernicus*: & they againe by *Clavius*, *Galileus*, *Kepler*. *Tycho Braye cum antiquitate tota in illo studiorum genere comparandus*, saith *Meursius*, in his epistle dedicatory prefixed to his *Athenæ Batavæ*. It was the error of *Aristotle*, that *via lactea* was a meteor; and not onely of *Aristotle*, but almost all before him, that there were but eight Celestiall Sphaeres; after this *Timocaris* about 330 yeares before *Christ* found out nine, but about the yeare of *Christ* 1250, *Alphonsus* discovered ten, and the received opinion now is, that there are eleven, the highest of all being held *immoveable*, the seate of Angels and blessed spirits. Vpon which ground *Fracastorius* in his fore mentioned Epistle to Pope *Paul* the third, doubts not confidently to affirme, *Superioris mundi illius quod cælum dicimus magnam partem maioribus nostris ignotam fuisse*, that a great part of that higher world, which we call heaven was to our ancestors unknowne: and then after a few lines addes: *Nunc vero (quæ utriusque mundi cognitio fato reservata fuerit ætati nostræ) & majori numero & modo magis admirando cogniti orbes sunt*, but now (as if the knowledge of both the worlds were by destinie reserved to this our age) the Celestiall Orbs are knowne both more in number, and in a manner more admirable. And thus wee see how truth is the daughter of Time, how one day teacheth another, and one night certifieth another; which is likewise verified in the admirable invention of composing the *Ephemerides*, unknowne to *Ptolomy* and the Ancients, who for want of the use of it were forced by Tables to make their supputations in a most toyle some manner: who was the first inventer thereof I am not certaine, saith *Cardan de rerum varietate lib. 11. cap. 59.* but *Purbachius* was the first who seemes to have brought it to light, after whom *Regio-Montanus* enlarged it, but *Zelandinus*, *Mestlinus*, *Stadius*, *Maginus*, *Origanus*, and others have since perfected it, *ita ut jam nihil desiderari posse videatur*, nothing seemes to bee wanting to it.

The like may be said of *Geometry*, I will instance onely in one demonstration, which is the *Quadrature* of a Circle. This *Aristotle* in diverse places calls *scibile* but not *scitum*, a thing that might be knowne, but as then not knowne, in as much as the meanes of finding it out, though much laboured, yet was it in his time unknowne among the Ancients: *Antiphon*, *Bryse*, *Hippocrates*, *Enclide*, *Archimede*, *Apollonius*, *Porus* travelled long & earnestly in the discovery hereof, but *Butco* in a booke written of purpose, hath accurately discovered their errors herein. And *Pancirollus* in his *nova reperta* tels us, that *annis abhinc plus minus triginta Ars ista fuit inventa, quæ mirabile quoddam secretum in se continet*: about thirty yeares since was that Art found out, which containes in it wonderfull



derfull secrets, And to shew that it is indeede found out, he there makes demonstration of it, approved and farther explicated by *Salmuth*, who hath both translated him, and written learned commentaries upon him. Notwithstanding *Ioseph Scaliger* in an *Epistle* of his to the States of the United Provinces, challenge this Invention to himself: *Nos tandem in conspectum post tot secula sistimus*, we at last after so many ages have brought to light, and exposed it to publique view.

True indeede it is, that *Adrianus Romanus* hath written an Apologie for *Archimede* against *Scaliger*, wherein he labours to prove that he hath not found out the conclusion he pretends, which is answered by *Scaliger*, and againe replied upon *Romanus*, but which of them hath the best I referre to the determination of the professours in that facultie: and hereunto annexe a brieve view, of the most observable inventions of moderne Mathematicians unknowne to the Ancients, sent mee from my learned friend Mr *Briggs* Professour of Geometrie at Oxford.

*Mathematica ab antiquis minus cognita.*

*Astronomia Copernicana qua docet Terram esse centrum orbis Lunaris, Solem vero esse centrum reliquorum omnium planetarum: quod in Venere & Mercurio, cum sint in inferiori parte suorum orbium etiam oculis deprehendi potest, ope tubi Optici nuper inventi. Docet etiam per motum Telluris diurnum, Ortus & Occasus omnium syderum: Et per motum ejusdem annum in Orbe suo magno, omnium Planetarum motus & distantias, eorumque in caelo progressus, stationes & regressus, multo facilius & accuratius investigare, quam per Ptolomaei aut antiqui cujusquam Epicyclos aut alias Hypotheses*

*Sydera quatuor Medicea (ita enim appellantur à Galileo Galilei Florentino quia ea per Tubum Opticum primus invenit) qua circa Iovis stellam perpetuò circumaguntur, & cum in ejus umbram inciderint, eclipsim patiuntur. Iovis radios solares intercipientes, eodem modo quo Terra in eclipsi Lunari.*

*Aequationem Algebraicarum omnium verum valorem invenire, si is sit rationalis: sin minus cum tamen proximè in numeris absolutis exprimere: idq; non minus accurate, quam latus quodlibet numeri surdi, vel linea cujusvis irrationalis longitudinem.*

*Data qualibet subtensa in Circulo, invenire subtensam trientis datae peripheriae: (quod Theon in Comentario in Ptolomaeum arbitrabatur esse impossibile) nec trientis modo, sed omnino cujuscumque partis, imparis vel parae. Partis imparis invenitur ipsa subtensa: at partis parae non invenitur unica operatione ipsa subtensa, sed tantum subtensa ipsius quadratum: quo autem magis fuerit novem partium, eo operosior erit subtensa inventio.*

*Canones Rectarum peripheriam Tangentium & Secantium, nulli antiquorum cogniti: quos Erasmus Reinboldus primus condidit, & Canon Sinuum (multo commodior Canone Subtensarum apud Ptolomaeum) à Iohanne Regio Montano primo traditus, & postea à multis accuratissimè supputatus.*

*Tota Logarithmorum Doctrina, à Iohanne Nepero Barone Merchistonij primùm inventa: de qua nullus antiquorum vel per somnium unquam cogitavit. Quà, plurima problemata Arithmetica, Geometrica, & Astronomica minimo negotio expediuntur, quae alias vel impossibilia censenda sunt, vel admodum difficilia; nec sine magno tædio, & multi temporis jactura absolvenda.*



*Aream Trianguli, Spharici, vel quantitatem anguli solidi invenire, primus docuit peritissimus Geometra Thomas Hariottus, cum ante eum nemo hoc sit assequutus. Hujus propositionis ignoratio Aristoteli imposuit ad 8 cap. libri 3. de cælo, opinanti locum solidum posse compleri à pyramide, idem etiam contigit P. Ramo ad 16. & 4 lib. Geometriae, qui idem fieri posse contendit etiā ab Octaedro.*

*Doli vel segmenti Spharoidis mensuram invenire, per modum, qui Archimedeum (prop. 31 & 33. libri de Conoidibus) subtili & accurata veritate adquare possit, facilitate vero longè superare.*

Whereunto we may add the excellent invention of geometricall engines and proportions, found out by *Simon Stevinus* and dedicated to the late renowned *Prince of Orenge*.

I will close up this consideration of the *Sciences* with a view of *Philosophy*, which branches it selfe into the *Metaphisickes*, *Physickes*, *Ethickes*, and *Politickes*: the two latter of which I will reserve to the next Booke, contenting my selfe at this time with the two former: First then for the *Metaphisicks*, that part of it which consists in the knowledge of *immateriall substances*, was undoubtedly neither so well studied nor understood of the ancient *Philosophers*, as now it is of *Christian Divines*. They knew little what belonged to the *attributes of God*, which of them were *communicable* to the *Creature*, which *incommunicable*, so as they might truly grave that *inscription* upon their *Altars*, *Ignoto Deo*, to the unknown *God*; Their ignorance was likewise no lesse touching the nature and office of *Angels*, the mansion or function of separated soules, nay not a few of the most ancient *Christian Divines* held the *Angels* corporeall, though invisible substances, and that the reasonable soule of man was derived from his *Parents*, whereas the contrary opinions are now commonly held both more *divine* and more reasonable.

The *Physickes* or *Naturall Philosophy* is it which the *Ancients*, & specially the *Grecians*; and among them *Aristotle* hath with singular commendation much enriched, yet can it not be denied, but he is by the experience of latter ages found very defective in the *historicall* part thereof: And for the speculative, both himselfe & his followers seeme to referre it rather to *profession* & *disputation*, matter of wit and credit, then use & practice: It is therefore a noble and worthy endeavour of my Lord of *S. Albanes*, so to mixe and temper practice & speculation together, that they may march hand in hand, and mutually embrace and assist each other. *Speculation* by precepts and infallible conclusions preparing a way to *Practice*, and *Practice* againe perfecting *Speculation*. Now among those practicall or active parts of *Naturall Philosophy* which latter ages have produced, *Pancirollus* names *Alchymie* for a chiefe one: And it is true that we finde little mention thereof in *Antiquity*, not suspected of forgery: But for mine owne part I much doubt whether any such experiment be yet really found or no: And if it be, whether the operation of it be not more dangerous & difficult then the effect arising from it, is or can be advantagious. But of this I am well assured, that as hee who digged in his Vineyard for gold missed it, but by opening the rootes of the Vines, thereby found their fruit the next yeare more worth unto him then gold: so whiles men have laboured by transmutation of metals



tals from one *species* to another to make gold, they have fallen upon the distillations of waters, extractions of oyles, and such like rare experiments unknowne to the *Ancients*, which are undoubtedly more pretious for the use of man, then all the gold of both the *Indies*.

## S E C T. 3.

*of the Arts of Painting and Architecture revived in this latter age.*

**H**ereunto may be added the *Arts* of *Horsmanship*, and *Herauldry*, *Agriculture*, & *Architecture*, *Painting* and *Navigation*, all which have beene not a little both *inlarged* and *perfected* in these latter ages: yet with this difference, that some of them together with the other *Arts* decayed, and againe revived with greater perfection: Others were never in their perfection till now: I will instance only in the three latter. To begin then with the *Art* of *Painting*. When the *Romans* arrived to the height of their *Empire*, they equalled, nay excelled the *Grecians* herein, who before were esteemed the best in the world.

*Venimus ad summum fortuna, pingimus atque  
Psallimus, & luctamur Achivis doctius unctis.*

*Horat. Ep. 1. l. 2*

To fortunes height we are aspir'd, we paint, we sing,  
The skilfull Greekes we passe in wrestling.

*Quintilian* in the last chapter save one of his last booke, shewes how much this *Art* was accounted of amongst the *Ancients*, and how by degrees it grew to perfection, and so doth *Pliny* in his 35 booke, & 9 & 10 chapters. Some inventing colours, others shadowes & landskips, and others rules of proportion, but in tract of time, it so farre againe decayed, that *Aeneas Silvius* who lived about 200 yeares since, tels us in one Epistle, *videmus picturas ducentorum annorum nullâ prorsus arte politas*, We see the pictures made 200 yeares since polished with no kind of art: And in another immediately following, *Si ducentorum, trecentorumve annorum, aut sculpturas intueberis, aut picturas, invenies non hominum, sed monstrorum portentorumque facies*, If we looke upon the sculptures or pictures made about 200 or 300 yeares since, wee shall finde faces rather of monsters then men, And to like purpose is that of *Durerus* himselfe an excellent Painter, *Penitus deperdita ultra mille annos latuit, ac tantidem ante ducentos* *Epistola ante Geometrisam.* *hos annos per Italos rursus in lucem prodijt*: This *Art* lay hid in obscurity as it had bin utterly lost above a thousand yeares, til at length about 200 yeares agoe, it againe brake forth into light by helpe of the *Italian* wits. The most famous *Italians* in this *Art* were *Michael Angelo*, and *Raphael Vrbis*. To whom we might adde *Georgius Vassarius* equall to either them, if we may beleieve *Thuanus*. Some of our owne *Nation*, as namely Master *Heliard* an *Exeter* man borne, & many *Netherländers*, whose names & *Icones* are published by *Hondius*, have herein deserved good cōmendation: But *Durerus* of *Norinberg* is indeed the *Man*, who as wel for practice as precepts in this *Art*, is by the most judicious most cōmended. He was cōmonly stiled whiles he lived, the *Apelles* of *Germany*, nay *Erasmus* in his Dialogue



of the right pronounciation of the Greeke and Latine Tongues, seemes to preferre him before *Apelles*: *Equidem arbitror* (saith he) *si nunc viveret Apelles, ut erat ingenuus & candidus, Alberto nostro cessurum huius palmae gloriam.* Truly I am of opinion, that did *Apelles* now live, being as hee was of an ingenuous disposition, he would in this Art yeeld the Bucklers to our *Albertus*. But for singular rules in this kinde, *Lomatius* may not be forgotten, whom Mr *Richard Haydocke* hath translated out of Italian into English, & dedicated to the ever honoured Sir *Thomas Bodley*.

Such is the *affinitie* betwixt the arts of painting & building, by reason they both stand chiefly upon *proportion* & *just dimensions*, that *Vassari*, who was both himselfe, hath likewise written the lives of the most famous & best skilled in both. *Vitruvius* who lived but in the reigne of *Augustus*, is the only man in a manner among the *Ancients*, either in Greeke or Latine, who is renowned for the rules of *Architecture*: among those of latter times, Sir *Henry Wotton* in his preface to his *Elements of Architecture*, reputes *Leon Baptista Alberti* the Florentine, the first learned *Architect* beyond the *Alpes*: To whom *Angelus Politianus* in an Epistle of his to *Laurentius Medices*, Duke of Florence, yeelds this testimony: *Ita perscrutatus antiquitatis vestigia est, ut veterem Architectandi rationem & deprehenderit & in exemplum revocaverit*: He so narrowly traced the prints and foot-steps of *Antiquity*, that hee both fully comprehended the manner of the ancient building and reduced it into patterne; and in the end concludes touching his worth as *Salust* of *Carthage*, *Tacere satius puto, quam pauca dicere.* I hold it safer to bee silent then to speake in few words; now as the most sufficient *moderne Architects* in most things follow the ancient, so in many things they vary from the, & that upon just reason. The *ancient Grecians* and the *Romanes* by their example in their buildings abroad where the seate was free, did almost religiously situate the front of their house towards the South: But from this the *moderne Italians* doe justly varie. Againe, the *Ancients* did determine the *longitude* of all roomes, which were longer then broad by the double of the *latitude*, and the height, by the halfe of the breadth and length summed together: But when the roome was precisely square, they made the height halfe as much more as the *latitude*: from which dimensions the *moderne Architects* have likewise taken leave to vary and that upon good discretion.

The publique buildings of the *Grecians* and *Romans* were doubtles very artificiall and magnificent, and so were likewise many of those of the ancient *Christians*, I meane their *Churches*, *Monasteries*, *Castles*, *bridges*, and the like: But the houses of private men were in the memory of our *Fathers*, for the most part very homely, till the Princes of *Italy* began to bestow more art and cost upon them. *Cosmo Medices* Duke of *Florence*, being one of the first who set upon this worke; the *Italians* were soone followed by the *French* after the victorious returne of *Charles* the eight from *Naples*, and they againe by us ever since the uniting of the *two roses* in King *Henry* the seaventh, who at his comming to the Crowne, had spent the greatest part of his time in *France*: Before his entrance we had indeede some huge vast buildings, but his house at

Richmond



Richmond and his Chappell at Westminster (except perchance some would preferre Kings Colledge Chappell in Cambridge begun by Henry the sixth) were the two first neate curious peeces that this Kingdome had seene: The latter of which may well enough compare, not onely with any peece this day in Christendome, but for the bignes of it, with any thing in antiquity of that kinde. But for a stately dainty house, that of *None-such* excells, which King Henry the eight, saith our great Antiquarie, built with so great sumptuousnes, and rare workmanshippe, that it aspieth to the very toppe of ostentation for shew: So as a man may thinke, that all the skill of *Architectur*e is in this one peece bestowed and heaped up together. So many statues and lively images there are in every place: so many wonders of absolute workmanshippe, & works seeming to contend with *Romane Antiquities*, that most worthily it may have, and maintaine still this name that it hath of *None-such*, according as *Leland* hath written of it.

Camden in  
Surrey.

*Huic quia non habeant similem laudare Britanni  
Sape solent, nullique parem cognomine dicunt.*

The Brittaines oft were wont to praise this place for that through all The Realme they cannot shew the like, and *None-Such* they it call. So as what *Sebastianus Serlius* a skilfull Architect spake of the *Pantheon* at Rome, may not unfitly be applied to this pile of building, that it is *unicum exemplar consummata Architectura*, the only patterne wee have of perfect Architecture; whether we cast our eyes abroad into the country upon the houses of Noble-men & Gentle-men, or upon the Colledges & Schooles in the Universities, or upon the dwellings of the Merchant & Artificer in the towne & city, specially in the *Metropolis*; wee shal generally finde a wonderful great change in building within these last hundred yeares, this latter as much exceeding the former, as *Augustus* his marble Rome did that of bricke. And if we looke into forraine parts, the Gallery in France and the *Escuri*all in Spaine, will yeeld to nothing, Antiquity can boast of in that kinde. Upon which later (as witnesseth *Peter Mathew*) *Phillip* the second expended twenty millions of crownes; and *Nonnius* in his description of Spaine, thus writes of it. *Et jactitent licet Egyptij suas Pyramides; Græci sua delubra; Romani sua amphitheatra, ludos, circos, thermas, capitolia, palatia, & vanis numinibus sacrata templa: aum sese Hispania hoc Escuriæ monasterio cætera orbis miracula superare noverit. Quid enim ad summam perfectionem peritisimi artifices illic requirant? an materiam? nihil eâ rarius, an architecturam? ne Vitruvius quidem dederit exactiorem an magnitudinem? vel quatuor regibus simul hospitium commodè præbuerit. An etiam hortorum nitorem, fontium amantatem, sylvarum umbracula? ne ipsa Antiochia Daphne se comparaverit.* Yet if we may beleieve reports, the King of *Chinaes* pallaces, at least-wise for riches & state, put downe any thing which is to be seene in Europe at this day.

H. 4. l. 22  
Cap. 71.

Now I know the *Pyramides* raised by the Egyptian Kinges, & the *Obeliskes* by the *Grecian* & *Romane Emperours* are much spoken of, as being unparalleld by any thing in these latter ages, and they were indeede



*insane substructiones*, as *Pliny* speakes, mad kinde of buildings, only for shew and ostentation, nothing at all for use: yet that *Obeliske*, which in the yeare 1586 was raised by the direction of *Dominicus Fontana*, & at the charge of *Sixtus Quintus* (which *Thuanus* tearmes, *inter opera ejus primum & praeipuum*, the first and the principall among all the great workes which he did) may well be counted little inferiour to the chiefe of them. It was one solide stone 107 foote in height, weighing 956148 pounds: It was translated from the *Vatican*, where it lay in an obscure & durtie place almost covered over with filth, and erected in a more eminent place neere *S. Peters Church*. There were disbursed about this worke (as *Fontana* himselfe hath written) 37975 Crownes; there being imployed therein from the beginning of *May* to the middle of *September* 900 men and 70 horses.

## S E C T. 4.

*Of the art of Navigation, brought to perfection in this latter age, and upon that occasion of the situation of Ophir.*

THE last, but the chiefe and most usefull of the three *Arts* which I last named is *Navigation*, in which those of former ages were so ignorant, that they ingraved *Non ultra* upon *Hercules* pillars, that the *Nations* about *Pontus* thought no sea in the world like their owne, and doubted whether there were any other sea but that only; whereof it came that *Pontus* was a word used for the sea in generall. That the *Egyptians* (held otherwise a wittie people) used to coast the shores of the *Red Sea* upon *Raffs*, divided by King *Erythrus*.

*Res nautica, rudis illa quondam & vel a littore formidanda, eam nunc sui fiduciam capit, ut ventos ipsos tempestatesque spernere videatur*, saith *Doctor Rives* in his preface to his navall historie. The *Hollanders*, not much observed in former times for their navigatiōs, are now growne to that greatness in that kinde, that they are said to build about a thousand vessels every yeare fit for navigation, and the crossing of the *Ocean*; whereof the least only, for the matter and the making beside the tackling, is said to stand them in at least 2000 crownes. And *Pontanus* affirmeth, that many times in one day there arrive at *Amsterdam* from diverse coasts, as many vessels as the yeare hath dayes in it. From whence it comes to pass, that they abound in making cloth, though they have no flocks of sheepe; in timber though they have no woods; in corne though they have noe arable grounds, or at leastwise very few; in wine though they have no vineyards, and lastly in linnen though they have no hempe, or very little; and with these commodities they furnish the world by the helpe of navigation, though their owne countrey be destitute of them: Which *Ioseph Scaliger* hath no less truly then witrily expressed in these his verses directed to *Doufa*.

*Ignorata tua referam miracula terra,  
Doufa, peregrinis non habitura fidem.  
Omnia lanicium hic lassat textrina Minerva:*

*Lanigeros*

*Cass. Ens hist.  
Belg. lib. 1.*

*In lib. Amstel.  
l. 2. c. 19.*



*Lanigeros tamen hic scimus abesse greges.  
 Non capiunt operas fabriles oppida vestra;  
 Nulla fabris tamen hac ligna ministrat humus.  
 Horrea triticia rumpunt hic frugis acervi:  
 Pascuus hic tamen est, non Cerealis ager.  
 Hic numerosa meri stipantur dolia cellis;  
 Quæ vineta colat nulla putator habet.  
 Hic nulla, aut certe seges est rarissima lini:  
 Linifici tamen est copia major ubi?  
 Hic medys habitamus aquis: quis credere possit?  
 Et tamen hic nulla Dousa bibuntur aquæ.*

In the time of the Romans, the Britanes, our Ancestours had a kinde of boate (with which they crost the Seas) made of small twigs and covered with leather, of which *Lucan* the Poet:

*Primum cana salix madefacto vimine parvæ  
 Texerat in puppim, casoque induta juvenco  
 Victoris patiens, tumidum superenatat amnem.  
 Sic Venetus stagnante Pado, fusoque Britannus  
 Navigat Oceano:*

The moystned osyre of the hoarie willow  
 Is wooven first into a little boate,  
 Then cloath'd in bullocks hide, upon the billow,  
 Of a proud river lightly doth it floate  
 Vnder the water-man.  
 So on the Lakes of over-swelling Poe  
 Sailes the Venetian; and the Brittaines so  
 On the out-spread Ocean.

And to like purpose is that of *Festus Avienus*:

*Navigia junctis semper aptant pellibus,  
 Corioque vastum sæpe percurrunt salum.*

Of stitched hides they all their vessels had,  
 And oft thorow Sea in leather voyage made.

But that which is more observable, is that the *Jewes* were so unskilfull in this art, as both they and God himselte accommodating himselte to their capacity, commonly called the *Mediterranean Sea*, the great Numb. 34. 6 Sea; those times, as it seemes, not being much acquainted with the Ocean. Nay *Clemens*, one of the first Bishops of Rome, in his Epistle to the *Corinthians*, lately published by Mr *Patrike Young*, calls the Ocean *impermeabilis*, impassible; and that such was the opinion of those times, appeares by the publishers Annotations on that place. And though the *Phœnicians* and *Carthaginians*, the *Tyrians* and *Sydonians*, are much renowned in Histories for great Navigatours; yet it is thought by the learned, that those voyages they performed, was onely by coasting, and not by crossing the Ocean. Clemens. p. 28

--- *Hæc ætas quod fata negarunt  
 Antiquis, totum potuit fulcare carinis,  
 Id pelagi immensum quod circuit Amphitrite.*  
 This age what fates to former times deni'd.



Through the vast Ocean now in ships doth ride.

Lib. 1. de natu-  
ra novi Orbis.  
cap. 1. 2.

Jonas 1. 13.

1. Kings 9. 18.

De rebus Solo-  
monis. l. 4. c. 14.

Titulo de novo  
orbe.

Saith *Fracastorius*, and *Acosta*, *Equidem navigationem altissimo Oceano commissam, neque apud Veteres lego, neque ab illis aliter Oceanum navigatum puto quam à nostris Mediterraneum*: That the Ancients adventured themselves into the maine Ocean, neither doe I reade it in any of their Writers, nor doe I beleeve they otherwise sayled over the Ocean, then wee doe now over the Mediterranean Sea. And it should seeme they undertooke not their longest voyages without *Oares*, which the Scripture implies in that undertaken by *Jonas*, where the Marriners upon the rising of a violent tempest were constrained to use their *Oares*.

I am not ignorant, that as *Vatablus* and *Arias Montanus* would make *Ophir*, whither *Solomon* sent his Navy (by reason of the affinity of the name) to be *Peru* in the *West Indies*, so *Pineda* spends no lesse then twelve leaves in the largest Folio, to prove *Tharsis*, to which it is likewise commonly thought to have gone, to be *Tartessus* in *Spaine*: But for the first of these opinions, *Cornelius Wytsiet*, Secretary of State in the Counsell of *Brabant*, in his booke intituled *Descriptionis Ptolomaica argumentum, or Occidentis notitia*, hath strongly confuted it, and so hath *Pererius* in his third booke upon *Genesis* treating of *Havilah*. But Sir *Walter Rawleigh* is confident that himselfe hath so knockt it in the head, as it were idle to make any more question thereof. 'That this question, saith he, be 'a subject of no farther dispute. It is very true that there is no Region 'in the world of that name, (meaning *Peru*) sure I am that at least *Ame- 'rica* hath none, no not any city, village, or mountaine so named: But 'when *Francis Pizarro* first discovered the lands to the South of *Panama*, 'arriving in that Region which *Attabaliba* commanded, (a Prince of 'Magnificence, riches, and dominion, inferiour to none) some of the 'Spaniards utterly ignorant of that language, demaunding by signes as 'they could, and pointing with their hands athwart the river or brook 'that ran by, the *Indians* answered *Peru*, which was either the name of 'that brooke or of water in generall: The *Spaniards* thereupon concei- 'ving that the people had rightly understood them, set it downe in the 'journal of this enterprise, and in the first description made and sent 'over to *Charles* the Emperour, all that West part of *America* to the 'South of *Panama* had the name of *Peru*, which hath continued ever 'since, as diverse *Spaniards* in the *Indies* assured me. Which also *A- 'costa* the *Iesuite* in his *Naturall and Morall History* of the *Indies* confir- 'meth. And whereas *Montanus* also findeth that a part of the *Indies* 'called *Iucutan* tooke the name of *Iocktan*, who as hee supposeth, navi- 'gated from the utmost East of *India* to *America*: It is most true that *Iu- 'catan* is nothing else in the language of that countrey, but, *What is that,* 'or *What say you?* For when the *Spaniards* asked the name of that place, 'no man conceiving their meaning, one of the *Salvages* answered *Inca- 'tan*, which is, *What aske you?* or *what say you?* Thus farre Sir *Walter Raw- leigh*, yeelding the reason of his dissent from *Montanus* & *Vatablus*, hol- ding that *Ophir*, to which *Solomons* Navy sayled for gold, was *Peru* in the *West Indies*. Whereunto may be added out of *Salmuth* in his Com- mentary upon *Pancirollus*, that in all likelihood, this land of *Ophir* tooke

its



its name from *Ophir* the son of *Iocktan*, (as the land of *Havilah* likewise did from another sonne of his, mentioned in the same place) who as *Iosephus* witnesseth, fixed his seate in the *East*, placing the Countrey of *Ophir* about *Chersonesus*, with whom accords *Gasper Varrerius* in his Commentaries purposely written *de Ophyra Regione*, where hee plainly proves *Ophir* to bee that *Aurea Chersonesus* in the *East Indies*, which is now called *Malaca*. Moreover one of the principall commodities which *Solomons* fleete brought home was *Ivory*, of which in the *West Indies* there is none to be found; it being knowne to want *Elephants*: And lastly out of the Text it appeares, that *Solomon* prepared his Navy for a voyage into the *East*, inasmuch as his ships set forth at *Ezion-Geber* bordering upon the Red sea, and thither as to the *Rendivouze* came the *Tyrrians* and *Sydonians*, *Hirams* men to joyne with them: which had beene a most indirect course, had they intended their voyage toward the *West*.

Now for *Pineda* his making of *Tharshis* to bee *Tartessus* in his owne Countrey of *Spaine*, though herein he follow *Goropius Becanus*, yet in the judgement I suppose of most men, *recitasse est refutasse*, the very recitall of it, is refutation sufficient. For if I should demaund *Pineda* where those *Spanish* mines are now to be seene, from whence *Solomons* shippes brought so much treasure, hee must tell mee, that either they are dried up, or transported to the *Indies*, from whence in fleetes they are yearly brought backe into *Spaine*, as *Serrarius* sports with him: *in novum orbem translata magnis classibus revehuntur*: So as had not *Spaine* it selfe an *Ophir* or *Tarshis* to furnish it with gold, the poverty of it would doubtles soone appeare to the world. Besides, *Pineda* herein dissents from *Acosta* his owne countryman & brother of the same society, who thinks that by *Tarshis* the *Hebrewes* indefinitely understand some remote, strange, and rich place, as we, saith he, do by the *Indies*. And if we should say, that *Solomons Tarshis* by a little change of letters was *Paules Tarsus*, a famous Citie in *Silicia* (which seemes likewise to have its name from *Tarsis* the 2<sup>d</sup> son of *Iavan*) we therein should I thinke shoot nearer the marke then *Pineda*: but I must confesse for mine owne private judgment, I rather incline to their opinion who by *Tarshis* understand none other than the Sea. The *Israelites* and *Phenicians*, because they knew no other Sea then the *Mediterranean* in the beginning, & that the people of *Tarshis* had the greatest shippes, and were the first *Navigatours* in those parts with such vessels, they were therefore called *Men of the Sea*, and the word *Tharshis* used often for the Sea. Thus *S. Hierome* in his Commentaries on *Daniel*, *Ionas fugere cupiebat non in Tharsum Siliciae, sed absolute in pelagus*. *Ionas* desired to flie not to *Tarsus* in *Silicia*, but to the Sea. But *Iunius* and *Tremellius* goe farther, translating *Tharshis* by *Oceanus*, thus: *Nam classis Oceani pro Rege cum Classe Chirami erat, semel ternis annis veniebat classis ex Oceano, afferens aurum & argentum: &c.* which we thus render in our last English Translation: For the King had at Sea a Navy of *Tharshis* with the Navy of *Hiram*, once in three yeares came the Navy of *Hiram*, bringing gold and silver. And from this opinion, that by *Tarshis* is, or may be understood the Sea, the learned *Drusius* in his sacred observations dissents not, onely hee affirmes

Gen. 10. 29.

Lib. 1. Antiq.  
cap. 14.1. King. 9. 26.  
27.Hispanicos  
lib. 7.De Natura  
et Origine, lib. 1.  
cap. 13.

Act. 21. 39.

Gen. 10. 4.

Cap. 10.

1. King. 10. 23.

Lib. 9. cap. 12.



affirmes that not *Tharshis*, but *Iam* is the common name for the Sea, and that not in *Syriacke* as *S. Hierome* would have it, but in *Hebrew*. Whereas then it is said or understood, that the shippes of *Solomon* went every three yeares to *Tharshis*, if by *Tharshis* we understand the Sea, the phrase, is not improper or strange at all: for wee use it ordinarily wheresoever we navigate, namely, that the Kings shippes are gone to the Sea, or returned from the Sea, by which it appeares (not to touch their opinion who deceived by the *Chalde Paraphrast*, by *Tharshis* understand *Carthage*) that the voyage of *Solomons* Navy was neither to *Pern* in the *West Indies*, nor *Tartessus* in *Spaine*, but to *Ophir* in the *East Indies*, which being performed by coasting, needed perchance more time, but lesse skill in navigation.

Lastly, whereas *Marianus Siculus* in his History of *Spaine*, reports, that certaine coyned peeces of gold engraved with the image and inscription of *Augustus Caesar*, were found in the *American* mines, thereby inferring that those Countries were then discovered: *Nathaniel Carpenter* late Fellow of *Exceter Colledge* in *Oxford*, in the second booke and seventh chapter of his learned Geographick conclusions, thus fully redargues that forgerie. We finde (saith he) *Augustus Caesar*, for some petty conquests against barbarous people, emblazoned by the Poets of that time to the highest pitch of their invention: we may observe the age wherein *Augustus* lived, to be the flourish and pride of all the *Roman* learning; and himselfe the Idoll and subject of most of their poetick flatteries: having the happinesse to be invested in the Empire in such a time, wherein the *Roman* Monarchie having beene too much wounded with a civill dissention, was willing to admire her first Physitian: and can any man then be so senselesse to imagine, that the discovery of the golden world should passe away clouded in such a flattering age without any mention? could not so much as the name be registred to teach posterity the way to so rich an Empire? For mine owne part, I can ascribe this (if the History deserve credit) to nothing else but the pride and imposture of the *Spaniards*, whom we observe in all relations to be a most ingratefull nation, who admiring nothing but their owne greatness, have requited their best deserving Benefactors with disgrace & obloquie, striving to raze out their names and memorie to whom they owe the greatest glory. *Columbus* was an *Italian* and no *Spaniard*, and therefore must not deserve so much of *Spaine*, as his golden *Indies*, otherwise *Augustus Caesars* Image, had beene better lost then found; and the Bishop received small thanks for his parasiticke presentation. The Prelate he meanes was *Iohn Rufus*, Archbishop of *Consentium*, who presented it the Pope; and in the same place doth he clearly demonstrate, that by *Platoes Atlantis*, *America* cannot be understood.

<sup>a</sup> Translated into French by *Nicolas de Nicolai* Geographer to the French King, & dedicated to H. second of that name.

The perfection then of this Art of Navigation seemes by Gods providence to have beene reserved to these latter times, of which <sup>a</sup> *Pedro de Medina*, and *Baptista Ramusio* have given excellent precepts. But the Art it selfe hath beene happily practised by the *Portugals*, the *Spaniards*, the *Hollanders*, and our owne Nation, whose voyages and discoveries, *Master Hackluit* hath collected and reported in three severall volumes, lately



lately enlarged and perfected by Mr *Purchas*, and it were to bee wished as well for the honour of the *English* name, as the benefit that might thereby redound to other *Nations*, that his collections and relations had beene written in *Latine*, or that some learned pen would bee pleased to turne them in that *Language*. Among many other famous in this kinde, the noble spirited *Drake* may not bee forgotten, who, *God* being his *Guide*, wit, skill, valour and fortune his attendants, was the next after *Magellanus* that sayled round about the World, whereupon one wrote these verses unto him.

*Drake peragrati novit quem terminus orbis,  
Quemque semel mundi vidit uterque polus:  
Si tacant homines facient Te sydera notum,  
Sol nescit comitis immemor esse sui.*

Sir *Drake* whom well the worlds end knew,  
Which thou didst compasse round:  
And whom both Poles of Heav'n once saw,  
Which North and South doe bound.  
The starres above would make thee knowne  
If men here silent were:  
The Sunne himselfe cannot forget  
His fellow traveller.

And upon the first shippe (being named the *Victorie*) with which *Magellanus* first compassed the World, were these verses made.

*Prima ego velivolis ambivi curibus orbem,  
Magellane novo te duce ducta fieto.  
Ambivi, meritoque vocor Victoria, nunc mi  
Vela ala, pretium gloria, pugna mare.*

And for the better breeding, continuance, and increase of such expert *Pilots* amongst us, it would doubtlesse be a good and profitable worke, (according to Master *Hackluits* honest mention in his *Epistle Dedicatory* to the Lord *Admirall*, then being) if any who had the meanes had likewise the minde to give allowance for the reading of a *Lecture* of *Navigation* in *London*, in imitation of the late *Emperour Charles* the first, who wisely considering the rawnesse of his Sea-men, and the manifold shipwracks which they sustained in passing & repassing betweene *Spaine* and the *West Indies*, established not onely a *Pilot Major* for the examination of such as were to take charge of shippes in that voyage, but also founded a *Lecture* for the Art of *Navigation*, which to this day is read in the *Contractation house* at *Sivill*. The Readers of which *Lecture* have not onely carefully taught and instructed the *Spanish Marriners* by word of mouth, but have also published sundry exact & worthy Treatises concerning *Marine Causes*, for the direction & incouragement of posterity: and namely these three, *Alonzo de Chavez*, *Hieronymo de Chavez*, & *Rodorigo Zamerano*, & to this purpose it is a commendable worke of Master *Hues*, who for the instruction of *Navigators* in the principles of *Geometry* & *Astronomy*, & thereby for the improvement & advancement of the Art of *Navigation*, hath written & twice published in two severall editions, a learned *Treatise* of the *Celestiall* & *terrestriall Globes*; & their use, which

*Camden in De-  
vouture.*



which for the better ule of such as are ignorant of the *Latine* tongue, and desirous to learne, I could also wish were translated into our owne Language.

## CHAP. 10.

*Touching diverse artificiall workes and inventions, at leastwise matchable with those of the Ancients, namely and chiefly the Invention of Printing, Gunnes, and the Sea-Card or Marriners Compasse.*

## SECT. 1.

*Of some rare invention and artificiall workes of this latter age, comparable both for use and skill to the best of the Ancients.*

**A**S the Arts and Sciences have all of them in these latter ages either beene revived from decay, or reduced to use, or brought forward to perfection: so many secrets of Nature and rare conclusions have beene found out and imparted to the World by *Albertus Magnus*, *Levinus Lemnius*, *Fernelius*, *Fracastorius*, *Mizaldus*, *Baptista Porta*, *Cornelius Agrippa*, *Cardanus*, *Tribemius*, *Delrio*, and others, and many singular artificiall inventions, for the use, ease, delight, or ornament of mankinde, as a number of Mechanicall, Mathematicall, & Muscicall Instruments, Grottes or Water-workes, specially those in the Duke of Florence his dominions, and at S. Germans one of the French Kings houses, Chimneys, stirrups, paper, spectacles, Porcellan, perspective-glasses, fining of sugars, handmills, gloves, hats, bands, watches, the ule of hoppes in our drinke, of riding in coaches, and of side-saddles, but since the time of *Richard* the 2<sup>d</sup> here with us: besides diverse excellent workes in stuffs, in silkes, in linnens, in hangings, in carpets, and the like, particularly set downe by *Polidore Virgill* de Inventoribus Rerum, *Pancirollus* in his *Nova reperta*, *Cardanus* in his 17 booke de artibus artificiosisque rebus, *Dornavius* in his Oration which he intitles *felicitas hujus saeculi*. to whom notwithstanding much more might easily be added. For as truth is the daughter of time, so are usefull Inventions too, as rightly *Manilius*, lib. I.

*Sed cum longa dies acuit mortalia corda  
Et labor ingenium miseris dedit, & sua quemque  
Advigilare sibi iussit fortuna premendo,  
Seducta in varias certarunt pectora curas,  
Et quodcunque sagax tentando reperit usus,  
In commune bonum commentum leta dedere.*

But when that tract of time had whet mens wits,  
And industry had moulded them, by fits  
Fortune pressing each man to endeavour  
To free himselfe from miserie, together  
They bend their mindes to search out sundry things,  
And what is found by observation sage,  
They cheerefully impart from age to age.



Of some of these kinde of workes in Germany onely; specially in the Lower; and at *Ausburg* and *Norinberg* in the higher, *Lansius* thus writes. Scio veteres varia in veste mirabiliter luisse: Cui enim ignota sunt *Instriana* pexæ? cui *Phryxiana* toga? cui *Attalica* auro intexta? cui *Babylonica* Martiali laudata eleganti versu?

Non ego prætulerim *Babylonica* picta, superbe  
Texta, *Semiramia* qua variantur acu.

Lib. 8. Epig. 28.

Sed vetus illa pulchritudo cum *Belgica* comparata in agris & sylvis nata videtur. superat res ipsa fide: adeo in immensum crevit *Acupictoria* splendor. Nullus hic color abest: cogita, quem voles. Ac si exemplum poscis; nulli pavones tam varia venustatis vestiuntur plumâ, quam *Belgica* nostra tapetia: ita multicoloria, discoloria, versicoloria videas; totiesque propè mutanda, quoties movenda; ac in omni flexu reflexuq; alium atque alium colorem ostentantia: ut ambigas, laudatur aliquis error in re seria firmâque. Veniant jam, qui unquam manuum dexteritate immortalitatē sibi pepererunt, veniant pictores, *Apelles*, *Xenxis*, *Protozenes*, *Parrhasius*, *Aristides Thebanus*; veniant architecti, *Ctesiphon Gnosius*, qui templum *Ephesinae Dianæ* construxit; *Dinocrates*, qui *Alexandriam* *Egypti*; *Philo*, qui *Pyreum Atheniensem*; veniant sculptores, *Leocares*, *Alcamenes*, *Bryaxis*, *Pythis*, *Scopas*; veniant statuarij, *Polycletus*, *Praxiteles*, *Ctesias*, *Lysippus*; veniant artifices, opifices alij quicunque: invenient in utrâque Germaniâ magistros, sub quorum disciplinâ artium tyrocinia iterasse reputabunt omnis suæ felicitatis caput.

C. Scriban. in  
Ant. c. 15.

I will onely specifie some of the rarest artificiall workes of this latter age, comparable for the workmanship with the best of the ancient.

*Peter Ramus* tels us of a wooden Eagle, & an iron flye made by *Regiomontanus* a famous Mathematician of *Norinberge*, whereof the first (in imitation and emulation of *Architas* his dove) flew forth of the city aloft in the aire, met the Emperour a good way off comming towards it, and having saluted him, returned againe, waiting on him to the Citie gates. The second at a feast, whereto he had invited his familiar friends, flew forth of his hand, & taking a round, returned thither againe to the great astonishment of the beholders: Both which the divine pen of the noble *Du Bartas* hath excellently expressed.

Schol. Mar. l. 2.

Gellius lib. 10.  
& cap. 12.

Why should I not that wooden Eagle mention,  
A learned Germans late admir'd invention,  
Which mounting from his fist that framed her,  
Flew farre to meet an *Almaine* Emperour.  
And having met him with her nimble traine  
And weary wings, turning about againe,  
Followed him close unto the Castle gate  
Of *Norinberg*, whom all their shewes of state  
Streetes hang'd with Arras, arches curious built,  
Gray-headed Senate, and youths gallentise,  
Grac't not so much as only this devise.

The 6 day of  
the first weeke.

He goes on and thus describes the flye,

Once as this Artist more with mirth then meat  
Feasted some friends whom he esteemed great,  
From under's hands an iron flye flew out,

Dd

Which



Which having flowne a perfect round about,  
 With weary wings return'd unto her Master,  
 And as judicious on his arme he plac't her.  
 O divine wit, that in the narrow wombe  
 Of a small flye could finde sufficient roome  
 For all those springs, wheeles, counterpoise and chaines,  
 Which stood instead of life, and spurre and reines,

*Desinamus itaque Archyta columbam mirari, cum muscam, cum aquilam geometricis alis alatam Noribergia exhibeat, saith Ramus, let us give over to wonder at Archytas his Dove, sithence Norinberg hath exhibited both a Fly and an Eagle winged with Geometricall wings. Bartas likewise remembers the curious Diall & Clocke at Strausburgh, which my selfe have beheld not without admiration.*

But who would thinke that mortall hands could mould  
 New heavens, new starres, whose whirling courses should  
 With constant windings, though contrary wayes  
 Marke the true monds of yeares, and moneths, and dayes,  
 Yet 'tis a story that hath oft beene heard,  
 And by a hundred witnesses averr'd.

Neither doth hee forget that most exquisite silver *spheare* (matchable with *Archimedes*, or that of *Zapores* King of *Persia*) which was sent as a present from the Emperour *Ferdinand* to *Solyman* the great *Turke*, and is mentioned by *Paulus Iovius* and *Sabellicus*: It was carried as they write by twelve men, unframed and reformed in the *Grand Signeours* presence by the maker, who likewise delivered him a booke containing the mystery of using it.

Nor may we smother nor forget ingrately  
 The *Heaven of silver*, that was sent but lately  
 From *Ferdinando* as a famous worke,  
 Unto *Bizantium* to the greatest *Turke*:  
 Wherein a spirit still moving too and fro,  
 Made all the *Engine* orderly to goe;  
 And though th'one *spheare* did alwayes slowly slide,  
 And contrary the other swiftly glide;  
 Yet still their starres kept all the courses even  
 With the true courses of the starres of heaven.  
 The Sunne there shifting in the *Zodiacque*  
 His shining houses, never did forsake  
 His pointing path; there in a moneth his sister  
 Fulfill'd her course, and changing oft her lustre  
 And forme of face, (now larger, lesser soone)  
 Followed the changes of the other moone.

To these may bee added the instrument of perpetuall motion, invented by *Cornelius* a *German* here in *England*, and the sayling coaches, invented by *Stevinus* in the *Netherlands*, upon both which *Hugo Grotius* hath bestowed these excellent verses.



In organum motus perpetui, quod est penes maximum Britanniarum Regem.

*Perpetui motus indelassata potestas,  
Absque quiete quies, absque labore labor,  
Contigerant cælo, tunc cum natura caducis  
Et solidis, unum noluit esse locum:  
Et geminas partes lunæ dispescuit orbe,  
In varias damnans inferiora vices.  
Sed quod nunc natura suis è legibus exit,  
Dans terris semper quod moveatur opus:  
Mira quidem res est, sed non nova Maxime Regum;  
Hoc fieri docuit mens tua posse prius.  
Mens tua quæ semper tranquilla & torpida nunquam,  
Tramite constanti per sua regna meat.  
Ut tua mens ergo motus cælestis imago est,  
Machina sic hæc est mentis imago tua.*

Iter currus veliferi.

*Mira canam, sed visa mihi, sed cognita multis,  
Et nisi visa mihi, non habitura fidem. &c.*

De hujus currus veliferi inventore, ejusdem  
Grotij Epigramma.

*Ventivolam Typhis deduxit in æquora navim;  
Iupiter in stellas, ætheriamque domum.  
In terreste solum virtus Stevinia: nam nec  
Typhy tuum fuerat, nec Iovis illud opus.*

Lastly, I doe not remember in antiquity any example of such as being borne without hæds, have with their toes supplied the use of them, in writing and all other workes of that nature, many such have wee heard of and seene in this kinde, but among them all none more famous then that German, upon whom Iohannes Posthius, a Poet no lesse excellent then a Physitian, wrote this elegant Epigram, and sent it to Camerarius; as himselfe witnesseth in the first Centurie of his *Historicall Cap. 17. Meditations.*

*Mira fides! pedibus dextrè facit omnia Thomas,  
Cui natura parens brachia nulla dedit.  
Namque bibit pedibus, pedibus sua fercula sumit,  
Voluit & his libros, praparat his calamos,  
Quin & literulas pede tam bene pingere novit,  
Artificis superet grammata duclâ manu.  
Maximus hoc Caesar, stupuit quondam Emilianus,  
Donaque scribenti largus honesta dedit.  
Omnia nempe potest vigilans industria, quodque  
Natura ipsa negat, perficit ingenium.*



## S E C T. 2.

Of the benefit and Inventour of the most usefull Art of Printing,

**U**t leaving these,  
*Magna nec ingenijs investigata priorum  
 Quaeque diu latuere canam.*

Ile speake of greater things which long lay hid,  
 Neither were found by search of former wits.

These spoken of, are in truth but toyes and trifles in regard of those three most usefull inventions, which these latter ages challenge as due & proper to themselves, *Printing, Gunnes, and the Marriners Compasse*; of which *Cardane* comparatively speakes in high tearmes. *His tribus tota Antiquitas nihil par habet*: All Antiquity can boast of nothing equall to these three. Upon these then will I insist, and with these conclude this comparison of *Arts and Wits*; the rather for that there is none of them, but some have excepted against, as being not *moderne* but *ancient* inventions. I will begin with *Printing*, touching which *Bodin* outvies *Cardane*, *Vna typographia cum omnibus omnium veterum inventis certare facile potest*. Printing alone may easily contend for the prize with all the inventions of the *Ancients*. And *Polydore Virgill* having spoken of the famous Libraries erected by the *Ancients*, presently addes, *Fuit illud omnino magnum mortalibus munus, sed nequaquam conferendum cum hoc quod nostro tempore adepti sumus, reperto novo scribendi genere: tantum enim una die ab uno homine literarum imprimitur, quantum vix toto anno a pluribus scribi possit*. That was indeed a great benefit to mankind, but not to be compared with this which our age hath found out and enjoyed, since a new kinde of writing was brought to light and practised, by meanes whereof, as much may be printed by one man in one day, as could be written by many in a whole yeare; or as *Sabellicus*, as much as the readiest pen-man could well dispatch in two yeares. And by this meanes, bookes which were before in a manner confined to the Libraries of *Monasteries*, as their onely *Magazines*, were redeemed from bondage, obtained their enlargement, and freely walked abroad in the light; so as now they present themselves familiarly to the eyes and hands of all men, & he that hath but slender meanes, may notwithstanding furnish himselfe in a competent manner, there being now more good *Authours* to be bought for twenty shillings, then could then be purchased for twenty pounds. And besides, they then spake such languages as it pleased the *Monkes* to put into their mouthes, who many times thorow ignorance, or negligence, or wilfulness, mistooke words and sentences, and sometimes thrust that into the *Text* which they found in the *Margine*. From whence arose such a confusion in most *Authours*, that it much puzzled the best wits how to restore them to the right sense, as *Ludovicus Vives* complaines, it befell him in the setting forth of *S. Augustines* workes *de Civitate Dei*, & *divinandum sapenumero fuit, & conjecturis vera restituenda Lectio*: I was often forced to guesse at the sense & none otherwise then

*De subtil. l. 17.*

*De Meth. hist. lib. 7.*

*De Inventor. varum l. 2. c. 7.*

*Aeneas. 10. 6.*

*In praefatione.*



then by conjectures could the text be restored to the true reading: And *Erasmus* in his Preface to the workes of the same Father, *Vix in alterius tam impiè, quàm in huius sacri Doct̃oris voluminibus lusit otiosorum temeritas*, hardly hath the rashnes of idle braines so impiously played its part in the volumes of any other, as of this holy Doct̃our: Yet that other complaint of his in his Preface before *S. Hieromes* workes, touching the many and grosse corruptions which therein he found, farre exceeds this, *Vnum illud & verè dicam & audacter, minoris arbitror Hieronymo suos constituisse libros conditos, quàm nobis restitutos*: This one thing may I truly and boldly affirme, that in mine opinion, *S. Hieromes* bookes cost him lesse paines the making, then me the mending. Againe, it cannot be denyed but the fairenesse of the letter, beyond that of ordinary writing, addes no small grace to this Invention. *Mira certè Ars*, saith *Cardane*, *De varietate rerum*, 3. c. 64. *quà mille chartarum una die conficiuntur, nec facile est judicare an in tanta facilitate ac celeritate pulchritudo, an in tanta pulchritudine celeritas, & facilitas sit admirabilior*: An admirable Art sure it is, by which a thousand sheetes may bee dispatcht in a day, neither is it easie to judge whether in so great easinesse and quicknesse of dispatch, the fairenesse of the letter, or in the fairenesse of the letter the quicknesse of dispatch, and easinesse thereof, bee more to be wondred at. Lastly, it is not the least benefit of Printing, that by dispersing a number of Copies into particular mens hands, there is now hope that good letters shall never againe suffer so universall a decay as in former ages they have done, by the burning and spoyling of publique Libraries, in which the whole treasure of learning was in a manner stored up. Since then by this meanes, bookes are become both fairer, and cheaper, and truer, and lesse subject to a totall perishing: and since by this Art the preserver of Arts, the Acts and writings of worthy men are made famous, and commended to posterity; it were a point of haynous ingratitude to suffer the Inventor thereof to be buried in oblivion.

Some difference I confesse there is about his name, yet not such but may be reconciled without any great difficulty. *Peter Ramus* seemes to attribute it to one *John Fust* a *Moguntine*, and in truth shewes good cards for it, telling us, that hee had in his keeping a Copie of *Tullies Offices* printed upon parchment, with this inscription added in the end thereof: *Præsens Marti Tullij clarissimum opus, Iohannes Fust Moguntinus civis non atramento, plumali canna, neque aëa, sed arte quadam perpulchra manu Petri de Gernesheim pueri mei feliciter effeci, finitum anno 1466, 4 die mensis Februarij*. This excellent worke of *Marcus Tullius*, I *John Fust* a citizen of *Menz* happily imprinted, not with writing inke, quill, or brasse pen, but with an excellent Art by the helpe of *Peter Gernesheim* my servant: finished it was in the yeare 1466, the 4<sup>th</sup> of February. *Pasquier* averres that the like had come to his hand, and *Salmuth* that one of the same impression was to be scene in the publique Librarie of *Ausburg*, and another (as others) in *Emanuel Colledge* in *Cambridge*, and my selfe have scene a fifth in the publique Librarie at *Oxford*, though with some little difference in the inscription. Yet *Pollidore Virgill* from the report of the *Moguntines* themselves affirmes, that *John Gutenberg* a Knight, & dwel-  
ling



ling in *Mentz*, was the first inventor thereof, and therein with him accord *Palmerius* in his Chronicle, *Melchior Guilandinus* in the 26 Chapter of his Treatise touching paper & parchment, *Chasaneus* in his Catalogue of the *Glory of the world*, the second part and 39 Consideration, *Veignier* in his *Bibliothèque*, *Bibliander de communi ratione omnium linguarum*, in his chapter of printing (professing that therein he followes *Wymphelingius* in his *Epitomie* of the affaires of *Germany*) *Iohannes Arnoldus* in his booke of the Invention of Printing. And lastly, *Munster* in his *Cosmographie*, who addes this particular, that he smothered it a long time, labouring to conceale it all that he might. For the reconciling then of this difference, it may well be that *Gutenberg* was indeed the first happy inventour of this invaluable *Art*: But *Fust* the first, who taking it from him, made prooffe thereof in printing a booke: They both then deserve their commendation, but in different degrees: *Gutenberg* in the highest, *Fust* in a second or third; & no doubt but many since have added much to the speede, grace and perfection thereof, whose names, though wee know not, yet perchance, have they as well deserved of the commonwealth of learning as he: Sure we are, that *Manutius*, *Operinus*, *Raphelengius*, *Plantin*, *Frobenius*, and both the *Stephens*, the Father and the Son, are not to be forgotten, but remembered with honour, for the furthering and perfecting of this *Art*. *Quibus plus debet Christianus orbis, quam cuiquam fortissimorum belli ducum ob propagatos fines patria debuit unquam*, saith *Thuanus*: and upon *Aldus Minutius*, *Beza* hath deservedly bestowed these singular sparkes of his younger wit.

Hist. lib. 29.

In *Iuvenilib. eius*  
adde *Nic: Leon-*  
*nscen. in lib. de*  
*morbo Gallico*  
*ubi in Aldi lib.*  
*deni praeclare.*

*Didonis cecinit rogam disertus*  
*Maro: Pompeij rogam Lucanus:*  
*Et disertè adeo hoc uterque fecit;*  
*Vt nunc vivere iudicetur illa,*  
*Nec jam mortuus hic putetur esse:*  
*Immo sunt rediuvivi & hic, & illa.*  
*Ergo credere fas erit Poëtas*  
*Divos: utpote qui loquendo possint*  
*Vitam reddere mortuis: quod ipsis*  
*Est Divis proprium & peculiare.*  
*Quod si credere fas Deos Poëtas;*  
*Vitam reddere quod queant sublatam:*  
*Quanto est iustius aequis que, quæso,*  
*Aldum Manutium Deum vocare;*  
*Ipsis qui potuit suo labore,*  
*Vitam reddere mortuis Poëtis?*

Hist. Ind. lib. 6.  
Lib. 2. *Arem.*  
apud *Indos* c. 38  
Lib. 14. Hist.

Yet some there are who writing of the affaires of the *Indies* as *Petrus Massaius*, *Garzias ab Horto*, & *Paulus Iovius* assure us, that either the *German*s borrowed this Invention first from the *Chineses*, or at leastwise the *Chineses* had the practise and use of it long before them. Whereunto I answer (not to question the credit of the *Authors*, though in truth (as is well knowne) no great friends to the *German* nation) that though it were long since in use with the *Chineses*, yet, for ought appeareth, was it never



never, nor yet is with them brought to that perfection, as it is with us at this day: *Si à veteribus tale quiddam excogitatum sit, ut nemo debita laude fraudandus, fateri quisque debeat omnia minus fuisse exulta, nitida, subtilia, elimata, nec tam spectabili literarum varietate exornata atque expolita*, saith *Levinus Lemnius*. If any such thing was discovered by the *Ancients* (either by the *Chineses* or otherwhere) as they are not to bee robbed of their due praise, so ought wee to confesse, that all things are now more exact, perfect, and better polished with a faire variety of letters. But that the *Germans* should borrow it from the *Chineses*, as is pretended by the *Spaniards*, is more I thinke then is true, I am sure, then is yet proved, or in likelihood doth appeare: And the *Germans* themselves will never with patience endure such a wrong. *Germania certe nunquam sibi hanc laudem patietur extorqueri*, sayth *Salmuth*, Germany will never suffer the praise of this *Invention* to bee wrested from her: and *Beroaldus*,

*De occultis rerum mirac. l. 39 cap. 4.*

*O Germania muneris repertrix,  
Quo nil utilius dedit vetustas,  
Libros scribere quæ doces premendo,  
Thou Germany this blessing did'st invent,  
Then which the world more usefull never saw,  
To write on bookes thou teache'st thus by print.*

And with him accords *Laurentius Valla*, though himselfe an *Italian*, if those verses bee his, which are ascribed unto him in the front of his *Workes*.

*Abstulerat Latio multos Germania libros,  
Nunc multo plures reddidit ingenio.  
Et quod vix toto quisquam perscriberet anno,  
Munere Germano conficit una dies.  
Germania drew great store of bookes from Italy,  
But now much store she doth then she receiv'd, repay:  
What erewhile in one yeare could scarcely written be;  
Now by Germania's helpe is finisht in a day.*

### SECT. 3.

*Of the use and Invention of Gunnes.*

**A**S the *Invention of Printing* is chiefly in use in time of *Peace*, so is that of *Gunnes* in time of *warre*, with which the *Aries*, *Onagri*, *Catapulta*, or *Balista*, *Engines* of the *Ancients*, (which I know not well how to *English*, they being growne for the most part out of use) are no way comparable, *Nec ulla ex parte huic conferendus est antiquus Aries, vires inferiores habebat, & difficiliter ad muros adigebatur*, saith *Patricius*. The *Ramme* anciently for battery, is in no sort to bee compared with this *Engine*, it had lesse strength, and more difficulty there was in bringing it, and applying it to the walls. And *Bodine* to like purpose, (though herein perchance hee jumpe not with *Lipsius* in his *Poliorectica*) omittō *Catapulta Veterum & antiqua belli tormenta, quæ si cum nostris conferantur* *De regno lib. 7. tit. 6. Method. hist. c. 7.*



De Machinis  
dialogo. 11.

*sane puerilia quaedam ludicra videri possint.* I passe over the *Engines* of the *Ancients*, which being compared with ours, are rather childish toys then instruments of warre. And *Lipsius* himselfe calls it, *Geniorum, non hominum inventum*, an invention of spirits and not of men. Such is the force of these moderne *Engines*, that they not onely destroy men, but cast downe wals, rampiers, towers, castles, cities, and shake the tallest shippes into shivers, there being nothing that comes within their reach that can stand against them. It was a peece of almost incredible big- nesse which by *Mahomets* command was imployed against *Constantino- ple*, *ad quam trahendam adhibebantur septuaginta juga boum, & bis mille viri*, as witnesseth *Chalcondilas* in his eighth booke *de rebus Turcicis*, for the drawing of which was imployed seaventy yoke of oxen, and two thou- sand men. It is true that there is nothing more mischievous to besie- ged cities, and so is there nothing that helps them more for the cha- sing away of the besiegers, it being so for the most part in all things, which either the Art or wit of man, or *God & Nature* hath framed, that the more helpfull they are being well used; the more hurtful are they being abused: then fire and water there is nothing more commodious to the life of man, yet is the *Proverbe* true, that when they are once inra- ged, & passe their bounds they become merciles: The tongue is said by *Aesope* to be both the best & the worst meate that comes to the market: for with it wee both blesse *God* and curse men, saith *S. Iames*. And yron by *Pliny* is rightly tearmed, *optimum, pessimumque vite instrumentum*, the best and worst instrument belonging to man. But sure it seemes that *God* in his providence had reserved this Engine for these times, that by the cruell force and terrible roaring of it, men might the rather be deterred from assaulting one another in hostile and warlike manner; And I verily beleieve that since the invention and use therefore, fewer have beene flaine in the warres then before. Neither doth it serve, (as is com- monly objected,) to make men cowards, but rather hardens them. For hee that dares present himselfe to the mouth of a *Cannon*, cannot feare the face of death in what shape soever it presents it selfe.

Lib. 1. c. 7. sect. 4.

Lib. 2. c. 14.

Mediat. histor.  
centur. 2. 28.  
De occultis re-  
rum miraculis  
lib. 3. cap. 4.  
Æneid. 1. 5.

Howsoever some have not beene wanting, who would beare us in hand that this invention is not of *latter times*, but *ancient*; among whom *Sir Walter Rawleigh* is one, who in his *History of the World*, referres not onely the Invention of *Printing*, but of *Gunnes* too, and *Ordinance* of bat- tery to the *Indians*, grounding himselfe heerein upon the report of the *Portugals*: And hereby, saith he, wee are now made to understand, that the place of *Philostratus in vita Apollonij Tianeij*, is no fable, though ex- prest in fabulous words, when he saith, that the wisemen which dwell betweene *Hyphasis* and *Ganges* use not themselves to goe forth to battle, but that they drive away their enemies with *thunder* and *lightning*. But hereof I can say nothing, choosing with *Camerarius*, *potius credere quam cum molestia experiri*, rather to beleieve it, then to endure the hazard and trouble to make tryall of it. Others referre it to *Salmoncus*, as witnesseth *Levinus Lemnius*, induced thereunto by those verses of *Virgill*

*Vidi & crudeles dantem Salmonea pœnas,  
Dum flammâ Jovis & sonitus imitatur Olympi,*

Quatuor



*Quatuor hic inuictus equis ac lampada quassans,  
Per Graium populos, mediaque per Elides urbem  
Ibat Evans, Divumque sibi poscebat honores;  
Demens qui nimbos & non imitabile fulmen,  
Ære & cornipedum cursu simulabat equorum*

I saw *Salmonius* there endure  
Most cruel paines and great,  
For that he dar'd the flames of *Ioue*,  
And thunder counterfeit.  
In Chariot drawne with horses foure,  
Shaking a fiery brand,  
Through mids of *Elis* towne he rode,  
And through all *Grecian* land  
Tryumphing wise: and to himselfe  
Audaciously did take  
Honours divine. Mad franticke man  
That did not inlie quake:  
With horn-foote horses, and brasse wheelles,  
*Ioues* stormes to emulate,  
And lightning impossible  
For man to imitate.

But *Servius* in his Commentaries conceives, that this imitation of thunder was by driving his Chariot over a brazen bridge: And if hee used any Engine, it seemes to have beene rather for rattling and terrour, then for any real effect: and whereas great Ordinance exceeds thunder, this was such that it came farre short of it. And therefore as *Rota* hath well observed, the Poet calls it,

--- *Non imitabile fulmen.*

But this I leave as a very uncertaine ground for the ancient invention of this Engine. *Petrarch* and *Valturius* upon better shew of reason (as they conceive) referre it to *Archimede*, found out (as they pretended) by him for the overthrow of *Marcellus* his shippes at the siege of *Syracuse*. But it were strange that both *Plutarch* & *Livie*, who have written largely of his admirable wit and wonderfull Engines, and particularly of the siege of that citie, should among the rest forget this rare invention; and yet more strange that the *Romanes* upon the taking of the citie should not take it up and make use of it: Nay, as *Magius* (who hath written a chapter of purpose, to refute them who referre this invention to the Ancients) hath observed, neither *Heron*, nor *Pappus*, nor *Athenaus*, nor *Biton* in their manuscripts of their *Mechanickes*, (for printed they are not) have described any such Engine: nor *Ægidius Romanus*, (who lived and wrote in the raigne of *Philip* the faire King of France about the yeare 1285.) where hee treates purposely of warlike Engines and instruments, remembers any such thing. *Brightman* in his exposition on the Revelation of *S. Iohn*, tels us that by the fire, and smoake; and brimstone which in that place are said to have issued out of the mouth of the horses, are to be understood our powder, and gunnes now in use, and that of them *S. Iohn* prophesied, but how these can be said to issue out of the mouthes of horses,

*De remed. utriusque fort. dial. 99.*

*De re militari.*

*Miscel. l. 1. c. 2.*

*De regimine Principum l. 3. part. 3. c. 18.*



herſes, he doth not well expreſſe, nor I thinke well underſtood.

*Nova Reperta,*  
lib. 11.

*Lib. 3. c. 14.*

The common opinion then is, that this deviſe was firſt found out by a Monke of Germanie, whoſe name many writers affirme to bee deſervedly loſt. But *Forcatulus* in his fourth booke of the *Empire* and *Philophy* of France, names him *Berthola Swarts* of *Cullen*, and *Salmuth*, *Conſtantine Ankliſzen* of *Friburg*. Howſoever they all agree that he was a German Monke, and that by chance a ſparke of fire falling into a pot of *Niter*, which he had prepared for *Phyſicke* or *Alchimy*, and cauſing it to fly up, hee thereupon made a compoſition of powder, with an inſtrument of braſſe and yron, and putting fire to it, found the concluſion to anſwere his expectation. The firſt publique uſe of *Gunnes* that wee reade of, was thought to bee about the yeare 1380 as *Magius*, or 400 as *Ramus*, in a battle betwixt the *Venetians* and the *Genowayes* fought at *Clodia-Foſſa*, in which the *Venetians* having from this Monke belike, gotten the uſe of *Gunnes*, ſo galled their enemies, that they ſaw themſelves wounded and ſlaine; and yet knew not by what meanes, or how to prevent it, as witneſſeth *Platina* in the life of *Vrbane* the ſixth. And *Laurentius Valla* in the ſecond booke and 34 Chapter of his *Elegancies*, (which as himſelfe teſtifies, hee wrote in the yeare 1438) affirms that the *Gunne* grew in uſe not long before his time. His words are, *Nuper inventa eſt machina quam Bombardam vocant*, the Engine which they call the *Gunne* was lately found out. And *Petrarch* who lived ſomewhat before him to like purpoſe in his 99 dialogue of the *Remedies of both fortunes*, though herein I confeſſe he ſeemes to croſſe himſelfe, *Erat hac peſtis nuper rara, ut cum ingenti miraculo cerneretur*: This peſtilent deviſe was lately ſo rare, that it was beheld with marveilous great aſtoniſhment. Yet I have ſeene the copie of a record, that great Ordinance were brought by the French to the batterie of a Caſtle or fort called *Guthwyke*, neere to *Calis*, & then in poſſeſſion of the *Engliſh*, the firſt yeare of *Richard* the ſecond, of which fort, one *William Weſton* was Captaine, and being queſtioned in Parliamtent for yeelding up the fort, hee doth in his excuſe alleage, that the enemies brought to the batterie thereof nine peeces de groſſes Canons par les quelles les mures & les meſons du dit Chaſtel furent rentes & percuffez en pluſieurs lieux, of great Canons, by meanes whereof the walls & houſes of the ſaid Caſtle were in diſverſe places rent in ſunder and ſorely battered; and in another place, hee tearmes them huge, moſt grievous, and admirable Ordinance: nay more then ſo, I am credibly informed, that a comiſſion is to bee ſeene for the making of *Saltpeter* in *Edward* the thirds time, and another record of Ordinance uſed in that time ſome twenty yeares before his death: by all which it ſhould appeare, that either the invention of *Gunnes* was ſooner then is commonly conceived, or that our Nation & the French had the uſe of it with the firſt, howloever it is moſt cleare, that at leaſt-wiſe in theſe parts of the world this invention was not knowne till in latter ages in compariſon of the worlds duration.



## S E C T. 4.

Of the use and invention of the Marriners Compasse or Seacard, as also of another excellent invention said to bee lately found out upon the Loadstone, together with a conclusion of this comparison touching Arts and Wits, with a saying of Bodins, and another very notable one of Lactantius.

**T**O these inventions of Printing and Gunnes, may be added in the last place that of the Marriners Compasse, of which Bodin thus confidently speakes, *Cum magnetē nihil sit admirabilius in tota rerum natura, usum tamen ejus plane divinum Antiqui ignorarunt*: Though there bee nothing more admirable then the Load stone in the whole course of Nature, yet of the Divine use thereof were the Ancients ignorant: And Blondus, *Certum est id navigandi auxilium priscis omnino fuisse incognitum*: It is certaine that helpe of sayling was altogether unknown to the Ancients. And Carden, a man much versed in the rarities of Nature, *inter cetera rerum inventa admiratione primum digna est ratio Nauticae pyxidis*. Among other rare inventions, that of the Marriners Compasse is most worthy of admiration. By meanes of it, was Navigation perfected, the lives and goods of many thousand have bin, and daily are preserved: It findes out a way thorow the vast Ocean, in the greatest stormes and darkest nights, where is neither path to follow, nor inhabitant or passinger to inquire; It points out the way to the skilfull Mariner when all other helpes faile him, and that more certainly though it be without reason, sense, and life, then without the helpe thereof all the Wisards & learned Clearkes in the world, using the united strength of their wits and cunning can possibly doe. By meanes of it are the commodities of all countries discovered, trade, and trafique, and humane societie maintained, their severall formes of government and religion observed, and the whole world made as it were one Commonwealth, and the most distant Nations, fellow citizens of the same body politique.

This wonderfull instrument wee have amply discribed by Cieza in his second tome and ninth chapter, *de Rebus Indicis*, and Bellonus in his second booke and sixteenth chapter *de Singularitatibus*: But for the reason thereof, I say with Acosta, *Causas hujus tanti prodigij alij rimentur, & Sympathiam nescio quam conentur inducere, ego summi Opificis potentiam providentiamque quoties intueor, & vehementer admiror & jucundissimè celebro*. Let others search out the causes of this so wonderfull an instrument, & pretend therein I know not what Sympathy, I for my part as oft as I looke upon it, cannot but exceedingly admire, and most willingly praise the power and providence of God.

Whether it were knowne to the Ancients or no, some doubt is moved, as of all things else there is: But herein in my judgement, without any sufficient reason. For can we conceive that so rare a devise, and of so singular use could be knowne to Aristotle, Theophrastus, Pliny, Dioscorides,

Methodē hist.  
cap. 7.

Italia Illustrata  
regione 13.  
De subtilit. 17.

De Natura nov.  
vi orbis, l. 1.



Blondus Italia  
illustrata Re-  
gion: 13.

rides, Galen, and that wee should no where in any of their workes finde the least mention thereof? Surely, I for my part shall never beleewe it, neither can I bee perswaded that so pretious and usefull an invention could possibly be entertained and commonly practised, and yet lost againe out of the world as if it had never beene. But that indeede it was not practised appears by this, that the *Ancients*, when by reason of a storme or myst they had lost the sight of the lights of heaven, they had no remedie to flie unto; *Nullum celo nubibus obscurato à magnete aut alio instrumento petebatur auxilium*, when the heaven was darkened with clouds, they had no assistance from the Load-stone or any other instrument.

---Clavumque affixus & harens

*Nunquam amittebat, oculosque sub astra tenebat.*

Aeneid. 5.

The helme he held and never it forsooke,  
But on the starres his eyes did ever looke.

Saith the Poet, as long as the starres appeared; but when they were bemisted, they then wandred they knew not whither.

*Tres adeo incertos caca caligine soles,  
Erramus pelago, totidem sine sidere noctes.*

Aeneid. 3.

On Sea we rou'd three dayes as darke as night,  
Three nights likewise not seeing starrie light.

And Ovid.

Metam. 11, 10.

*Verum ubi sit nescit tanta vertigine pontus  
Fervet, & inducta piceis è nubibus umbra  
Omne latet Cælum.*

He knew not where hee was, the sea so wrought  
And all the skie with pitchie clouds was fraught.

Act 27. 20.

And in S. Pauls coasting voyage by sea, when they had lost the sight of the Sunne and Starres, all hope that they should be saved was then taken away.

Some notwithstanding have beene found, who have thought this invention ancient. *Levinus Lemnius* in his third booke and fourth chapter *de Occultis naturæ miraculis* seemes to doubt of it. *An hoc instrumentum Nauticum superioribus seculis extitit, an nostro id ævo excogitatum, non ausim certo pronunciare*: whether this instrument of Navigation were in being in former ages, or found out in latter times, I cannot certainly define. Now that which chiefly causes him to make a doubt thereof, is those words of *Plautus*, *Hic ventus nunc secundus est, cape modo versoriam*: where by *versoriam*, *Lemnius* would have us understand the *Marriners compasse*. and then addes, *Quamquam ut opinor hæc pixidicula nostro jam tempore magis exculta sit, elimata, expolita, omniaque exactius demonstret*, as in the same chapter he speakes of Printing: Yet I beleewe that this instrument was in latter ages brought to exact perfection. But for *Plautus* I dare say hee was never guilty of such a meaning: *Turnebus* by *Versoriam* understanding the rope with which they sayle, others the rudder, with which the ship is turned. Neither of which are impertinent or improper, so as there is no necessity of applying it to the *Marriners Compasse*.

In Mercatore,  
Scena 5.

Lib. 20. ad vers.  
cap. 4.

Stephen



Stephen Pasquier in his 4. booke & 23 chapter of his *Recherches of France*, brings it up as high as the times of S. Lewis by the verses of one *Hugh de Bercy*, who lived in his raigne, and as hee pretends plainly describes it: but whether the words be so plaine as hee makes them, or whether they were published by some other since *Bercy*, but in his name, is very uncertaine, specially since no Poet or Historiographer contemporary with him, or more ancient then hee, are found to make mention thereof: and yet S. Lewis died not much above 300 yeares since. *Pineda* for the more commodious placing of *Tharshis* in *Spaine*, is confident that it was in use in *Solomons* time, making his universall wisdome, and deepe insight in the nature of all things, the principall ground of his opinion: But *Solomons* wisdome though it were universall, and deepe, beyond all the children of the *East*, in as much as God gave him *latitudinem cordis*, a large heart as the sand of the sea shore, yet was it finite and limited as well in things naturall as supernaturall. I doubt not but *Adam* in the state of integrity knew more then *Solomon*, and yet I dare not pronounce him omniscious, that being an attribute, (as is likewise *Omnipotence*, *ubiquity* & *eternity*) individually proper to the Godhead, & incommunicable to any created substance, though meerely incorporeall, whether they be the damned or the blessed spirits. If then the holy *Angels*, if *Adam* in *Paradise* knew not all things, nay if the Sonne of God himselfe, as hee was man confesse himselfe to bee ignorant in some things, why should wee thinke it strange to affirme, that *Solomon* knew not all things. If there be such a secret as the artificiall transmutation of other mettals into gold, (which by the experiments of many is confidently avouched) it is more then probable he was ignorant of it: for had he knowne it, he needed not to have sent his Navy to *Ophir* or *Tharshis* for gold; as likewise had he knowne this secret of the *Load-stone*, it needed not to have spent three yeares in going and comming, neither should his Marriners have needed to crave the assistance of the *Tyrians* and *Sydonians*, as *Pilots* for the better conducting of them into their voyage. I conclude then that either *Solomon* knew not this secret, or if he knew it, he put it not in practise, or if hee put it in practise, it was since lost and recovered againe, which to mee seemeth the most unlikely of all.

Now to the authority of these three, who plead for the antiquity of this invention, may be opposed *thirteene*, and those in learning nothing inferiour who plead against it, maintaining it to have beene an Invention of latter ages unknowne to the *Ancients*, as *Acosta lib. 1. histor. Ind. cap. 17. Mariana lib. 1. de rebus Hispania cap. 22. Malvenda lib. 3. de Antichristo cap. 24. Gomara tomo 1. Indica Historia cap. 10. Turnebus lib. 20. advers. cap. 4. Pancirollus in his Nova reperta tit. 11. Salmuth in his Commentaries on that place. Philander in his Comment. upon Vitruvius lib. 10. cap. 14. Lilius Giraldus lib. de Navig. cap. 1. Cardan de subtilitate lib. 17. Bozius de signis Ecclesia lib. 2. Bodin in his methode of Historic cap. 7. Ramus in Schol. Mathemat. lib. 2. And to those may bee added many more, were I ambitious in mustering up of names, or did the cause require it. Since the writing hereof I finde that our *Fuller Miscell. 4. 19.* thinkes it like-*



wife very probable, that the *Tyrians* anciently had the use of the *Compassse*, and that *Solomon* might be the Inventor thereof, but against him may be produced the *reasons* before pressed against *Pineda*, and not only the *authorities* already alleadged, but unto them wee may farther adde that of *Gaspar Varrerius* in his Commentary *De Ophyra Regione, Cujus vim naturamque lapidis in Arctos semper respectantis antiquis ignotam fuisse manifestum est*. It is cleere that the native propertie of this stone of turning alwayes to the *North*, was to the ancients unknowne.

*Hispanorum l.*

3.

*Italia illustrata*

*Regione 13.*

But a greater doubt presents it selfe about the *time* and *Author* of this Invention, when and by whom it should first bee found out and set on foote. Doctor *Gilbert* our Country-man ( who hath written in Latine a large and learned discourse of the properties of this stone ) seemes to be of opinion that *Paulus Venetus* brought the invention of the use thereof from the *Chineses*. *Orosius* in his discourse of the acts of King *Emanuel*, referres it to *Gama* and his Country-men the *Portugals*, who as he pretends tooke it from certaine barbarous Pirats roaving upon the Sea about the *Cape of good hope*. *Goropius Becanus* likewise thinkes he hath great reason to intitle it upon his Countrey-men the *Germans*, in as much as the 32. points of the winde upon the *Compassse* borrow the name from the *Dutch* in all *Languages*. But *Blondus* who is therein followed by *Pancirolius*, both *Italians*, will not have *Italy* loose the praise thereof, telling us that about 300 years agoe it was found out at *Malphis* or *Melphis* a Citty in the Kingdome of *Naples* in the Province of *Campania*, now called *Terra di Lovorador*. But for the Authour of it, the one names him not, and the other assures us, he is not knowne: yet *Salmuth* out of *Cicero* and *Gomara* confidently christens him with the name of *Flavius*, and so doth *Du Bartas* in those excellent verses of his touching this subject.

W'are not to *Ceres* so much bound for bread,

Neither to *Bacchus* for his clusters red,

As Signior *Flavio* to thy witty tryall,

For first inventing of the Sea-mans dyall,

Th' vse of the needle turning in the same,

Divine device, O admirable frame!

Whereby thorow th' Ocean in the darkest night

Our hugest Carrackes are conducted right,

Whereby w'are stor'd with trouch-man, guide & Lampe,

To search all corners of the watery Campe.

Whereby a ship that stormy heav'ns have whorld

Neere in one night into another world

Knowes where she is, and in the Card discries

What degrees thence the *Æquinoctiall* lies,

It may well be then that *Flavius* the *Melvitan* was the first inventor of guiding the ship by the turning of the needle to the *North*: but some *German* afterwards added to the *Compassse* the 32 points of the winde in his owne language, whence other Nations have since borrowed it. But surely a pitty it is that the Authour of such an Invention, is not both more certainly known and honourably esteemed: He better deserving of



in my judgement to be inrolled and ranked among the great benefactors of the world, then many who for their supposed merits, of mankind were desired among the Heathen.

Another excellent and secret conclusion upon this stone, pretended to be found out in these latter times, is, that by touching two needles with the same stone, they being severally set so as they may turne upon two round tables, having on their borders the *Alphabet* written circlewise, if two friends agreeing upon the time, the one in *Paris*, the other in *London*, (having each of them their table thus equally fitted) bee disposed upon certaine dayes and at certaine times to conferre, it is to bee done by turning the needle in one of the tables to the *Alphabet*, and the other by *Sympathie* will turne it selfe in the same manner in the other table, though never so farre distant: which conclusion if infallibly true, may likewise proove of good and great consequence: howsoever I will set it downe as I finde it described by *Famianus Strada* in imitation of the stile and vaine of *Lucretius*.

*Magnesi genus est lapidis mirabile, cui si  
Corpora ferri plura stylosve admoveris, inde  
Non modo vim motumque trahent quo semper ad ursam  
Quæ lucet vicina polo se vertere tentent,  
Verum etiam mira inter se ratione, modoque  
Quotquot eum lapidem tetigere styli, simul omnes  
Conspirare situm motumque videbis in unum.  
Vt si forte ex his aliquis Roma moveatur,  
Alter ad hunc motum quamvis sit dissitus longè  
Arcano se naturæ fœdere vertat.  
Ergo age si quid scire voles qui distat amicum  
Ad quem nulla accedere possit epistola, sume  
Planum orbem patulumque notas, elementaque prima;  
Ordine quo discunt pueri, describe per oras  
Extremas orbis, medioque reponere jacentem  
Qui tetigit magneta stylum, ut versatilis inde  
Litterulam quamcumque velis contingere possit.  
Hujus ad exemplum simili fabricaveris orbem  
Margine descriptum, munitumque indice ferri,  
Ferri quod motum Magnete accepit ab illo,  
Hunc orbem discessurus sibi portet amicus;  
Conveniatque prius quo tempore, quævis diebus  
Exploret stylus an trepidet quidve indice signes.  
His ita compositis si clam cupis alloqui amicum  
Quem procul à Te Te terræ distinet ora  
Orbi adijunge manum, ferrum versatile tracta;  
Hic disposita vides elementa in margine toto  
Quæ opus est ad verba notis hunc dirige ferrum,  
Litterulasque modo hanc modo & illam cuspide tange  
Dum ferrum per eas iterumque iterum que rotando*

Ee 2

Componas

Lib. 2. Prolusio-  
ne. 6.



*Componas sigillatim sensa omnia mentis.*  
*Mira fides ! longè qui distat cernit amicus*  
*Nullius impulsu trepidare volubile ferrum*  
*Nunc huc, nunc illuc discurrere conscius baxet,*  
*Observatque styli ductum, sequiturque legendo*  
*Hinc atque hinc elementa, quibus in verba coactis*  
*Quid sit opus sentit ferroque interprete discit.*  
*Quinetiam cum stare stylam videt, ipse vicissim*  
*Si quæ respondenda putat, simili ratione*  
*Litterulis varîe tactis rescribit amico:*  
*O utinam hæc ratio scribendi prodeat usu,*  
*Cautior & citior properaret epistola, nullas*  
*Latronum verita insidias fluviosque morantes,*  
*Ipse suis princeps manibus conficeret rem:*  
*Nos soboles scribarum emersi ex aquore nigro*  
*Consecraremus calamus Magnetis ad aras.*

The Load above all other stones hath this strange propertie,  
 If sundry steeles thereto, or needles yee apply,  
 Such force and motion thence they draw, that they incline  
 To turne them to the Beare, which neere the Pole doth shine.  
 Nay more, as many steeles as touch that vertuous stone,  
 In strange and wondrous sort conspiring all in one,  
 Together move themselves, and situate together:  
 As if one of those steeles at Rome be stir'd, the other  
 The selfe-same way will stirre though they farre distant be,  
 And all through Natures force and secret Sympathie:  
 Well then if you of ought would faine advise your friend  
 That dwells farre off, to whom no letter you can send;  
 A large smooth round table make, write down the Christ crosse  
 In order on the verge thereof, and then bestow (row  
 The needle in the mid'st which toucht the Load, that so  
 What note soe're you list it straight may turne unto:  
 Then frame another orbe in all respects like this,  
 Describe the edge, and lay the Steele thereon likewise,  
 The Steele which from the selfe-same *Magnes* motion drew;  
 This orbe send with thy friend what time he bids adieu:  
 But on the dayes agree first, when you meane to prove,  
 If the Steele stir, and to what letter it doth move.  
 This done, if with thy friend thou closely would'st advise,  
 Who in a country off farre distant from thee lies,  
 Take thou the orbe and Steele which on the orbe was set,  
 The christcrosse on the edge thou seest in order writ,  
 What notes will frame thy words to them direct thy Steele,  
 And it sometimes to this, sometimes to that note wheele,  
 Turning it round about so often till you finde  
 You have compounded the meaning of your miade.

Thy



Thy friend that dwells far off, ô strange! doth plainly see  
 The Steele to stirre though it by no man stirred bee,  
 Running now heere now there: He conscious of the plot  
 As the Steele guides, pursues, and reades from note to note;  
 Then gathering into words those notes, he clearely sees  
 What's needfull to be done, the needle truchman is.  
 Now when the Steele doth cease its motion; if thy friend  
 Thinke it convenient answere backe to send,  
 The same course he may take, and with his needle write  
 Touching the severall notes what so he list indite.  
 Would God men would be pleas'd to put this course in ure;  
 Their letters would arrive more speedy and more sure,  
 Nor Rivers would them stoppe, nor theeves them intercept,  
 Princes with their owne hands their businesse might effect.  
 We Scribes from blacke sea scaped, at length with harty wils  
 At th'altar of the Loade would consecrate our quils.

Of this devise, how two absent friends might confer at great distance,  
*Viginerius* in his *Annotations* upon *T. Livius*, speaketh somewhat in the  
 1316 colume of his first volume; as namely that a letter might be read  
 through a stone wall of three foote thicke, by guiding and moving the  
 needle of a *Compasse* over the letters of the *Alphabet*, written in the cir-  
 cumference. but the certainty of this conclusion, I leave to the experi-  
 ment of such as list to make tryall of it, and so conclude this compari-  
 son touching *Wits* and *Arts* with the words of *Bodin*: *Non minus pec-*  
*cant qui à veteribus aiunt omnia comprehensa, quam qui illos de veteri multa-*  
*rum artium possessione deturbant, habet Natura scientiarum thesauros innu-*  
*merabiles qui nullis atatibus exhauriri possunt*: They are no lesse to blame  
 who affirme all things to have bin found out by the *Ancients*, then they  
 who would thrust them out of the possession of many *Arts* found out  
 by them: For the Nature of sciences includes in it infinite treasure  
 which can never be exhausted. Or rather with those of *Lactantius* wor-  
 thy to be written in letters of gold, as being no lesse true and pertinent,  
 then witty and elegant: *Dedit omnibus Deus pro virili portione sapientiam,*  
*ut & inaudita investigare possent, & audita perpendere; nec quia nos illi tem-*  
*poribus antecesserunt, sapientiâ quoque antecesserunt, qua si omnibus aequaliter*  
*datur, occupari ab antecedentibus non potest. Illobabilis est tanquam lux &*  
*claritas Solis, quia ut sol oculorum, sic sapientia lumen est cordis humani. Qua-*  
*recum sapere, id est veritatem quarere omnibus sit innatum, sapientiam sibi*  
*adimunt qui sine ullo iudicio inventa majorum probant, & ab alijs pecundum*  
*more ducuntur. Sed hoc eos fallit quod Majorum nomine posita non putant fie-*  
*ri posse, ut aut ipsi plus sapiant quia Minores vocantur, aut illi desipuerint quia*  
*Majores nominantur.* God hath given wisdom unto all according to  
 a competent measure, that they might both finde out things unheard of  
 before, and weigh things already found out: Neither because they  
 had the start of us in time, doth it likewise follow that they have it also  
 in wisdom, which if it bee indifferently granted to all, it cannot bee  
 forestalled by them which went before. It is unimpareable like the

*Method. hist.*  
*cap. 4.*

*Lib. 2. c. 8.*  
*Divin. Inst.*



light and brightnesse of the sunne, it being the light of mans heart as the sunne is of his eyes. Sithence then to be wise, that is, to search the truth, is a disposition imbred in every man, they debarre themselves of wisdom, who without any examination approve the inventions of their Ancestours, and like unreasonable creatures, are wholly led by others. But this is it which deceives them, the name of *Ancestours* being once set in the front, they thinke it cannot bee, that either themselves should bee wiser, because they are called *Punies*, or the others should in any thing bee mistaken, because they are called their *Ancestours*. And thus have wee seene that there is in *mankinde* no such *univerfall* and *perpetuall decay* in regard of *age* and *life*, of *strength* and *statue*, of *arts* and *wits*, as is commonly pretended: is now remaines that in the last place we examine their *manners* and *conditions*, *vertues* and *vices*, whether it be so that men alwayes grow *worse* and *worse*, as it is likewise generally and confidently both held and beleevd.

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LIB. IV



## LIB. IV.

*Of the pretended decay in matter of manners, together with a large prooffe of the future consummation of the world, from the testimonies of the Gentiles, and the uses which we are to draw from the consideration thereof.*

## CHAP. I.

*That there is no such universall and perpetuall decay in the manners of men as is pretended, which is first proved in generall, and then from Religion the ground of manners.*

## SECT. I.

*That there is a vicissitude and revolution in vertues and vices, as there is in Arts and Sciences.*



Such is the neare affinitie and mutuall connexion betwixt these foure, *Age, Strength, Wit, & Manners*, that as the three former ordinarily follow the temper & complexion of the body, so for the most part doth the fourth too; though I must confesse that by the freedom of the will in *morall* matters, wee are more masters of the fourth then of the other three, which are more naturall, and consequently lesse in our power to alter or command; as *strength* then is the comfort of *age*, and *wit* the grace of *strength*, and *vertue* the guide of *wit*: so *age* without *strength* is tedious, *strength* without *wit* dangerous, *wit* without *vertue* hurtfull and pernicious. If then having matched men of *latter ages* with those of the *former*, in regard of *age*, *strength*, and *wit*, they should not likewise prove matchable in regard of *vertue*, it were a blemish rather then an ornament, a discommendation then a praise.

Now though it bee true that *vice* at this day so abounds thorow the world as it commonly doth, and well may breed a doubt even in the best, whether these *last times* be not indeed the *worst*, and as it were the lees & dregs of all ages; yet when I consider that in these *latter ages*, (if we compare them with the precedent since the *Creation*) a great part of the knowne world hath beene converted to the *Christian* doctrine, and that the *Authour* of it hath told us, *By their fruites yee shall know them*; mee thinkes I should wrong both him and it, if I should yeeld that the world hath not thereby beene bettered, even in regard of *civill vertue* & *morall goodnesse*: *Deus ut parens diligentissimus appropinquante ultimo tempore nuncium misit, qui vetus illud seculum fugatamq; Insuper reduceret, ne humanum genus maximis & perpetuis ageretur erroribus; Redijt ergo spes illius aurei temporis, saith Lactantius.* God as a most tender father, the

Lib. 5. Instit. c. 7



end now drawing on, sent his Messenger, who should reduce that old age and banished justice, least mankind alwayes should be tossed up & downe with infinite & continuall errors, so as now we have brought backe againe unto us a representation of those golden times.

But as I cannot easily grant, that men alwayes, and in all places waxe worse and worse, so I do not beleeve that alwayes, & in all places they waxe better and better, or that they stand at a stay: But as in the *Arts & Sciences*, so likewise in matter of *manners*, there is a *vicissitude*, an *alternation* & *revolution*, as before hath beene touched in part. The world is sometimes better & sometimes worse, according to the times of warre or peace, the conditions of Princes and Lawes, and the execution of them. Sometimes *vertue* increaseth in one Kingdome, and decreaseth in another; and againe in the same Kingdome *one vice* growes up, and another withers, at least wise for a time. This *circulation* of *vertue* and *vice* hath beene observed, and the observation thereof commended to posterity by the soundest and sagest writers in *Antiquity*: *Nisi forte in rebus cunctis inest quidam velut orbis, & quemadmodum temporum vices ita morum vertantur, nec omnia apud priores meliora, sed nostra quoque atas multa laudis & artium imitanda posteris tulit*, saith *Tacitus*. Unlesse perchance there be in all things a certaine circular change, & as there is by turnes an entercourse of times, so also of Customes and Manners. Neither were all things in ancient times better then ours, but our age hath likewise left to posterity many things worthy praise and imitation. And againe, *vitia erunt donec homines, sed neque haec continua, & meliorum interuentu pensantur*. Vices there will bee as long as men are, but these last not alwayes, and they are often recompensed by the interveining of better times. And with him accords the grave *Seneca*: *Hoc maiores nostri questi sunt, hoc nos querimus, hoc posteris nostri querentur, everfos esse mores, regnare nequitiam, in deterius res humanas & in omne nefas labi: at ista stant loco eodem, stabuntque paululum duntaxat ultra aut citra mota, ut fluctus quos aestus accedens longius extulit, recedens majore littorum vestigio re-ruit, nunc in adulterio magis quam in alio peccabitur, abrumpetque frenos pudicitia, nunc conviviorum vigeat furor, & scdissimum patrimoniorum exitium culina, nunc cultus corporum nimius, & formae cura, praeseferens animi deformitatem; nunc in petulantiam & audaciam erumpet male dispensata libertas, nunc in crudelitatem privatam ac publicam ibitur, bellorumque civilium insaniam, qua omne sanctum aut sacrum profanetur, habebitur aliquando ebrietati honor, & plurimum meri cepisse virtus erit. Non expectant uno loco vitia, sed mobilia & inter se dissentientia, tumultuantur invicem fuganturque. Ceterum idem semper de nobis pronunciare debebimus, malos esse nos, malos fuisse, invitius adiciam, & futuros esse*. This our Ancestours complained of, this wee complaine of, this our posterity will complaine of, that manners are corrupted, that wickednesse raignes, that humane affaires grow worse & worse, but these stand where they were, and so shall remaine, being onely at times a little removed; sometimes this way, sometimes that way, as the waves which the tide flowing carries farther in, but ebbing leaves farther off. Sometimes Adultery spreads it selfe more then any other sinne, and immodesty will endure no bridle, and some-  
times

*Annal. l. 3. c. 12*

*Cerealis apud Tacit. hist. l. 4.*

*De benef. lib. 1. cap. 30.*



times againe the madnes of feasting is in a fashion, and the kitching the basest kinde of consuming a mans patrimony; And then againe the immoderate decking of our bodies and care of preserving our beautie, which too much discovers the deformitie of the minde, sometimes liberty dispensed with breaketh out into desperate boldnes, sometimes into cruelty publique and private, & the rage of civill warres, whereby all holy things and places come to be profaned, and the time will come when drunkennes shall be had in honour, and it shall be held a vertue to twill downe much wine. Vices rest not in any one state or place, but shifting hither and thither, and fighting one against another, they both assault and put one another to flight: But however it goe, it shall alwayes be truly said of us, that wee are naught, naught wee have beene, (and which I unwillingly adde) we shall still be naught. And the same Author having related a storie out of *Asclepiodorus*, how *Phillip* of *Macedon* sent men downe into an old Mine to search what store was left in it, and whether the *Covetousnes* of former ages had not drawne it dry, *cum magna hac voluptate legi, saith he, intellexi enim saeculum nostrum non novis vitijs sed jam antiquitus traditis laborare, nec nostra etate primum avaritiam venas terrarum lapidumque rimatam in tenebris male absrussa quessisse: Illi quoque Majores nostri quos celebramus laudibus, quibus dissimiles querimus nos esse, spe ducti montes deciderunt, & supra lucrum sub ruina steterunt.* This I read with marveilous great content: for thereby I understood that our age was not burdened with new vices, but such as were anciently practised, nor that *Avarice* now first searched into the veines of the earth and stones, seeking out those things which Nature hath buried in darkenes. Even those our Ancestours, whom we so highly extoll, to whom wee complaine that our selves are unlike, in hope of lucre cut thorow mountaines, and under danger of ruine flood upon their gaine.

It cannot be denyed, but that a wicked Governour hath many times a good successour, and a gracelesse father a godly and vertuous sonne:

*Egregia est soboles scelerato nata parente:*

A worthlesse fire begets a worthy sonne.

*Sicut spina rosam genuit Godwinus Editham.*

Thus *Constantine* succeeded to *Dioclesian*, *Iovinian* to *Julian*, *Alexander Severus* to *Heliogabalus*, *Hezekias* to *Ahaz*, and *Iasias* to *Amon*. And doubtlesse were the son alwayes worse then the father, the successour then the predecessour, and succeeding ages then the preceeding, villany had long ere this stretched it selfe to the utmost period, & that complaint which the *Satyrist* uttered by way of *Poeticall* aggravation had long before this time beene verified in truth and in deed:

*Non habet ulterius quod nostris moribus addat*

*Posteritas.*

Nought hath posterity

Which to our manners may yet further added be.



## S E C T. 2.

The former Section confirmed by the testimonies of Prudentius, Castilio, and Machiavell: to which are added the testimonies of Canonherius and Befoldus.

**T**Hat there is such a vicissitude in vertues and vices, as in the foregoing Chapter hath beene touched, and that former ages did not alwayes in matter of manners excell the latter, and these present times, wee have it no lesse copiously then learnedly confirmed unto us by the testimonies of three famous men in their severall kindes, that in the mouth of three such witnesses the truth may stand; of which number *Prudentius* shall first bring in his evidence, who writing against *Symmachus* a Roman Senatour, in defence of the Christian Religion, and in his second booke answering an objection framed by *Symmachus*, which by the *Romanists* at this day is made against us: *Sequendi sunt nobis parentes qui feliciter sequuti sunt suos*, wee are to follow our predecessours as they happily followed theirs; shapes this reply thereunto,

*Si quicquid rudibus mundi nascentis in annis  
Mos habuit, sanctè colere, ac servare necesse est,  
Omne revolvamus sua per vestigia seculum  
Vsq̃ue ad principium, placeat damnare gradatim  
Quicquid posterius successor reperit usus.  
Orbe novo nulli subigebant arva coloni,  
Quid sibi aratra volunt? quid cura superflua rursus?  
Ilignis melius saturatur glandibus alvus.  
Primi homines cuneis scindebant fissile lignum,  
Decoquat in massam fervens strictura secures  
Rursus, & ad proprium restillet vena metallum.  
Induvias caesa pecudes, & frigida parvas  
Præbat spelunca domos; redeamus ad antra,  
Pellibus insatis hirtos sumamus amictus.  
Immanes quondam populi, feritate subacta  
Edomiti jam tristè fremant: iterumque ferinos  
In mores redeant, atque ad sua prisca recurrant.  
Præcipitet Scythica juvenis pietate vitæ  
Votivo de ponte patrem, sic mos fuit olim.  
Cadibus infantum fument Saturnia sacra,  
Flebilibusque truces resonent vagitibus ara.  
Ipsa casas fragili texat gens Romula culmo,  
Sic tradunt habitasse Rhenum, Regalia fæno  
Fulcra supersternant, aut pelle Lybistidis ursæ  
Compositam clamydem villosa corpore gestent.  
Talia Trinacrius Ductor, vel Thuscus habebat,  
Roma antiqua sibi non constat, versa per ævum,  
Et mutata sacris, ornatu, legibus, armis,  
Multa colit, quæ non coluit sub Rege Quirino.*



*Instituit quaedam melius, nonnulla refugit.  
 Et morem variare suum non destitit, & quæ  
 Pridem considerat jura, in contraria vertit.  
 Quid mihi tu ritus solitos Romane Senator  
 Objectas? quum scita Patrum, populique frequenter  
 Instabilis placiti sententia flexa novarit?  
 Nunc etiam quoties solitis decedere prodest,  
 Præteritosque habitus cultu damnare recenti  
 Gaudemus compertum aliquid, tandemque relictum  
 Quod latuit, tardis semper processibus aucta  
 Crescit vita hominis, & longo proficit usu.  
 Sic ævi mortalis habet se nobilis ordo,  
 Sic variat natura vices, infantia repit,  
 Infirmitas titubat pueri gressusque animusque,  
 Sanguine præcalido fervet nervosa juventa,  
 Mox stabilita venit maturi roboris ætas.  
 Ultima consilijs melior, sed viribus ægra  
 Corpore succumbit mentem purgata senectus.  
 His genus humanum per dissona tempora duxit  
 Curriculis ævum mutabile, sic hebes inter  
 Primitias, mersumque solo titubavit, & instar  
 Quadrupedis pueri lactantia viscera traxit.  
 Mox tenerum docili ingenio, jamque artibus aptum  
 Noscendis, varia rerum novitate politum est.  
 Inde tumens vitæ, calidos adolevit in annos,  
 Donec decocto solidaret robore vires.  
 Tempus adest, ut jam sapiat divina serena  
 Mentis consilio, vivaciùs abdita solers  
 Quærere, & æterna tandem invigilare saluti.*

If we must still embrace, and ne're refuse,  
 What th' infant world in ruder times did use:  
 Let us each age then, step by step recall,  
 And damne in order even to th' originall  
 What after by succeeding use was found.  
 In the first world no Rusticks ear'd the ground,  
 What meane the ploughs then? what the needlesse care  
 Of harrowes? akornes yeeld sufficient fare.  
 Peece meale with wedges men did first wood rend:  
 Let axes then by th' forge againe descend  
 Into their masse; backe to their mettall drop.  
 Slaine beasts cloathing did yeeld, and the coole grotte  
 A slender lodging: let's to our caves againe,  
 And of patcht skinnes rough garments entertaine.  
 People once wilde, then tame (nature subdu'd)  
 Harshly againe let grumble, and renew'd  
 In savage manners, to their wont retire.  
 With Scythicke piety their aged Sier

Let



Let striplings tumble from the voting bridge:  
 Such once the custome was.  
 With slaughtered babes let Saturnes fanes abound,  
 His cruell altars with sad vagits sound.  
 Let Romans thetch them cottages of reed,  
 For so dwelt Rhemus: and let hay be-spread  
 The royall bed, or spoyles of Lybian Beare:  
 Of hairy pelts their cassocks let them weare:  
 Sicilian Captaines, Tuscans, such did beare.  
 Old Rome is not the same, chang'd every age  
 In habits, rites, lawes, and armes equipage.  
 Much now sh'observes not knowne in Quirins raig,  
 Some things reform'd she hath, some dasht again,  
 Nor ever ceast her customes for to vary,  
 And lawes which earst she made, turne quite contrary.  
 Your customary Rites why presse you so in plea  
 O Roman Senatour? sith that many a day  
 Decrees of Fathers and th'unstable Commons  
 Have chang'd them in their weake opinions.  
 And now to quit things us'd, upon occasion  
 Fitly presented, or for some new fashion  
 To blame the old; w'are glad that something spi'd  
 And brought to light at last, which earst lay hid.  
 Mans life by slow proceedings growes in sence,  
 And profiteth by long experience;  
 Such is the moving order of mans race,  
 So varieth Nature in her courses pace.  
 Infancie creepes: then childhoods feeble gate,  
 And reason staggers: next the synowy state  
 Of youth boyles in its hot bloud: then an age  
 Setled in full strength: last upon the stage  
 Appeares declining old, for counsell better,  
 Clearer in judgement, but in body weaker.  
 Thus humane kinde by differing seasons ranne  
 His changing course throughout: dull first beganne  
 And clogg'd with earth, so crawl'd, and like a child  
 On all foure did his milke-fed bowels weild.  
 Next tender, docile natur'd, and for arts  
 Now fit became, adorn'd with various parts.  
 Thence swolne in vice, to fervent yeares increased  
 Till by decocted strength growne firme he ceased.  
 And now with clearer judgement 'tis high time  
 He know and savour things that are divine.  
 His thoughts in search of secrets wisely bend,  
 And now at length eternall life attend.

The next evidence shall bee that of *Castilio* in the very entrance of his  
 second booke of the *Courtier*, elegantly translated by our Clerke out of  
*Italian* into *Latine*. *Non sine summa admiratione altius apud me agere soleo,*  
*unde*



ande hac tam crassa senum hallucinatio: quæ quoniam per omnium animos in-  
 graveſcente jam ætate propagatur: propria & illorum hominum ferè naturalis  
 videri poteſt. Nam cum illis ubi primùm ſermonem inieris elapſa jam olim  
 tempora ſummis laudibus proſequuntur, præſentia verò omnibus diſis devo-  
 vent. Nihil noſtrarum actionum aut morum, nihil quod ipſi juvenes non ege-  
 rint, alicujus momenti æſtimant: denique omnes omnium conſuetudines, om-  
 nes vivendi rationes, nunc demùm inclinare & in deterius vergere. Res meher-  
 cule non indigna admiratione, provectam jam ætatem quæ reliquis in rebus  
 uſu atque experientia animi judicium confirmare ſolet, hac una in re adeò ſibi  
 ludificari, planè ut non perſpiciat in pejus homines quotidie, necne, labantur.  
 Quod ſi ea nunc eſſet rerum conditio, ſi patres filiis meliores ſemper extitiſſent,  
 adeò in extremo jam tandem res ſita eſſet, ut deterius ne cogitari quidem poſſet.  
 Verùm hoc quaſi peculiare quoddam in ſenio vitium, non noſtra ſolam ætas,  
 ſed antiquiſſimi etiam Authores apud prius ſæculum deprehenderunt: Comici  
 præſertim illi, qui humanam vitam cæteris omnibus aptius & acutiùs expreſ-  
 ſerunt. Iſtius igitur tam inanis ſententiæ hanc ego cauſam exiſtimo: Annos  
 nimirum ſenſim & pedetentim labentes vitales ſecum Spiritus, & naturalem  
 ſanguinis calorem veriſimile eſt ſubducere: quod cum univerſam corporis con-  
 ſtitutionem paulatim immutaverit, arteria, nervi, reliquaque animi organa,  
 atque instrumenta fatali hoc morbo languent atque debilitantur. Vnde in illis  
 demum temporibus ſuaviſſimi deliciarum noſtrarum floſculi haud aliter quàm  
 arboribus Autumno folia decidunt: & dulciſſimarum cogitationum vice, fron-  
 tis ruga, ac nubecula, mentis triſtitia ac mærores, vitæ calamitates & miſerie  
 ſubeunt: adeò ut non corpus ſolum, verùm etiam animus (qui ferè ſequitur diſ-  
 poſitionem corporis) malè at moleſtè ſe habeat: nec quicquam præteritarum vo-  
 luptatum retinet, præter unam eamque tenacem juventutis memoriam. Quæ  
 quamdiu ſuperfuit, cæleſtia terrenaque omnia juvenilibus oculis arridere vide-  
 bantur, jucundiſſimæ quæque affectiones ex animis noſtris, tanquam ex hortulo  
 amœniſſimo Vere jam tum exiſtente indies excreverunt. Quocirca cum vitæ  
 noſtræ ſol atq; lumen verſus occaſum volvere occæperit, operæ pretium fortasſè  
 fuerit, nihil eorum quæ præterita ſunt reminiſci: quin potiùs (ut inquit The-  
 miſtocles) oblivionis artem ediſcere. Ita enim ſenſus noſtri fallaces ſunt, ut  
 animi quoque judicium nonnunquam fallant. Senes itaque illis hominibus per-  
 ſimiles mihi videri ſolent, qui cum è portu in altum ſolverint, retro in terram  
 oculos contorquent: quam dum ſeriò intuentur, littus illis ſecedere, navis verò  
 conſiſtere videtur: cum reipſa nec portus nec terra, nedum anteriores noſtræ de-  
 litia aut voluptates moveantur, ſed nos huic mortalitatis puppi inſidentes ali-  
 alios per mare turbulentum conſque inſequimur, dum vel ſcopulis iſdem illiſi  
 naufragium patiamur, vel undarū gurgitibus oppreſſi ad portum denuò redire  
 fruſtrà & incaſſum contendamus. Animus proinde ſenilis, cum nulli ſubjecti  
 proportionem, nulla apta harmonia voluptates haurire ac percipere poſſit, feбри-  
 citantium ſimilis fit, quibus cum palatum guſtandique organa craſſiſſimis va-  
 poribus obſtipentur; ſuaviſſima quæque acerba, atque inſipida exiſtimare ſo-  
 lent: Ita hominibus ſenio confectis, cum voluptatū deſiderio aliquo teneantur ad  
 eaſdem tamen malè diſpoſiti & penitus inepti ſint, omnes jucunditates ſuperiorū  
 temporum delitijs pejores multò & frigidiores putant: cum iſta tamen eadem  
 ſint, ipſi verò à ſeipſis longè alieniſſimi. Quibus oblectamentiſ, cum jam ſeſe  
 orbatos intelligant: præſentia tempora tanquam omnium iniquiſſima deteſtan-  
 tur,



tur, nullam in seipsis rerum vicissitudinem agnoscentes. Cum vero prateritas jampridem voluptates in memoriam revocent, illius quoque atatis meminerunt, in qua illa contigerant: eamque propterea summis laudibus afficiunt, quia illarum delectationum quasi quendam odorem illius recordatio una afferre solet. Denique, sic sunt affectiones nostrae, ut illa omnia quae dolores nostros comitantur, cum odio quodam repetamus: quae vero simul cum voluptatibus nostris communicata sunt, eadem summa benevolentia complectamur. Unde illud evenire solet, ut amantium oculis fenestra saepenumero aliqua (etiamsi occlusa fuerit) mirum in modum grata sit, quoniam in illa amatam mulierculam jam antea conspexerint. Nonnunquam etiam annulum, epistolam, hortos, ceterosque locos, tanquam amenissimarum delectationum conscios amplectamur. Contra vero cubiculum omnibus ornamentis refertissimum, exosum semper esse solet, sicubi in eo vel vincti & religati fuerimus, vel cujusvis praterea doloris acerbisatem perpepsi. Nostra certe memoria, nonnullos ipsi vidimus, qui non solum ab ijs scyphis, sed eorum etiam similibus abhorrebant in quibus agroti medicamentum imbibant. Quemadmodum enim superioribus illis, fenestra, annulus, atque literae, grata quadam recordatione in voluptatis parte habebantur: ita omnino istis posterioribus cubiculum altera custodia, cyathus vero novus morbus videbatur. Idem est in hominibus aetate provec̃tis dum elapsa vel laudant, vel instantia vituperant. Not without the greatest admiration, am I wont to reason the matter with my selfe, from whence should spring that grosse mistake of old men, which because it spreads it selfe through the mindes of all as they grow in yeares, may seeme in a manner to bee to them proper and naturall: for no sooner shall you enter conference with them, but instantly they extoll to the skies, the times past, damning the present downe to hell, they esteeme not worth a rush any of our actions or manners, or any thing which themselves in their youth did not; alwayes complaining that all customes and fashions of all kinde of men decline and grow worse and worse: a matter truly not undeservedly to be wondred at, that old age, which in other things by long use and experience is wont to confirme the judgement, should in this one thing so gull it selfe, as not to perceive whether mankinde daily grow worse or no. But if such were indeed the state of things, if Fathers had alwayes beene better then their Sonnes, the World long ere this had doubtlesse beene so naught, as worse could not have beene imagined: yet this error peculiar in a manner to old men, not our age alone, but the most ancient authors in former times have observed, specially the Comickall Poets, who have expressed the severall humours of men more wittily then any others. Now of this so vaine an opinion, this doe I conceive to be the cause, for that age insensibly and by degrees steales away the vitall Spirits, and the native heat of the bloud, and so by little and little changes the whole constitution of the body till the arteries, the nerves, and the other instruments of the soule, by this fatall disease, are weakened and languish, from whence it comes to passe that those sweet flowers of our delights fall from us, like leaves from the trees in Autumne, and instead of our pleasant conceits, wrinkles in the forehead, cloudy & sad thoughts in the minde, calamities and miseries in the course of our life present



present themselves, so that not the body only but the minde to, (which commonly followes the temper of the body) is sickish and indispos'd, nor retains any thing of pleasures past, but only a firme and fast memorie of youth, which whiles it lasted, heaven and earth with favourable aspect seemed to smile upon us, and delightfull thoughts to arise from our mindes as from the pleasant garden in the spring, wherefore when the Sunne and light of our light once begins to decline to the West, it were not amisse to forget all that is past, and with *Themistocles* to learne the art of oblivion. So deceitful are our senses that they often betray the discourse of reason, in which regard old men to me seeme like to those who having lanced forth into the deepe, cast their eyes backe to the land, which whiles they earnestly behold, the shoare to them seemes to goe backward, and the shippe to stand still, when as in truth neither the haven, nor the land, nor yet our former delights are at all moved, but wee our selves sitting in the vessell of mortalitie, so farre follow one another through the stormie Sea of this world, untill either by suffering shipwracke upon the rockes, or by being overwhelmed in the surges, at length in vaine we strive to recover the port from whence wee set sayle: The minde of old men in this case being not by any equall proportion or harmonie inabled to receive the sweetnesse of pleasure, becomes like those that are sicke of an ague, to whom, their palate and instruments of tasting being much distempered with clammy humors, the most sweet things seeme to be sharpe or altogether unsavory; so to men farre stricken in age, who are still possessed with a longing desire of sensuall pleasures, & yet are indisposed for the use thereof, all kindes of delight which the present times can possibly afford, appeare more flat and dull then those of former ages, whereas notwithstanding the delights still remaine the same, but the men are changed and become most unlike themselves; yet finding themselves deprived of all sense and relish of pleasure, they blame the times as of all other the worst, either not observing, or not acknowledging in themselves any kinde of alteration; as on the other side when they call to minde the pleasures they long since injoyed, at the same instant they likewise recall those times in which they enjoyed them, and therefore set forth their commendations in the highest straine, because the very remembrance of them together with themselves, present a fresh sent of those delights which most affected them: to conclude, all those things which waite upon our grief, we recount with detestation, but those which are mixed with our pleasures we chearefully imbrace; from whence it comes to passe, that the light of a windowe is many times acceptable to us, though shut, because from thence wee formerly beheld our beloved Mistresse, many times also we willingly entertaine a ring, a letter, a garden, or other places as being witnesses of our pleasing delight, and contrarywise wee extreamely hate a chamber, though apparelled with all kinde of rich furniture, in case wee have beene bound or suffered any kinde of sharpe paine in it: we our selves in our memorie have knowne some who abhorred the sight not onely of those cups, but of the like to them, out of which being sicke they dranke some loathsome potion: for



as to those former the window, the ring, the letter, by reason of their acceptable remembrance, were a part of their pleasure; so to these latter the chamber seemes another prison, and the cup a new disease. And truly even such is the condition of old men, whiles they either praise the times past, or dispraise the present. My third and last evidence shall be that of *Machiavell*, who in his disputations or discourses de Republica, thus begins his preface to his second booke: *Laudant homines antiquitatem semper: presentia tempora accusant: at non ubique justis de causis, ut mihi quidem videtur. Vsq̃ adeo enim rerum antiquarum studiosi sunt, ut non solum, eas res, quæ literarum monumentis celebrantur, sed illas quoque laudibus efferant, quas ipsi jam senes, olim in juventute viderunt. Ego verò hanc illorum opinionem persæpè falsum esse existimo: varijsque de causis adduci eos, ut ita sentiant. Primum enim absolutam rerum vetustarum cognitionem assequi nequimus. Nam plerumque fit in rebus enarrandis, ut quæ turpitudinis quicquam continent, silentio prætereantur: quæ cum virtute conjuncta sunt & laudem merentur, ea & diligenter enarrantur & amplificuntur. Vsq̃ adeo enim multum attribuere solent fortuna Victorum Historici, ut augenda illorum laudis gratia, non solum res ab ipsis præclarè gestas amplificent, sed hostium quoque facta tantoperè illustrent, ut posterì deinde ea è longinquo intuentes, causam habeant antiqua illa tempora, & hominum, qui tunc vixerunt, virtutem admirandi atque amandi. Hisce accedit quòd cum timore aut invidia alienam virtutem odio prosequi soleamus: & neutrum horum in rebus antiquitus gestis officere quicquam possit: duæ summæ causæ deesse videntur, in vetustate quicquam reprehendendi: cum neque amplius nocere possint: neque invidia cujusquam obnoxia sint. Contrario modo se habent res presentes: nam hæ quales sint universæ, cognoscuntur: nec quicquam habent siue boni siue mali quod latere possit. Itaque accidit, ut quoniam una cum virtute præstantiaque rerum quæ nunc geruntur, vitia etiam videmus: cogimur quodammodo eas antiquis illis quarum sola virtus apparet, vitia latent, postponere; quamvis persæpè præstantiores sint.* Men alwayes commend the ancient and condemne the present times, but (as to me it seemes) not alwayes upon just and warrantable grounds: for so studious they are of antiquitie, that not only things anciently committed to writing, but even those which themselves in their younger yeares have seene, they mightily extoll; but for mine owne part I belceve this their opinion to be often erroneous, and these to be the causes of their mistake: first for that we cannot attaine unto an absolute knowledge of ancient affaires, in as much as for the most part in the narration of those passages, shamefull and dishonest acts are passed over in silence, whereas the vertuous and praiseworthy are diligently described and amplified: for so much doe Historiographers commonly attribute to the good fortune of Conquerours, that they doe not onely amplifie noble atchivements of them performed, but set forth to the utmost, the facts of their enemies: from whence it comes to passe, that posteritie taking a view of those affaires at so great a distance, finde cause of admiring and loving those things and those men that then lived; whereunto we may adde, that sithence our ordinary wont is to prosecute the vertue wee see in others, either with feare or envy, and neither of these can take hold upon things anciently



ciently done, two of the weightiest motives for the blaming of antiquity seeme to bee wanting, considering it is now not able to hurt nor can bee liable to the stroke of envy. But the condition of things present is quite contrary, for these are throughly knowne and lay open in every part, neither can any thing that is either good or bad in them be well concealed, the consequent whereof must needs be this, that because together with the vertue and excellencie of things now done, their defects and blemishes are likewise discerned, wee are in a manner forced to preferre the Ancient before them, whose vertues wee onely discern and not their defects, though the latter bee in themselves more commendable then the former.

And though exceptions bee taken at *Machiavell* in other cases, yet I know no sufficient reason but wee may well enough admit of his testimonie in this, being a matter of civill wisdom & observation, wherein without doubt few of his age were matchable with him; for other matters I will not, I may not, endeavour to Apologize him, yet I hope I may heere without offence set downe what in *Boissardus* part. 3. *Iconum virorum illustrium*, I finde reported of him which I must professe when I read I thought very strange. *Sunt vero* (saith hee) describing the life and conditions of *Machiavell* *etiamnum superstites viri boni, graves & fide digni, qui cum ejus notitiam in Italia familiariter habuerint, de eodem ingenio testimonium perhibere non verentur, quod fuerit nimirum vir stupenda eruditionis & prudentia, quin & vite integerrima morumque innocentia, insigni & pietate summa.* And truely though it cannot be denied but that hee deserveth sharpe censure in speaking so slightly of religion in generall, and of the Christian so basely, yet I have heard some wise men affirme that hee thereby rather shewed what Princes commonly in those parts were, then what they should bee, and truely I beleieve that the free expression of himselfe against the tyrannie, ambition, and usurpation of the Bishop of *Rome*, was it that first opened the mouthes and sharpened the pennes of so many Church-men against him.

Now though it bee said that a threefold cord is hardly broken, yet to the testimonie of these three, I will adde two others, *Cassiodorus* an Italian, and *Besoldus* a German, the first of which writes himselfe a Roman Doctour of Philosophie, Physicke and Divinitie, and in his Politicall dissertations upon the *Annals* of *Tacitus* proposeth this question. *Virum secula nostra antiquis sint pejora*, and thus presently resolves it. *Non solum est quorundam astrologorum opinio sed & vetus, quotidiana & popularis querimonia, quod mores depraventur & quotidie in pejus ruunt. Si hoc esset, homines non solum bipedum sed & quadrupedum impurissimi jam essent, quod quidem profecto verum non est, sed aliquam vicissitudinem hac in re fateri oportet.* And to this purpose hee voucheth those words of *Seneca* in his 58. Epistle to *Lucilius*. *Erras mi Lucili si existimes nostri seculi esse vitium, luxuriam, & negligentiam boni moris & alia quae obycit suis quisque temporibus, hominum sunt ista, non temporum, nulla aetas vacavit a culpa:* and after a long discourse in the end concludes. *Hic de causis mundum in pejus ruere, ac secula nostra antiquis corruptiora esse, affirmare maximum mendacium est.* And for manners, so for age he maintaines, *Eandem aetatem*



attingunt homines, quam antea antiqui attigerunt, & vitam ultra 110 annos possunt homines protrahere, ut affirmat Thom. Philolog. de vita hominis ultra 110 annos protrahenda.

Besoldus likewise a Civill Lawyer of Germany in his *Politickall dissertations de Repub. Curanda. Sect. 6.* proposeth the same question in somewhat different tearmes. *Commodè hic queritur an mundus decreascit ac ratione naturalium & moralium indices deterior evadat:* and thereupon (as his fashion is) musters up a multitude of Authors on both sides, but for himselfe concludes. *Mundus non solvetur fatigatione, non enim instrumenti consumptione, vel diminutione, vel depravatione, multo minus finē habebit in justa proportionē quā intercedere potest inter motum & motorem.* In particular he argues the question about the pretended bones of Gyants, and tells us: *Memini me apud Mercurium Gallicum Tom. 3. Fol. 195. legisse ante paucos annos de ossibus gigantum controversiam inter rerum naturalium doctores enatam proditum, ea terra lusus esse, cum non habeant vestigia alicujus civitatis cui inesse potuisset medulla fabularum: de gigantibus Wormatiensibus mentionem facit in itinere suo Grasserus. Fol. 10.*

### SECT. 3.

*The extreame folly of the ancients, in adoring and invoking images.*

**I**N this comparison of manners, I will first begin with the Religion of the Ancients, which over-spread almost the whole world, because from their foule errors in matters of the first Table wee shall easily guesse at their grosse irregularities in those of the second; the duties of the latter, depending upon the observation of the former: And besides in the very choice & exercise of their Religion will appeare much inhumanitie and brutish stupiditie; Their Idols of gold, and silver, and stone, & wood, were to the inspired pen-men of holy writ so ridiculous, that every where they inveigh against them as most sottish vanities, and the worshippers of them, as men voide of common Reason, shewing themselves more blockish then the very blockes they adored, in that being themselves made according to Gods image, they worshipped images made with their owne hands, and bestowed upon their owne workes the Deitie of him, from whom they received breath and being. Their Idols are silver and gold, saith the Prophet David, even the workes of mens hands, they have a mouth and speake not, eyes have they and see not, they have eares and heare not, noses have they and smell not, they have hands and touch not, feete have they and walke not, they that make them are like unto them, and so are all they that put their trust in them. And the Prophet Esay having shewed how a man plants a tree, & when it is growne up cuts it down, with part thereof he baketh his bread, with part hee rostheth his meate and warmeth himselfe, and with the residue thereof he maketh his God even his Idoll: The Carpenter stretcheth out a line, he fashioneth it with a red thread, he planeth and he pourtraith it with the compasse, and maketh it after the figure of a man, and according to the beaury of a man, that it may remaine in an house; then boweth he and worshippeth,

*Psal. 115. 4.*

*Cap. 44. 9. &c.*



shippeth, and prayeth unto it; and saith, Deliver me for thou art my  
 'God: And thereupon inferres, they have not knowne nor understood,  
 'for God hath shut their eyes that they cannot see, and their hearts, that  
 'they cannot understand. And the *Prophet Jeremy* much to like purpose, Jer. 10, 3. &c  
 'one cutteth a tree out of the Forrest with an axe, and another decketh  
 'it with silver and with gold, they fasten it with nayles and hammers,  
 'that it fall not, the Idoles stand up as a palme tree, but they speake  
 'not: They are borne because they cannot goe: and then concludes,  
 'They dote and are foolish, for the stock is a doctrine of vanity. But  
 most lively and elegantly, yet with scorne and derision have wee this  
 'blockish vanity described in the booke of *Wisedome*. Miserable are Cap. 13, 10, 19  
 'they, and among the dead is their hope, that call them Gods which  
 'are the workes of mens hands, gold and silver, and the thing that is in-  
 'vented by Art, & the similitude of beasts, or any vaine stone that hath  
 'beene made by the hand of antiquity. Or as when a Carpenter cutteth  
 'downe a tree meete for the worke, and pareth off all the barke thereof  
 'cunningly, & by Art maketh a vessell profitable for the use of life, and  
 'the things that are cut off from his worke hee bestoweth to dresse his  
 'meate to fill himselfe, & that which is left of these things which is pro-  
 'fitable for nothing, (for it is a crooked peece of wood, & full of knobs)  
 'he carueth it diligently at his leisure, and according as hee is expert in  
 'cunning, he giveth it a proportion, & fashioneth it after the similitude  
 'of a man, or maketh it like some vile beast, and straketh it over with  
 'vermilion, & painteth and covereth every spot that is in it; And when  
 'he hath made a convenient Tabernacle for it, he setteth it in a wall, &  
 'maketh it fast with iron, providing so for it lest it fall: for hee know-  
 'eth that it cannot helpe it selfe, because it is an image that hath neede  
 'of helpe: Then he prayeth for his goods, and for his marriage, and for  
 'his children, hee is not ashamed to speake unto it that hath no life, hee  
 'callet on him that is weake, for health, hee prayeth unto him that is  
 'dead for life, he requireth helpe of him that hath no experience at all,  
 'and for his journey him that is not able to goe, and for gaine and suc-  
 'cesse in his affaires, asketh ability to doe of him that is most unable to  
 'doe any thing.

This childish fopperry the *Primitive Christians* also scoffed & laughed  
 at, *Qua amentia est, aut ea fingere quae ipsi postmodum timeant, aut timere quae*  
*fixerunt:* saith *Lactantius*: What a madnessse is it either to make things  
 which themselves feare, or to feare those things which themselves have  
 made: *Nec intelligunt homines ineptissimi quod si sentire simulacra & move-*  
*re possent, ulterò adoratura homines fuissent à quibus sunt expolita.* Neither do  
 these foolish men understand that the images they adore, had they but  
 sense & motion, would adore them who framed and formed them. *Sed*  
*hac nemo considerat, ac mentes eorum penitus succum stultitiae perbiberunt:*  
*adorant ergo insensibilia qui sentiunt, irrationalia qui sapiunt, examina qui vi-*  
*vunt, terrena qui oriuntur è caelo. Inuat erga velut in aliqua sublimi specula*  
*constitutum unde universi exaudire possint Persianum illud proclamare,*

*O curas hominum! ô quantum est in rebus inane!*

*O curvae in terris animae & caelestium inanes!*

Ff4

But



But these things none considereth, their minds being thoroughly drenched with the liquor of foolishnes : They which have sense adore things without sense, which have life things without life, which are from heaven things earthly. It were good then from some high tower that all might heare it, to proclaime aloud that of *Persius*,

O cares men ! O world all fraught  
With vanities ! O mindes inclined  
Towards earth, all voide of heau'nly thought !

And *Sedulius* an ancient *Christian* Poet, by *Nation* a *Scot*, hath excellently described this palpable folly,

*Heu miseri qui vana colunt, qui corde sinistro  
Religiosa sibi sculpunt simulacra, suumque  
Factorem fugiunt, & qua fecere verentur,  
Quis furor est qua tanta animos dementia ludit ?  
Vt Volucrum, turpemque bovem, torvumque draconem,  
Semihominemq; canem supplex homo pronus adoret.*

Ah wretched they that worship vanities,  
And consecrate dumbe Idols in their heart,  
Who their owne Maker God on high despise,  
And feare the workes of their owne hands and Art !  
What fury, what great madnesse doth beguile  
Mens mindes? that man should ugly shapes adore  
Of birds, or buls, or dragons, or the vile  
Halfe dog halfe man on knees for aid implore.

To these ugly shapes doth *Seneca* allude. *Numina vocant, quasi accepto spiritu occurrerent, monstra haberentur.* Divine powers they call those, which if they should meete having life put into them, would be held monsters. And one of their owne Poets seemes to jest at their grosse-nesse herein.

*HORATIUS.*

*Olim truncus eram ficulnus inutile lignum,  
Quem Faber incertus scamnum faceretne, Priapum  
Maluit esse Deum.*

Even now I was the stocke of an old figge tree,  
The workeman doubting what I then should bee,  
A bench, or God, at last a God made mee.

*De Civit. Dei.  
l. 4. c. 31.*

It is indeed true, that the *Romanes* for a time were altogether without Images for any religious use, but afterward they received into their City those of all other Nations by them conquered, so as they who were *Lords* of the whole world, became *slaves* to the *Idols* of all the World : Which *bables*, as witnesseth *S. Augustine*, that learned *Varro* both bewailed and utterly condemned in expresse words : *Qui primi simulacra Deorum populis posuerunt, & civitatibus suis timorem ademerunt, & errorem addiderunt*: They who first erected *Idols* for the peoples use, thereby both abolished all feare of the Deity and introduced error. But the wise *Seneca* thus derides them, *Simulacra Deorum venerantur, illis supplicium genu posito, illa adorant, & cum hac suspiciant, fabros qui illi fecere contem- nunt*. The Images of the Gods they worshippe, those they pray unto with bended knees, those they adore, and while they so greatly admire them, they contemne the Artificers that made them. S E C T. 6.



## S E C T. 6.

*Their grosse and ridiculous blockishnesse in the infinite multitude of their Gods.*

**T**Heir strange *infatuation* will yet appeare farther unto us if wee rise a little higher, from the *Images* to the *Gods* which they represented, & surely whether their *practice* about their *images*, or their *opinion* touching their *Gods* were more grosse and ridiculous, it is hard to define: Whether wee regard their *number* or their *condition*, or their *manner of service*. For their *number* he that reades *Boccace* his books *de Genealogia Deorum*, will easily finde them almost numberlesse; so as the *Apostle* might well say, *There be Gods many, and Lords many*. *Crinitus* out of *Hesiodus* makes them *thirty thousand* strong: & the *Jupiters* alone out of *Varro* no lesse then *three hundred*. There were *Dij majorum gentium*, which were worshipped generally throughout the greatest part of the world; and *Dij Tutelares*, gods of severall Nations and provinces, chosen to be their patrons and guardians, which may bee gathered by those *high places* which *Solomon* built for his *Idolatrous wives*, wherein they worshipped the severall Gods of their severall Nations, *Ashtoreth* the Goddesse of the *Sidonians*, and *Milcom* the God of the *Ammonites*, *Chemosh* the God of the *Moabites*, and *Molech* the God of the *Ammonites*: so likewise for all the rest of his outlandish wives, which burnt incense and offered unto their Gods, whereby it appeareth, that every Nation had a God of his owne, and yet farther may it be seene by the practice of those Nations which *Salmanazer* transplanted into the *Samaritan* Cities of whom it is recorded, that though they feared the Lord, yet they worshipped every one his owne peculiar God, of whom there is a Catalogue in the same place set downe, The *Babylonians*, *Succoth Benoth*, the *Cuthites* *Nergall*, the *Hammathites* *Ashima*, the *Avites* *Nibhaz*, and *Tartak*, the *Sepharvites* *Adramelech*, & *Anamelek*. And as severall Nations & Provinces chose to themselves their Gods, so did likewise the Cities, as we may partly see by that rabble of them mustered up by *Rabshaketh* in his Oration to King *Hezekiah*, where is the God of *Hamab* and *Arpad*, where is the God of *Sepher-vaim*, *Hevah*, & *Iuah*: and in imitation of the *Gentiles* did the men of *Judah* multiply their Gods according to the number of their cities. Neither did Nations, Provinces, and Cities onely affect to have every one unto themselves their owne peculiar and severall Gods, as their Patrons and defenders, but the same was likewise followed by all their severall families, who still had their *Lares & Deos Penates*, that is, their household Gods, as the Protectours of their families, whom because they adored in the secret and inward parts of their houses, the Poets use to call *Deos Penetrates*: yea and as *Pliny* reporteth, not onely severall families had their severall Gods, but also every severall person would adopt a severall God of his owne; insomuch that hee thought the number of Gods to bee multiplied above the number of men. *Major Caelitum populus etiam quam hominum intelligi potest, cum singuli*

1. Cor. 8. 5.  
De honesta disciplina. 3. 14.

1. Kings. 11.

2. Kings 17.

Cap. 18.  
1. Kings. 2. 28. 11. 13.



De Civ. Dei l.  
4. c. 8.

*singuli quoque ex semetipsis singulos Deos faciant, Iunones Geniosque adoptando sibi.* Wee may well conceive greater multitudes of Gods then of men, seeing every man adopteth as hee pleaseth both greater and smaller gods to himselfe. All which considered, *otiosum est per omnia Deorum nomina percurrere qui colerentur à veteribus*, saith *Tertullian*. It were an idle thing to attempt to runne through the names of all the Gods which the Ancients worshipped, they had so many *old Gods* and *new Gods*, *hee Gods* and *shee Gods*, *citty Gods* and *countrie Gods*, *common Gods*, and *proper Gods*, *land Gods* and *sea Gods*. And with *Tertullian* herein accords *S. Augustine*, *Quando autem possint uno loco libri huius commemorari omnia nomina Deorum aut Dearum, quæ illi grandibus voluminibus vix comprehendere potuerunt singulis rebus propria dispartientes officia Numinum?* How can all the names of their Gods and Goddeses bee recounted in one chapter of this booke, which themselves could not range within the compasse of many great volumes, appointing a particular God to waite on every particular thing? nay for some thing, saith hee, they had many Gods, as namely for *corne* they had *Segetia* for the sowing of it, while it lay under the earth *Tutelina*, when it sprang up *Proserpina*, *Nodotus* when it shut into a blade, when it spired *Volutina*, when the eare opened *Patilena*, when it brake forth *Hostelina*, when it blossomed *Flora*, when it kernald *Lacturtia*, when it grew ripe *Matuta*, when it was reaped *Runcina*. His conclusion is, which also shall be mine for this point, *Nec omnia commemoro, quia me piget quod illos non pudet*: neither doe I name all, for that it griveth mee to write what they were not ashamed to act.

# SECT. 5.

*The most shamefull and base condition of their gods.*

Vide Nazianzenum orat. 1.  
in Iulianum &  
Crinitum. 25.  
12.

Lib. 1. c. 11.

**T**He quality & condition of their Gods was doubtlesse much more shamefull then their multitude. The common opinion touching their great god *Iupiter* was, that he was intombed in *Crete*, and his monument was there to be seene. Whereupon *Lactantius* wittily demaunds, *Quomodo potest Deus esse alibi vivus, alibi mortuus, alibi habere templum, alibi sepulchrum?* Tell me I beseech you, how can the same god be alive in one place, and dead in another, have a temple dedicated to him in one place, and a tombe erected in another. Nay *Callimachus* himselfe in his hymne on *Jupiter*, calleth the *Cretians* lyars in this very respect, *Κρίτες αἱ τοῦ Διὸς καὶ πόλιν* &c. which part of his hymne is thus translated into Latine by *Bonaventura Vulcanius*.

*At certe mendax est Creta, sepulchrum*

*Quæ posuit tibi qui haud moreris, nam semper es idem.*

The *Cretians* alwayes lyars are, who rais'd unto thy name

A sepulcher, that never dyest, but ever art the same.

Lactantius. l. 1.  
c. 20.

Moreover, they gave divine honour to notorious common strumpers, as unto Goddeses, to *Venus*, or *Faula*, to *Lupa* the nurse of *Romulus*, so called among the sheeheardes for the common prostitution of her body, and to *Flora*, who having gained much by her meretricious trade;



trade, she made by her will the people of Rome her heire, & left a summe of money, by the use whereof, her birth-day was yearely to bee celebrated, with the setting forth of games, which in memory of her they called *Floralia*. Nay, their great Goddesse *Iuno*, they make both the wife and the sister of *Iupiter*, and *Iupiter* himselfe with the other Gods, no better then *Adulterers, Sodomites, murtherers, thieves*: Neither were these things concealed or whispered in private, but published to the world; they were lively described by their *Painters* in their tables, by their *Poets* in their verses, and acted by their *Players* upon their stages.

*Quanta majestas putanda est, quae adoratur in templis, illuditur in theatris?* Lactant. l. 5. c. 21.

what great majesty call yee me that, which is adored in the temples, and prophaned in the *Theaters*? And so farre were the worshippers of these goodly gods from punishing or censuring them therein, that they were highly applauded and approved by the people, and rewarded by the state: Neither were these things written or spoken by *Lucian*, or such as scoffed at *Religion*, but by those who professedly undertooke the praise of their Gods, *Non enim ista Lucilius narrat aut Lucianus qui Djs & hominibus non pepercit, sed potissimum qui Deorum laudes canebant; & quibus credimus si fidem laudantibus non habemus?* These things are not reported by *Lucilius* or *Lucianus*, who neither spared God nor man, but specially by them who sung the praises of the Gods; and to whom I pray you in such cases should wee give credit, if not to them, who purposely seeke to commend?

Besides they worshipped *ridiculous gods*, as *Fortunam, Fornacem, Mutam*, the passions of the minde, and the diseases of the body, *Timorem, Pallorem, Febrem*, nay *Vices, Priapum, Cupidinem, non nomina colendorum sed crimina colentium*, not names fit for Divine powers to bee worshipped, being nothing but the vices of the worshippers, Heereunto may bee added their *filthy gods*, *Crepitus ventris, Cloacina, Sterquilinium*, well deserving that reproach which is cast upon them by *Aristophanes*, that they were *Dij Merdivori*, and so *Moses* calleth them in expresse tearmes, *dirty dung-hill gods*, as the originall is rendred by *Iunius* and *Tremelius*. De Cloacina vel Cloacina vide Lud: Viven. de crust dei lib. 4. c. 8. & Plin. lib. 15 cap. 29. Deos stercoreos, Deut. 29. 17. Hist. l. 3. c. 6. Foure whole dayes, saith *Tacitus*, *Cremona* ministred matter to sacke and to burne, and all things beside both holy & prophane being consumed into ashes, the temple of *Mephitis* without the wals remained untouched, either because it stood out of the way, or by reason of some divine vertue of the goddesse: Now would you know what this goodly Lady was, surely none other then the Goddesse of ill favours: and these kinde of Gods and Goddeses *Lactantius* deservedly wisheth to bee ever present with their worshippers: Yet not content with this, they worshipped the Devils themselves, *they sacrificed unto devils not unto God*, saith *Moses*: And I say saith the *Apostle*, *that the things which the Gentiles sacrifice, they sacrifice unto devils and not unto God*. Sir. H. Savill in his marginall notes on that place. Deut. 32. 17. 1. Cor. 10. 20.

To which purpose it is worth our observing that *Beelzebub* who in the 2<sup>d</sup> booke of *Kings* and first chapter is called the God of *Ekron*, in the 11<sup>th</sup> of *Saint Lukes* goस्पell is termed the chiefe of *Divels*. v. 2. v. 15.

What should I speake of the *Thebans* worshipping a wezell, the *Trojans* a mouse, the *Egyptians* an onion or a leeke, and such like contemptible things?



things ? which notorious folly *Invenall*, who lived a while amongst them, thus wittily derides,

Saty. 15.

*Porrum & caepe nefas violare & frangere morsu:  
O sanctas Gentes quibus hac nascuntur in hortis  
Numina!*

A lecke, an onyon o'tis wickednesse,  
These once to violate and to eate no lesse,  
Sweete Saints they are, and holy ones I trow,  
To whom their gods do in their gardens grow.  
And diverse such absurd Gods they worshipped, which would make a  
modest man even to blush to name, as *Sybilla* hath truly noted.

---Hæc adoratis

*Et multa alia vana quæ sanè turpe fuerit prædicare,  
Sunt enim Dij hominum deceptores stultorum:*  
These foolish Gods and many more  
Like vaine, they worship and adore:  
Which filthy were to name in Schooles,  
Such filthy gods deceive but fooles.

#### SECT. 6.

*Their barbarous and most unnaturall cruelty, in sacrificing their children to  
their Gods.*

**N**OW if from the multitude and quality of their Gods we proceede yet a little farther, to search into the manner of their service, wee shall easily finde that more frantike and unreasonable, then either of the two former. Which madnesse of theirs is well set forth by *Seneca*,  
*Si intueri vacet quæ faciunt, quæque patiuntur superstitiosi, inveniet tam indecora honestis, tam indigna liberis, tam dissimilia sanis, ut nemo fuerit dubitaturus, furere eos si cum paucioribus furerent, nunc sanitatis patrocinium est insanientium turba:* If a man had but the leasure to looke into those things, which men led with superstition both do and suffer, he shall find them so unbefitting honest, so unworthy of ingenuous, so unlike sound & sober mindes, as no man would doubt but they were starke madde, were but the number of them fewer that thus goe a madding, whereas now the only plea for themselves that they are in their right wits, is the number of madde men.

In fragmentis.

*Deiuvum Genialium. l. 6. c. 26.*

*Alexander ab Alexandro* hath of set purpose composed an intire chapter touching this point, where the maine matter hee insists upon, that made the sacrifices of the *Heathen* most odious, was the effusion of humane blood in the service of their Gods; yet had this barbarous unnaturall practice spread it selfe well neere over the knowne world: It was in use among the *Trojans*, as it should seeme by that of *Virgill*, touching *Aeneas*:

*Aenead. 11.*

*Vinxerat & post terga manus quos mitteret umbris  
Inferias, caeso sparsurus sanguine flammæ.*

Their



Their hands behind their backes he bound whom hee had destined  
A sacrifice unto the ghosts, and on whose flames to shed  
Their blood he purposed.  
And againe in another place,

--- *Salmone creatos*

*Quatuor hic iuvenes, totidem quos educat Vfers  
Viventes rapit, infernis quos immolet umbris  
Captivæque rogi perfundat sanguine flammæ.*

*Æneid. 10.*

*Salmos* foure sonnes alive he tooke, *Vfers* foure sonnes likewise,  
Whom to the ghosts he purposed eftsóones to sacrifice,  
And in those burning piles of wood to spill their captive blood.  
Whereupon *Lactantius* cries out, *quid potest esse hac pietate dementius,*  
*quàm mortuis humanas victimas immolare, & ignem cruore hominum tan-*  
*quàm oleo pascere?* What can be more franticke then this kinde of piety,  
which sacrificeth living men for the ease of the dead, and feedes the  
fire of the Altar with humane blood, as it were with oyle? The Greci-  
ans in like manner were infected with this bloody and deadly disease.

*Sanguine placastis Divos & Virgine casa,  
Cum primum Iliacas Danaï venistis ad aras,  
Sanguine querendi reditus, animæque litandum  
Argolica.*

*Æneid. 6. 2.*

With blood and offering of a maid the Gods were pacified,  
When first to Troy-ward yee were bound, with blood yee must a-  
Seeke your returne, with Grecian soule they must be satisfide. (gaine  
The *Virgine* hee meanes was *Iphigenia*, who was sacrificed in the sight  
of her father *Agamemnon*, which gave occasion to that of *Lucretius*,

*Tantum Religio potuit suadere malorum?*

Such, so much wickednesse Religion could perswade?

This wicked custome was likewise taken up by the *Carthaginians*, as  
appeares by *Silius Italicus*:

*Mos fuit in populis quos condidit advena Dido  
Poscere cæde Deos veniam; ac flagrantibus aris  
(Infandum dictu) parvos imponere natos,  
Vrba reducebat miserandos annua casus.*

*Lib. 4.*

The ancient custome of that state, *Queene Dido* stablished,  
Was this, with humane sacrifice the Gods they worshipped;  
On burning Altars (out alas) their children young they flew,  
An yearly lot these cruelties did solemnely renew.

*Lib. 1. c. 23.*

And *Lactantius* reports out of *Pescenius Festus*, that the *Carthaginians* ha-  
ving for a time intermitted that kind of sacrifice, and being overthrown  
in a battle by *Agathocles* King of *Sicill*, for the pacifying of their God  
*Saturne*, whom by their losse they conceived to bee displeased with  
them; they sacrificed at once unto him two hundred children, sons to the  
chiefe Nobility of the city; wherby perchance, saith he, they gave them-  
selves a greater blow, then *Agathocles* their professed enemy had done.  
The *Gauls* also our next neighbours were guilty of this devilish kinde  
of worship, if we may credit *Lucian*:

Gg

Et



*Et quibus immitis placatur sanguine diro  
Teutates, horrensque feris altaribus Hæsus  
Et Taranis Scythica non mitior ara Diana.*

And they that use with cursed blood their *Idoll God* to please  
*Teutates* fierce, & *Hæsus* grimme whom nought else may appease,  
But sacrifice of humane flesh; and *Taranis* likewise  
Worshipt as curst *Diana* is just after *Scythike* wife,  
With which accords that of *Solinus*, *Galli detestabili Sacrorum ritu, non  
ad honorem sed potius injuriam Religionis humanis litabant sacris.*

Annal: 14.

And from the *Gaules* perchance the *Brittanes* learned it, for *Tacitus*  
speaking of the *Ile of man*, tels us that there woods were Cut downe  
by the *Romans* *Sævis Superstitionibus Sacri. Nam cruore capivo adolere  
aras, & hominum fibris consulere deos fas habebant.*

V. 17.

Deut. 12. 31.

Wisdome 12. 6

Neither were the *Moabites* free from this horrible sinne, as may  
bee seene in the 2 of *Kings* and the 3, where the King of *Moab* tooke  
his owne sonne, as some thinke, or as others the King of *Edomes* sonne,  
& offered him for a burnt offering upon the wall. And generally it was  
practised by the Inhabitants of the land of *Canaan*, *Their sons and their  
daughters they burnt in the fire to their Gods. The parents killed with their  
owne hands soules destitute of helpe. Good God!* that the candle of reason  
should bee so farre dimmed, and the image of *God* defaced in man, as  
to thinke that an acceptable sacrifice, which was in truth an horrible  
and sacrilegious impiety, as if religion did extinguish naturall affection,  
or that were lawfull at the *Altar* or in the *Temple*, which in the *Market  
place* was most unlawfull, and punishable in an high degree: *Nonne  
sotius esset pecudum more vivere, faith Lactantius?* Were it not better to  
live as beasts without all sense of religion, then to exercise it in such  
savagè manner? Yet was not this so strange in the barbarous nations,  
their religion being herein sutable to their manners, as in the *Romans*,  
the professed *Masters* forsooth of *Morality* and *Civility*: Yet came this  
damnable practice to bee long in use among them too, untill it was to  
bee abolisht by decree of *Senate*, during the Consulship of *Cornelius  
Lentulus*, and *Licinius Crassus*: Which makes mee the more to wonder  
that *Virgill* held among them, as the world then went, an honest un-  
derstanding man, should after the publishing of this decree, commend  
it in *Aeneas* as an act of piety, and not rather censure it as a most abo-  
minable impiety.

Lib. 5. c. 10.

*Hæc culpa non illius fuit qui literas fortasse non didicerat, sed tua qui cum  
esses eruditus, ignorasti tamen quid esset pietas, & illud ipsum quod nefarie,  
quod detestabiliter fecit, pietatis esse officium credidisti, faith Lactantius.* This  
was not so much *Aeneas* his fault, who was perchance altogether un-  
learned, as thine, who being endued with knowledge, yet wast ignorant  
what was piety, and beleevest that to be a pious act, which he most wic-  
kedly and detestably committed.

Jer. 7. 31.

But that which I most admire, is, that it should creepe in among the  
*Jewes*, the peculiar people of the true *God*, as himselte complains by the  
Prophet *Jeremy*: *And they have built the high places of Topher, which is in*  
she



the valley of the sonne of Hinnon, to burne their sons and their daughters in the fire, which I commanded them not, neither came it into my heart; By the Prophet Ezekiel, when they had slaine their children to their Idolls, then they came the same day into my sanctuary to prophane it; And by the Prophet David, They were mingled among the Heathen, and learned their workes, and they served their Idolls which were a snare unto them; yea they sacrificed their sons and their daughters unto Devils, and shed innocent blood, even the blood of their sons and of their daughters, whom they sacrificed unto the Idolls of Canaan, and the land was polluted with blood. Thus Abaz made molten images for Baalim, and burnt his children for sacrifice before the Idoll Moloch, or Saturne, which was represented by a man like a brasen body bearing the head of a calfe, set up not farre from Hierusalem, in a valley shadowed with wood, called Gehinnon or Tophet, from whence is the word Gehenna used for hell. The children offered were inclosed within the carkasse of this Idoll, and as the fire increased so the sacrificers with a noise of Cymbals and other instruments filled the aire, to the end, the horrible cries of the children might not be heard; and hence the place borrowed the name of Tophet, from Top, which signifies a timbrell; of which most detestable impiety, able to make a mans haire stand an end, and his heart tremble even at the relation thereof: Paulus Fagius hath written at large in his Commentary upon the Chalde Paraphrase, and before him S. Hierome upon the tenth of S. Mathew, and since him Wolphius in his expositions on the second booke of Kings, added for supplement of Peters Martyrs, thus sharply but justly censures it, *Fuit autem hac plusquam belluina immanitas; quæ enim fera suos catulos non potius ament, amplectantur, foveant, nutriant, quàm occidant, ne dum crudeliter excruciatos necent?* This monstrous inhumanity was more then brutish: for what wilde beasts do not rather love, imbrace, nourish, and cherish their yong ones, then kill them and cruelly torment them to death?

Ezek. 23. 39.

Psal. 106. 35.

36. 37. 38.

1. Kings 16. 2.

2. Chron 28. 2.

Selden de du

Syr.

2. Leviticum.

## S E C T. 7.

Their monstrous beastlinesse in their worship of Priapus and Berecynthia, as also of their doting follie in their divinations, together with a touch upon the childish fables of the Jewish Rabbines, the absurd opinions and horrible practises of ancient Heretickes in the Primitive Christian Church, and the incredible ignorance and superstition of the Romish.

I Cannot tell whether their cruelty were greater in the worship of Moloch, or their beastlinesse in the worship of Priapus; described by Gyraldus at large, in his history of the Gods: And Tostatus in his 50 question upon the 20 of Exodus. It was so obscene, as the very mention of it, cannot but offend chaste eares; *Hic morbus, hoc crimen, hoc dedecus habet inter illa sacra professionem, quod in vitiosis hominum moribus vix habet inter tormenta confessionem.* They professe in the holding of those sacrifices, that beastly crime, which the most vitious men will hardly confesse upon the racke. I will therefore skip over it as cleanly as I may, as men commonly do over bogs and quagmires. The shape in which this

Synagm. 3.

August. de Civ.

Dei, l. 6. cap. 8.



Nos pudore pul-  
so flamus sub  
love Coleis a-  
peritis.

Lib. 3. contra Io-  
vinianum, c. 12.  
Originum, c. 8.  
Numb. 25. 5.

De Civit. Dei.  
lib. 2. cap. 4.

Lib. 1. cap. 21.

God was represented, was such as nature hath taught us to hide: The gestures of the Priests in serving him, such as I wonder their Matrones and Virgines, in whom were any sparke of modesty, could behold it with patience: and for the people who came to worshipping, the sacrifice being ended, they all stepped aside into a thicket, which was alwayes planted neere the Altar of this God, and there like brute beasts promiscuously satisfied their lust, thereby as they conceived best pleasing their God; which was the cause, as it seemes, that the true God commanded, that no Groves should be planted neere the place of his worship, and if any were, they should be cut downe. This Priapus, as S. Hierome and Isidore are of opinion, was the same with that Baal-peor, or Beelphegor, whom the Moabites & Madianites adored, and the Israelites themselves for the love of the Madianitish women: and the same S. Hierome makes Maacha the mother of Asa, guilty of the same villany, in his commentaries upon the fourth of Hosea, where he thus translates part of the fifteenth chapter of the first booke of Kings: *Insuper & Maacham matrem suam amovit, ne esset princeps in sacris Priapi, & in luco ejus.* Moreover hee deposed Maacha his mother, that shee might not be chiefe in the sacrifices of Priapus and his groves.

Of much like condition to this worship of Priapus, was that of Berecynthia, the mother of the gods, as we it finde described by S. Augustine, out of his owne experience; his words are these: *Ante ejus Lecticam die solenni lavationis ejus, talia per publicum cantitabantur, à nequissimis scenicis qualia non dico matrem Deorum, sed matrem qualiumcumque Senatorum vel quorumlibet honestorum virorum, imò verò qualia nec matrem ipsorum Scenicorum deceret audire:* Such filthy stuffe was by loose lewd varlets sung before her charet on the solemne day of her lavation, as was utterly unfit, I will not say for the mother of the Gods, but of any Senator, nay of any honest man, nay of the fingers themselves to heare: and perchance, saith hee, they would have blushed to have spoken that before their owne mothers at home, which before the mother of the gods in the sight and hearing of innumerable multitudes of both sexes, they boldly sang, and thereupon breakes out into this exclamation, *Quæ sunt sacrilegia, si illa erant sacra? quæ inquinatio, si illa lavatio?* what should we call sacrilege, if this were sacrificing? what pollution, if this lavation? and if this be sacrilege, then surely the worshipping of God by blasphemies and cursings, as did the Lyndians, is a degree beyond sacrilege; who notwithstanding proceeded so farre in this devillish mad custome, *ut ea sacra pro violatis haberentur, si quando inter solennes ritus vel imprudenter alicui excideret bonum verbum,* as witnesseth Lactantius, that they held it a violation of their sacrifice, if during their solemne Ceremonies, but a good word chanced to slippe from any man though unawares. Now what a lamentable case is this, to consider that the common enemy of mankind should so far prevaile in blinding their understandings, as to conceive that the Author of life should be worshipped with the effusion of humane and innocent blood, the fountaine of holinesse with brutish impurity, the father of blessings with execrable cursings?

Hereunto may bee added the vaine divinations which the Romans made



made upon the entralls of *Beasts*, upon the flying, the feeding, the singing, the chirping of *birds*: but the sage *Cato* and those of the wiser sort well saw the doting folly of these lying vanities, *Potest Augur Augurem videre & non ridere?* Can one *Diviner* looke upon another & not smile? *Cicero de divinatione, l. 2.* And the same *Cato*, as *S. Augustine* reports it, when one asked counsell of him in sober earnest, what harme hee thought aboded him because Rats had gnawne his hose, hee answered with a jest, that it was a strange thing to see that, but it had beene much more strange if his hose had devoured the Rats. *Tully* likewise in his disputations touching such arguments, when one to inforce the verity of *divination* had said, that a victory, which fell to the *Thebans*, was foreshewed by an extraordinary crowing of cockes, he could reply upon that with a very smooth & quicke put off, that it was no miracle cockes should crow, but if fishes had so done, that had bin wonderfull indeede. *De divinatione, lib. 2.*

I will conclude this point, as *Alexander ab Alexandro* doth his last booke: *Quantum debemus Christo Domino Regi & Doctori nostro, quem veram Deum veneramus & scimus, quo pramonstrante explosa monstrosa ferarum Gentium doctrinarumque immani & barbaro, veram religionem edocti, humanitatem & verum Deum colimus, evictisque erroribus & infandis ineptiis quas Prisci colere, quid quemque deceat & quibus sacris, quaque mente, Deum colere oporteat noscitur.* *Dierum Gentium, lib. 2.* How much do wee owe to Christ our King & Master, whom wee acknowledge and worship as true God, by whose guidance and direction, the monstrous doctrine and barbarous rites of those savage nations being chased away, and wee being taught true Religion, imbrace civility and the true God; and the errours & unspeakable follies which the Ancients had in honour and reverence, being brought to light, we know what our duty is, with what ceremonies, & with what minde God is to be worshipped; which is in effect the same with that of the Apostle, *Thanks be to God who hath delivered us from the power of darknesse, and translated us into the kingdome of his deere sonne.* *Coloss. 1. 13.*

If I were disposed to inlarge this discourse, heere might easily be remembered the unsavory tales, the childish fancies, and fables of the Jewish Rabbins in their *Talmud* and *Caball*, the most absurd opinions and horrible practises of Ancient Heretiques in the Primitive Church, the incredible ignorance and superstition among those who for the space of many ages were commonly accounted the best, nay the onely Christians: but each of these would require a large volume, and are already fully discovered by others. The first by *Galatinus de arcanis Catholicae veritatis*, and *Buxdorsius* in his *Synagoga Iudaica*, the second by *Irenaeus*, *Philastrius*, *Epiphanius*, *Augustine*, *Prateolus*, *Alphonsus à Castro* and others; the third by the writers of the reformed Churches, who have set themselves to oppose the corruptions and abuses of the Church, or rather the court of Rome: And howbeit the Romanists in requitall hereof would prove their Adversaries doctrine, to open a gappe to disobedience and licentiousnesse, yet I doubt not but the more sober minded among them, finde that to proceede, rather out of eagernesse and heat of disputation, then from any solide reason or settled judgement; since it is certaine, that since *Luther* awakened the world, the manners even of the Romish Clergy themselves are not a little reformed.



## CHAP. 2.

*Touching the Lawes of the Ancient Grecians and Saxons, whereof some were wicked and impious, others most absurd and ridiculous,*

## SECT. I.

*The unjust and absurd Lawes of Solon the Athenian Lawgiver.*

*De Legibus.*

*Lib. 1 de Legibus.*

*See Fitz Herbert in his Treatise of Politie and Religion. part. 1. c. 7*

*Plutarch. in Solone.*

**A**S Religion is the hinge upon which the government of the Politicall state depends and moves, so next after it, good and wholesome Lawes serve much for the bettering of a Commonwealth in matter of manners. Law being therefore defined by Plato to be a reasonable Rule leading and directing men to their due end for a publique good, ordaining penalties for them that transgresse, & rewards for them that obey. And by Cicero to be the highest and chiefe reason grafted in nature, commanding those things which are to be done, & forbidding the contrary. But by the Cicilians more briefly and properly, *Lex est sanctio sancta, jubens honesta, prohibens contraria*, Law is an holy decree, (that is, a decree not to be violated) commanding honest things and forbidding the contrary. Now as the ancient Paynims were defective in points of true Religion: so were they likewise in making just Lawes, sometimes commanding where they should forbidde, and againe, forbidding where they should command, rewarding where they should punish, and punishing where they should reward. I will instance only in some particular Lawes of the Grecians, and of our Predecessours the Saxons.

Among the Grecians foure Law-makers were most renowned, Solon, Lycurgus, Plato, and Aristotle, two of which actually founded Commonwealths, the one the Athenians, the other the Lacedemonians. The other two onely framed them in Idea or speculation, yet all provided Lawes for them, such as they were. I will begin with Solon, accounted one of the seven Sages in Greece, highly commended for his great wisdom in making lawes both by Aristotle and Plato, who proposeth him and Lycurgus as patternes for all such as shall institute Commonwealths, and devise Lawes for them. Solon then resolving for the relieving of the poore to make a Law for the abolishing and cancelling all contracts and obligations of debts past, & imparting his minde therein to some of his intire friends, they seeing his resolution, borrowed great store of money, and imployed it in the purchase of land, whereupon it followed that when Solon published his new Lawe, they remained exceedingly enriched, their Creditors defrauded, and he much suspected for deceit, as to have had secret intelligence with them, and part of their gaine. And although it seemed that therein he had wrong, for hee lost by his owne Law, as some write, 15 talents which were owing him, yet in two things he cannot be excused, the one in that hee caused not his friends to restore the money which they had guilefully borrowed, and the other that without examination of the particular causes and reasons of every mans



mans debt, he ordained a generall abolition of all debts both good and bad, whereby as well those which were able to pay, as the unable were discharged, and all Creditors without difference defrauded, contrary to all equity and justice, which as *Cicero* saith, speaking of the like case, *offic. lib. 2.* requireth above all things that every man have his owne, & that equall regard be had to the rich as well as to the poore; (which saith he) is no way observed, *cum locupletes suum perdunt, & debitores lucrentur alienum*, when rich men loose their owne, and debtors gaine that which belongeth to other men.

Another of *Solons* absurd Lawes was, that whosoever in any publique sedition should bee *neutrall*, and take neither part, should remaine ever after infamous: his reason was for that hee thought it not convenient that any man should so much love his owne ease, as not to participate of the trouble of the *Common-wealth*, whereof hee was a member, which reason of his, together with the Law it selfe, *Plutarch* wisely and worthily rejecteth, for that it would bee an assured meanes to put (as it were) fire to gun-powder, and to set all the *Common-wealth* on a flame without helpe of any internall remedy. For (saith he) as in a sicke body all the hope of helpe within it selfe is to be expected from the parts that are sound, and therefore when the body is wholly corrupted, there is no helpe of remedy but from abroad, even so in a *politique body* sicke with sedition, all the internall remedy is to come from the whole sound parts thereof, that is to say, such as are *Neutralls*, who may labour with the one side, and with the other to compound the quarrell: for otherwise where all is in tumult, no remedie can bee expected, except it come from abroad, and therefore *Plutarch* holdeth it for the highest & principall point of *Politique Science* in any Governour, to know how either to prevent seditions that they never grow, or else quickly to appease them when they are growne, be they never so little. For as the least sparke that is, may fall into such matter, that it may set an whole house on fire: so the least civill sedition may fall among such persons and in such times, that it may put a whole *Common-wealth* in combustion, and utterly ruine it.

## S E C T. 2.

*The unreasonable and irreligious Lawes of Lycurgus the Lacedemonian Law-giver.*

**N**OW for *Lycurgus*, if wee examine his *Common-wealth* and the Lawes thereof, we shall finde that he likewise failed both in true prudence and in morall vertue. For whereas a good Law-maker ought to frame his *Common-wealth* no lesse to religion, justice, and temperance, then to fortitude, that it may stand and flourish as well in time of peace, as in time of warre: his Lawes tended principally to make the people valiant and warlike, whereupon it followed that the *Lacedemonians* flourished so long as they had warres, and when they came to injoy peace, they fell to decay within a while, as *Aristotle* noteth. Whereby *Ed. 2. 17.*



the weakenes of the *Lawes* of *Lycurgus* evidently appeared. For as *peace* is not ordained for *warre*, but *warre* for *peace*, as motion and labour is ordained for rest: so in like manner a *Common-wealth* is rather to be framed and ordained for *peace* then for *warre*: and yet so for both, that it may stand by both: But in the *Common-wealth* of the *Lacedemonians* this was no way performed. For the *Lawes* of *Lycurgus* tending onely to make them strong, laborious & valiant, could not make them religious, just and truly temperate. Which for *civill discipline* and peaceable government is most requisite. For as for *Lawes* tending to religion, wee finde none made by *Lycurgus*, nor any religious act of his but only one, more ridiculous then religious, as that hee dedicated an *Image* to laughter; which he made a *God*, or at least would have to be worshipped for a *God*, to make the people merry at their publique feasts and meetings; & besides he opened a great gappe to *injustice*, and to all cozenage and deceit: for hee ordained that it should bee lawfull for any man to steale any kinde of meate, so that he were not taken or discovered in the doing of it, and that boyes & children should have so little allowed them to eate, as they should bee forced to sharke and prole for their better provision to make them thereby more industrious, nimble and quick of spirit, and others more wary and watchfull to keepe well that which they had. Infomuch that who could steale most cunningly, was most commended; But who seeth not that this was the next way to fill the *Common-wealth* with *Theeves*. For is it likely that those who from their infancy are brought up in pilfering trifles, will afterwards, when they have got the habit and ability thereof, forbear to steale things of great importance? Or can *Theeves* practise their occupation with more safety any way to become in the end most expert, and thereby pernicious to the *Common-wealth*, then with the warrant and under the protection of the law? seeing the penalty which was ordained for them that were taken with the manner, was not inflicted for the injustice of the fact, but for their lacke of skill and dexterity in the performance, which must needs make every man labour to excell in the art of theevery. Finally, when the *Law* not onely permitteth, but induceth men to deceive sometimes, and in some things, doth it not also dispose, and as it were direct them to deceive as oft, and howsoever they may. Therefore good and wise *Law-makers* seeke to prevent evils, & to cut off occasions of vice, and not to minister matter thereunto, which in our corrupt natures needeth a bridle to restraints it, and not a spur to pricke it forward.

This may also bee said in respect of another *Law* of *Lycurgus*, inducing to *intemperancie* and all kinde of *incontinencie*. For although hee ordained some things notably for the education of youth, tending as it seemed to the repression of concupiscence and dissolute life, as a very spare and homely diet, hard bedding of reedes, or (as some write) no bedding at all, continuall labour and exercise, one onely garment for the whole yeare, and such like; yet it appeareth that his meaning was none other therein, but only the better to inable them to indure the labour and the toyle of warre. For he ordained other lawes so much in

Gell. noct. Att.  
lib. 11. cap. 18.

Justin. lib. 3.

favour



favour & furtherance of *lust* & all carnality, yea in the worst kinde, that it might justly be said, he made his whole common-wealth worse then a *Burdell*. For he instituted certaine wrestlings, & dances, & other exercises of boyes & wenches naked, to be done in publique at divers times of the yeare, in the presence both of young and old men, which what effect it might worke in the mindes and manners of their Citizens, any man may easily judge, especially seeing that both their lawes and customs, permitted that men should be *inamored of boyes*, which was held for laudable, and necessary for their good education, it being presumed that their lovers would carefully instruct them in vertue.

Furthermore *adultery* which was punished with death, not onely by the law of *Moses*, but also by the lawes of other nations, as a thing pernicious to the Common-wealth, was not onely permitted, but also approved by *Lycurgus* his law, ordaining, that if an old man married a young wife, she might with her husbands licence, make choice of any young man that she liked, to have a childe by him, which her husband brought up as his owne: And if a valiant or vertuous man, as good souldiers were there termed, liked well of another mans wife, he might demaund leave of her husband to have issue by her: which was not denied, but thought convenient for their common-wealth, to maintaine a good race and breed of valiant men; as *Plutarch* signifieth in defence of the law of *Lycurgus*.

This then being so, what marvell is it that all sinne of the flesh, and beastlinesse, reigned more in *Lacedemonia*, then any where else in *Greece*, as *Aristotle* witnesseth? Nay, what wonder is it that Almighty God of his just judgement plagued them for it in the end, with a memorable overthrow in the plaine of *Leuctra*? where they lost the dominion of *Greece*, by the occasion, and for the punishment of an horrible rape committed by two of their Citizens.

*Polis. l. 2 c. 7.*  
*Diodor. Siculus lib. 15, cap. 14.*

### SECT. 3.

#### *The impious and dishonest Lawes of Plato.*

TO *Solon* and *Lycurgus*, wee may adde *Plato* and *Aristotle*, who though they founded no Common-weales, as did the other two, yet they framed in writing either of them one, in which they laboured to shew both the excellencie of their owne wits, & perfection of humane policie; wherein neverthelesse they evidently shewed the imbecillity and imperfection of both: For what can be more absurd or more impious, then the community which *Plato* ordained in his common-wealth, not only of goods & possessions, but also of women? to the end that no man should have any thing proper or peculiar to himselfe: in so much, that Fathers & Mothers should not know their owne children, neither yet any childe know his owne parents; whereby he thought to establish in the commonwealth such a perfect unity, that no man should be able to say, that is thine, or this is mine: But every one have a general care of all, whereas if that law were in practise, the utter overthrow of



of the Common-wealth, and of all humane society must needs follow thereon. For matrimony being taken away, and such a promiscuous and beastly procreation introduced, the naturall love betwixt parents and their children, brethren, kinsfolke, and allyes, & all consanguinity, kinred, and affinity would be quite abolished: horrible incest betweene kinsfolke, brethren and sisters, father & daughter, mother & son, which all nations abhorre, would ordinarily be committed: And by occasion of quarrells, which sometimes could not bee avoyded, one brother would kill another, the father the sonne, and the sonne the father, for lacke of knowledge one of another: Besides many other great inconveniences, declared very particularly and at large by *Aristotle* in the second booke of his *Politiques*; And *Lactantius* in the third of his *Divine Institutions*, where hee proveth this imaginary community of *Plato*, to take away frugality, abstinence, shamefastnes, modesty, and justice it selfe, the mother of all other vertues. *Sic honesta & legitima esse incipiunt quae solent flagitiosa & turpia judicari*, in as much as thereby those things are held honest and lawfull, which are commonly accounted foule and wicked. *Sic virtutem dum vult omnibus dare, omnibus ademit*, & by this meanes, while hee pretended to make all vertuous, hee made all vitious. *Nam rerum proprietas & vitiorum & virtutum materiam continet, communitas autem nihil aliud quam vitiorum licentiam*: For a propriety in things, containes in it the subject matter as well for vertue as for vice to worke upon, but community hath nothing in it besides the liberty of vice. *Qui ergo vult homines adaequare, non matrimonia, non opes subtrahere debet, sed arrogantiam, superbiam, tumorem, ut illi potentes & elati pares se esse mendicissimis sciant; detracta enim divitiis insolentia & iniquitate, nihil intererit utrumne alij divites alij pauperes sint, cum animi pares sint, quod efficere nulla res alia praeter religionem Dei potest. Putavit ergo se justitiam invenisse cum eam prorsus everterit, quia non rerum fragilium sed mentium debet esse communitas*. Hee then that would bring in an equality among men, must not take away weddings and wealth, but arrogancy, pride, and swelling, that those who by reason of their great power, are puffed up, may know themselves to be peeres to the poorest beggars. For remove insolencie, injustice, and uncharitablenes from the rich, and there will no inconvenience follow from having some poore, and others rich; their mindes being equall, which nothing but true religion can possibly effect. *Plato* thought then he had found justice, when indeed he overthrew it, in as much as there ought not to be a community of things, but of mindes. And farther, both *Aristotle* and *Lactantius*, though upon different reasons, shew, that the unity which *Plato* sought by this meanes to establish in his Common-wealth, would not follow thereupon: *Non invenit concordiam quam querebat, quia non videbat unde oriatur*, hee found not that concord he sought for, because hee saw not from whence it sprang. Whereby appeareth his double error, the one that he found not that vertue he sought to plant, the other that he found that vice hee sought to prevent; And so I passe to another most dishonest and unreasonable law of his, which was this.

Having ordained that young men should for increase of their strength &



& agility of body, exercise themselves naked at certaine times & in certaine places appointed for that purpose, called *Gymnasia*; commanded also not as *Lycurgus* did in *Lacedemonia*, that young girles and wenches should dance naked amongst boyes, but farre more absurdly, that women in the flower of their youth should dance, runne, wrastle, ride and doe all exercises with young men naked as well as they, which, saith he, whosoever misliketh, understandeth not how profitable it is for the *Common-wealth*. But who could imagine that the *Prince of Philosophers*, (for so was *Plato* esteemed) could so farre forget himselfe, as having instituted and framed his *Common-wealth* to all kinde of vertue, as the onely meanes to arrive to perfect felicity, who, I say, considering this, could imagine, that this great Professour, Master, & Teacher of vertue, would not only permit, but also ordaine a thing so contrary to his owne profession; to the end of his *Common-wealth*, and to his owne lawes, precepts, and counsels, as the lascivious aspect of naked women, whereby the fire of concupiscence being kindled in men, and the bridle of naturall modesty taken from women, what else could follow thereon, but all beastly dissolutenes & carnality of life, as well in the one as in the other? For precepts are given, and lawes ordained in vaine against incontinencie, when the occasions, provocations, & nourishments thereof are permitted, which whosoever useth to admit, plaieth with the flame, as doth the fly, and commonly is burned thereby.

## S E C T. 4.

*The unnaturall and unchast lawes of Aristotle.*

Ut perhaps some may thinke that *Aristotle*, *Platoes* scholler, who was the wonder of the world for his wit, and undertooke to censure and syndicate both his Master, and all other *Law-makers* before him, saw clearer in matter of *lawes* for the reformation of manners and the good of the *Common-wealth*, then he. Let us then examine him a little, and we shall finde that he erred more absurdly then any of them. This may appeare by two of his *lawes*; whereof the one was, that if a man had any deformed or lame child, he should cast it out like a whelp, and expose it to perish: And the other was, that if a man had above a certaine number of children, which number hee would have to bee determined according to every mans ability, his wife should destroy the fruit in her wombe, when shee found that she had conceived; wherein he shewed himselfe more *unnaturall* and *inhumane* then the very brute beasts. For, as *Cicero* saith very well, these two things cannot agree together, to wit, that nature should have procreation, and that it would not have the creature when it is borne to be beloved and conserved; the which appeareth, saith he, evidently in brute beasts, whose labour and care in the conservation of that which is borne of them is such, that we acknowledge the force and voice of *Nature* therein. What then can be more dissonant from *Reason* and *Nature*, then that a man who is borne and naturally inclined to clemency, humanity and piety, should shew himselfe



himselfe unkinde and inhumane not towards beasts, but towards men, not towards strangers or servants, but towards his owne off-spring, and that not for any fault of theirs, but for some defect or deformity of body, which they could not either prevent or remedy, and ought rather to move a man to compassion and pittie, then to cruelty? *Expectet aliquis ut alieno sanguini parcant, qui non parcant suo? non possunt innocentes existimari, qui viscera sua in pradam canibus obijciunt, & quantum in ipsis est crudelius necant, quam si strangulassent*, saith *Lactantius*. Can any man expect they should spare other mens blood, that spare not their owne? innocent they cannot be held, who expose their owne bowels for a prey to dogges, and as much as in them is, kill more cruelly then if they had strangled them.

Lib. 6. cap. 20.

Besides, such corporall defects doe not alwayes, nor often hinder the operation of the minde and understanding, and therefore it may very well happen by the execution of this inhumane Law of *Aristotle*, not onely that a father shall be deprived of a sonne, but also the Commonwealth of a serviceable and notable member. For as *Seneca* saith, *ex caesa vir magnus exire potest, & ex deformi humilique corpuscule formosus animus & magnus*; A worthy man may come out of a base cottage, and a beautifull high spirit out of a low deformed body.

Cic. pro A. Cluentio.

The like may be said of the other law of *Aristotle*, concerning abortion or the destruction of a Childe in the mothers wombe, being a thing punished severely by all good Lawes, as injurious not onely to nature, but also to the Commonwealth, which thereby is deprived of a designed Citizen, as *Cicero* termes it, speaking of a woman of *Miletum* in *Asia*, who having procured abortion of her childe a little before her time of travell was condemned to death: *neque injuria*, saith he, *quia designatum reipub. civem sustulisset*, and very justly for that shee had made away one that was designed to be a Citizen of the Commonwealth: In which respect, the Civill and Common Law doe grievously punish all wilfull abortion after conception, and the Canonists teach it to bee a mortall sinne.

Pol. 7. 17.

And heere I cannot forbear to say somewhat of another Constitution of *Aristotles*, which I know not whether it were more absurd or ridiculous: for whereas hee forbade in his Commonwealth the use of lascivious pictures and images, lest young men, and specially children might be corrupted by the sight thereof, nevertheless in the same Law he excepteth the Images and pictures of certaine Gods, in whom, saith hee, the custome alloweth lasciviousnesse, meaning no doubt the painted tables and graven stories of the adulteries of *Jupiter*, *Mars*, *Venus*, and other Gods and Goddeses, set forth every where among the *Pagans*, as well in private houses as in their Temples and other publique places. Wherein may bee observed the ridiculous absurdity of this great *Philosopher*, for what could it availe to take away all other wanton pictures and representations that might corrupt the mindes of youth, when hee expressly alloweth the use of the lascivious pictures of the Gods, which must needs corrupt them much more? and as it were instill into them vicious affections & desires together with their religion, yea by the example of their



their Gods; by the imitation of whom they could not but hope to attain as well to perfection of vertue, as to eternall felicity, beleev-  
 ing as they did, that they were *true Gods*. For how could any man be per-  
 swaded that adultery deserved punishment, or was not a great, yea a  
 divine vertue, seeing *Mars* taken tardy with *Venus*, or *Jupiter* stealing  
 away *Europa* in the shape of a Bull, violating *Leda* in the forme of a  
 Swanne, and entring into the house of *Danaë* by the lover like a golden  
 showre; would not any man that should be religiously devoted to these  
 Gods, be animated by the sight thereof to doe the like? yea and chil-  
 dren learning their religion, and not onely hearing, but seeing every  
 where by pictures and images that such acts were committed by their  
 Gods, could they imagine that the same were evill and not to be imita-  
 ted? This is very well declared by *Lucian* of his owne experience,  
 who in his Dialogues maketh *Menippus* say thus, when I was yet but  
 a boy, saith hee, and heard out of *Homer* and *Hesiod* of the Adulteries,  
 fornications, rapes and seditions of the Gods, truely I thought that  
 those things were very excellent, and began even then to be greatly  
 affected towards them: for I could not imagine that the Gods them-  
 selves would ever have committed adultery, if they had not esteemed  
 the same lawfull and good. And the like signifieth also *Cherea* in *Te-*  
*rence*, who beholding a table wherein it was painted, how *Jupiter* decei-  
 ved *Danaë* when he came in at the top of the house, saith, that hee was  
 greatly encouraged to defloure a young maide by the example of so  
 great a God: *at quem Deum? saith he, qui templa cæli summa sonitu concu-*  
*tit; ego homuncio hoc non facerem? ego verò illud ita feci & lubens.* But  
 what God was this trow you? marry he who shakes the highest Tem-  
 ples of Heaven with thunder; and therefore might not I who am but  
 a silly wretch doe the like? yes truely I did it, and that with all my  
 heart. And it is doubtlesse most true which *S. Augustine* hath obser-  
 ved to this purpose, *magis intuentur quid fecerit Iupiter, quàm quid docu-*  
*erit Plato vel censuerit Cato*: they rather considered what *Jupiter* did,  
 then what *Plato* taught, or *Cato* thought: Yet were these villanies of  
 of their Gods and Goddesses every where so rife, that the names al-  
 most of all rivers, countreys, cities, woods, nay of the very lights and  
 constellations of heaven, served as so many characters & ensignes there-  
 of, in which regard, it was truely a pious worke begun by *Bayerus*, and  
 since finished by *Schillerus*, wherein he endeavours to deface those an-  
 cient names of the asterismes imposed by the *Paynims*, and to substitute  
 instead thereof *Christian* appellations, thereby the better to minde us of  
 the vertues and duties implied in them, which worke of his hee there-  
 fore intitles: *Cælum stellatum Christianum.*



## S E C T. 5.

*The barbarous and uncivill lawes of the Gaules and the Saxons our Predecessours.*

*Versteeg. cap. 3.  
Pag. 4. 1. 2.*

**N**OW these Lawes of the *Grecians* were not more dishonest and un-morall, then were those of the *Gaules* and *Saxons*, our Predecessours, uncivill and barbarous; I meane their *Ordeall Lawes* which they used in doubtfull cases, when cleere and manifest proofes wanted to try and finde out whether the accursed were guilty or guiltlesse. These are of foure sorts, as *Aeneas Sylvius*, *Beatus Rhenanus*, *Johannes Pomarius*, *Cornelius Killianus*, and others in their Histories and Chronicles report. The first was by *Camp-fight* or *Combate*, the second by *iron made red hot*, the third was by *hote water*, and the fourth by *cold water*.

*Munster. lib. 3.*

For the tryall by *Camp-fight*, the Accuser was with the perill of his owne body to prove the accused guilty, and by offering him his glove or gantlet to challenge him to this tryall: which the other must either accept of, or acknowledge himselfe culpable of the crime whereof hee was accused. If it were a crime deserving death, then was the *Camp-fight* for life and death, and that either on horse-backe or on foote: if the offence deserved imprisonment and not death, then was the *Camp-fight* accomplished when the one had subdued the other by making him to yeeld, or unable to defend himselfe, and so be taken prisoner: the accused had the liberty to choose another in his steed, but the accuser must performe it in his owne person, and with equality of weapons. No women were admitted to behold it, nor men children under the age of thirteene yeares; the Priests and people did silently pray, that the victory might fall to the guiltlesse. And if the fight were for life & death, a Beare stood ready to carry away the body of him that should be flaine. None of the people might crie, shreeke, make any noise, or give any signe whatsoever. And hereunto at *Hall in Suevia* (a place appointed for *Camp-fight*) was so great regard taken, that the Executioner stood beside the Judges with an axe ready to cut off the right hand and left foot of the partie so offending. He that being wounded did yeeld himselfe, was at the mercy of the other to be killed or let to live: if he were flaine, then was he carried away and honourably buried, and hee that slew him reputed more *honourable* then before: But if being overcome he were left alive, then was he by sentence of the Iudges declared utterly voide of all honest reputation, and never to ride on horse-back, nor to carry armes.

*Aventin. l. 4.*

The tryall by *red hot iron*, called *Fire Ordeall* was used upon accusations without manifest prooffe, though not without suspicion, that the accused might be faulty; the party accused and denying the offence, was adjudged to take red hot iron, and to hold it in his bare hand, which after many prayers and invocations that the truth might be manifest, hee must either adventure to doe, or yeeld himselfe guilty, and so receive the



the punishment that the Law according to the offence committed should award him. Some were adjudged to goe blinde-folded with their bare feete over certaine plow shares, which were made red hot, and laid a little distance one from another, and if the party in passing thorow them did chance not to tread upon them, or treading upon them received no harme, then by the Judge he was declared innocent: And this kinde of *tryall* was also practised heere in *England*, (as was likewise the *Camp-fight* for a while) upon *Emma* the mother of King *Edward* the Confessour, who was accused of dishonesty of her body with *Allwin* Bishop of *Winchester*, and being led blinde-folded to the place where nine hot *Culters* were laid, went forward with her bare feet, and so passed over them, and being past them all and not knowing it, good Lord, saith shee, when shall I come to the place of my purgation, then having her eyes uncovered, and seeing her selfe to have passed them, shee kneeling downe gave God thanks for manifesting her innocencie in her preservation, and in memoriall thereof gave *nine Lordships* to the *Church* of *Winchester*, and King *Edward* her sonne repenting he had so wrongfully brought his Mothers name into question, bestowed likewise upon the same *Church* the *Ile* of *Portland* with other renewes. A much like *tryall* unto this is recorded of *Kunigund*, wife to the Emperour *Henry* the second, who being falsely accused of adultery, to shew her innocency did in a great and honourable assembly take *seaven glowen irons* one after another in her bare hands, and had thereby no harme.

Camden in  
Dorset.

The *tryall* called *Hot water Ordeall*, was in cases of accusation as is afore said, the party accused being appointed by the Judge to thrust his armes up to his elbowes in seething hot water, which after sundry prayers and invocations hee did, and was by the effect that followed judged faulty or faultles.

Lastly, *cold water Ordeall* was the *tryall*, which was ordinarily used for the common sort of people, who having a cord tied about them under their armes, were cast into some river, & if they sunke downe to the bottome thereof untill they were drawne up, (which was within a very short limited space) then were they held guiltlesse, but such as did remaine upon the water were held culpable, being, as they said, of the water rejected and cast up. These kindes of *impious* and *unjust lawes*, the *Saxons* for a while after their *Christianity* continued, but were at last by a decree of *Pope Stephen* the second utterly abolished, as being a presumptuous tempting of *God* without any grounded reason or sufficient warrant, and an exposing many times of the innocent to manifest hazard.



## CHAP. 3.

*Touching the insufficiencie of the precepts of the Ancient Philosophers for the planting of vertue, or the rooting out of vice, as also of the common error touching the golden age.*

## SECT. I.

*Touching the insufficiencie of the Ancient Philosophers for the planting of vertue, and the rooting out of vice; as also of the manners of the Ancients, observed by Cælius secundus Curio, out of Juvenall and Tacitus.*

**T**O these lawes of the *Grecians* and *Germans*, may bee added the opinion & precepts of the *Ancient Philosophers*, touching vertue & vice, finall happinesse, and the state of the soule after this life; which were as diverse one to another as they were all erroneous and opposite to the truth, the growth of vertue, or suppressing of vice. What could possibly more hinder the course of vertue, then the doctrine of the *Epicureans*, that soveraigne happinesse consisted in pleasure? or more strengthen the current of vice, then that of the *Stoicks*, that all sins were equall? The *Epicureans* though they granted a God, yet they denied his providence, which should serve as a spurre to vertue, and a bridle to vice. The *Stoicks*, though they granted a divine providence, yet withall they stiffely maintained such a fatall *Necessity*, not only in the events of humane actions, but in the actions themselves, as thereby they blunted the edge of all vertuous endeavours, and made an excuse for vicious courses. Again, the *Epicurean* gave too much way to irregular affections; and on the other side, the *Stoicke* was too professed an enemy to them, though regulated by reason; but both of them doubted, if not denied the immortality of the soule, whereby they opened a wide gappe to all licentiousnesse, not censurable by the lawes of man, or which the executioners thereof either thorow ignorance could not, or thorow feare or favour would not take notice of. Which hath often made me wonder that the common-wealth of the *Iewes* would suffer such a pestilent sect in the bowels of it, as the *Sadduces*, who flatly denied, not only the resurrection of the body, but the immortality of the soule. Since then the *Christian* religion, and that alone teacheth both, as fundamentall articles of our beleife, and withall a particular providence of God, extending to the very thoughts, and a particular judgement after this life, rewarding every man according to that he hath done in the flesh, whether it be good or evill; and besides requires, a reformation of the heart & inward man, the fountaine and source of all outward actions & speeches; it is most evident, that howsoever our *lives* bee, yet our *rules* tend more to vertue and honesty then did those, either of the *Gentiles*, or of the *Iewes*; who although they were not all infected with the foule leprosie of the *Sadduces*, yet it is certaine, that these doctrines and rules were not



not in the law of *Moses* and the *Prophets* so clearely delivered, as now they are by *Christ* and his *Apostles* in the *Gospel*; nay the *Law* it selfe permitted unto the such a divorce, though for the hardnes of their hearts, as is not now allowed. And though the *Law* allowed not *Poligamie*, yet in regard of their frequent practice, we have great reason to conceive, that they scarce held it to be a sinne. And the *Pharises*, though of all other sects they pretended, and seemed to bee the most zealous & strict observers of the *Law*; yet teaching others and themselves practising, the observation thereof as they did, onely in regard of outward conformity, thereby perhaps made their Disciples *formall Iusticiaries*, but withall damnable hypocrites, boyling in malice, & lust, & covetousnes while they set a faire face on it, and made a goodly semblance of holines, piety, and devotion. And if it so fared with the *Jewes*, no marvell that the *Gentiles*, (their naturall inclination carrying them headlong to wickednes, and withall, their religion, their lawes, the doctrine and examples of their Teachers, being as so many provocations to draw them onward) proved such indeed as the *Apostle* describes them to be, in the first of the *Romanes*, full of all unrighteousnesse, fornication, wickednesse, covetousnesse, malitiousnesse, full of envy, of murther, of debate, of deceit, taking all things in evill part, whisperers, backbiters, haters of God, doers of wrong, proud, boasters, inventours of evill things, disobedient to Parents, without understanding, covenant breakers, without naturall affection, such as never can be appeased, mercilesse, which men though they know the *Law* of God, how that they which commit such things are worthy of death, yet not only doe the same, but favour them that doe them. And so I passe from the roote to the fruit, from the causes to the effects, from their lawes and precepts touching manners, to their practise, & customes, & manners themselves. And heere I must freely professe my selfe to accord with *Sidonius Apollinaris*, *venior antiquos, non ita tamen ut aequorum meorum virtutes & merita postponam*: I have the Ancients in such due respect and veneration as they deserve, yet so as I would not willingly disesteeme or undervalue the vertues and merites of those who have lived since, or now live in the same age with me. The *Ancients* I know well, had many great vertues, and we no lesse vices, yet let no man be so unwise or unjust, to surmise that either the former ages were free from notorious vices, or the latter voide of singular vertues. And surely, he that shall reade *Bohemus* of the manners of the *Gentiles*, or the booke of *Iudges*, the *Kings*, the *Chronicles*, the *Prophets*, & *Iosephus* of the manners of the *Jewes*, will easily acknowledge the former: Whereunto wee may adde the testimony of *Caelius Secundus Curio*, a witty and learned man of this age, in his Epistle prefixed to his commentary upon *Iuvenall*, where hee tels us, that meeting with those verses of *Horace*.

*Damnosa quid non imminuit dies?*

*Aetas parentum pejor avis, tulit*

*Nos nequiores, mox daturos*

*Progeniem vitiosorem.*

What doth not wastfull time impair?

Our Fathers worse then Granfires are,

Hh 3

We

*Lib. 3. Carm.  
Od. 6.*

*Mat. 19. 8.*

*Mat. 5.*

*Lib. 3. Ep. 18.*



Wee worse then they, our progenie  
More vitious then our selves will be.

Hee began to doubt of the truth of them, and thereupon fell to a serious inquirie thereinto, & for his better proceeding in that search, made speciall choyce of two Authours, *Tacitus* and *Iuvenall*, the one held as unpartiall in *History* as the other in *Satyres*, to make report what they found in matter of *manners* in their times, and having thorowly consulted with them both, but chiefly with the latter; from them he makes this relation, *Quibus auditis*, saith he, *& nostri seculi cum illa facta contentione, deprehendi longè ab illa nostram aetatem vitij, illam à nostra multis & magnis virtutibus superari*: Upon the hearing of them, and the comparing of this present age with that, I found that ours was much surpassed by that in vice, and that againe by ours in many and great vertues. Yet long before *Horace*, did *Aratus* in *Phaenomenis* take up the same complaint.

*Aurea degenerem pepererant sacula prolem,  
Vos pejorem illis sobolem generabitis.---*

Those golden fires a baser race begat:  
Your race shall be yet more degenerate.

But *Hesiod* in his *ἔργα καὶ ἡμέραι*, is more advised and moderate, hoping, it seemes for better times then himselfe saw.

*O utinam quinto hoc minimè mihi vivere saclo,  
Sed fas vel post nasci, aut ante perire fuisset.*

Would God this fifth age I had never seene  
But or had died before, or after beene.

For with *Ovid* I can scarce hope that any should accord and professe,  
*Prisca juvent alios, ego nunc me denique natum  
Gratulor.*

Let others like old times, but I am glad  
That in this latter age my birth I had.

## SECT. 2.

*Touching the idle tale of the golden age, first forged by Poets, and since taken up by Historians.*

*Macrobi. lib. 2.  
de somn Scip. c.  
18. Fabius Pictor  
de aureo saculo.*

*Ovid. Met.*

*Ætas ferrea enim adventu facta est aurea.  
possevim. Bibl.  
select. l. 2. c. 26.*

**T**Hat which hath deceived many in this point, is that idle tale and vaine fancie forged by *Poets*, and taken up by some *Historians*, & beleevied by the vulgar of the foure ages of the world. The first of gold, the second of silver, the third of brasse, & the fourth of yron. Thus elegantly described by the wittiest of *Poets*.

*Aurea prima facta est ætas, quæ vindice nullo  
Sponte sua sine lege fidem rectumque colebat,  
Pæna metusque aberant, nec vincla minantia collo  
Æra ligabantur, nec supplex turba timebat  
Iudicis ora sui, sed erant sine iudice tuti, &c.  
Postea Saturno tenebrosa in Tartara misso  
Sub Iove mundus erat, subijtque argentea proles,*



*Auro deterior fulvo, pretiosior aere, &c.  
Tertia post illam successit aenea proles,  
Sævior ingenijs, & ad horrida promptior arma,  
Non scelerata tamen. De duro est ultima ferro,  
Protinus erupit vena peioris in avum  
Omne nefas, fugere pudor, verumque fidesque  
In quorum subiere locum fraudesque, dolique,  
Insidiaeque, & vis, & amor sceleratus habendi.*

The golden age was first, which uncompell'd,  
And without rule in faith and truth excell'd:  
As then there was no punishment nor feare,  
Nor threatening Lawes in brasie prescribed were,  
Nor suppliant crouching prisoners shooke to see  
Their angry Iudge, but all was safe and free, &c.  
But after Saturne was throwne downe to Hell,  
Jove rul'd, and then the silver age befell,  
More base then gold, and yet then brasie more pure, &c.  
Next unto this succedes the brazen age,  
Worse natur'd, prompt to horride warre and rage,  
But yet not wicked stubborne. Yr'n the last,  
Then blushlesse crimes which all degrees surpast  
The world surround, shame, faith and truth depart,  
Fraud enters, ignorant in no bad Art,  
Force, treason, and the wicked love of gaine, &c.

And from hence it seemes was that of Boetius borrowed

*Felix nimium prior etas  
Contenta fidelibus arvis.  
Nec inertī perdita luxu,  
Facili quæ sera solebat  
Jejunia solvere glande,  
Nec Bacchica munera norat  
Liquido confundere melle,  
Nec lucida vellera serum  
Tyrio miscere veneno.  
Tunc classica seua tacebant,  
Odijs neque fusus acerbis  
Cruor horrida tinxerat arma.  
Vtinam modo nostra redirent  
In mores tempora priscos.*

Lib. 2. Met. 5.

Thrice happy former age, well pleas'd  
With faithfull fields, from riot free,  
Whose hunger readily was eas'd  
With akornes gathered from the tree,  
They skill'd not with *Lycus* juyce,  
The liquid honey to compound,  
Nor knew that twice the *Serian* fleece  
In *Tyrian* die was to bee drown'd.  
Alarmes of warre were silent then,

Hh4

And



And horrid armes all smear'd with blood  
Through malice shed of cruell men  
Were yet unseene. O would to God  
These times so much degenerate  
Might turne againe to th'ancient state.

The *Satyrist* alluding to this golden age, and the degenerating of the world by degrees from it, tells us, that even in his time the *Iron* age was and that nature it selfe could not finde out any kinde of mettall, for the height of villanie in all kindes, matchable thereunto:

*Juvenal. Sat. 13*

*Nunc atas agitur, pejorque sæcula ferri  
Temporibus: quorum sceleri non invenit ipsa  
Nomen, & à nullo posuit natura metallo.*

*Method. Hist.  
p. 7.*

And if humane affaires have still since that time (as is pretended) growne worse and worse, surely at this present, the world should bee much more to seeke of any mettall, answerable to the manners thereof. But that all this adoe about the golden age is but an empty rattle & frivolous conceipt, like *Apuleius* his tale of a golden asse, *Bodin* is so confident, that he breakes forth into this assertion, *Etas illa quam auream vocant, si ad hanc nostram conferatur, ferrea videri possit.* That which they call the *Golden age* being compared with ours, may well seeme but iron. And in truth hee may boldly affirme it, if that bee true which *Cicero* writes of: *Fuit quoddam tempus cum in agris homines passim bestiarum more vagabantur, & sibi victu ferino vitam propagabant, nec ratione animi quicquam, sed pleraque viribus corporis administrabant. Nondum divina religionis, non humani officij ratio colebatur, nemo legitimas viderat nuptias, non certos quisquam inspexerat liberos, non jus æquabile quid utilitatis haberet, acceperant.* Time was when men like beasts wandered in the fields, and maintained their life by the food of beasts, neither did they administer their affaires by justice, but by bodily strength: There was no heed given either to Religion or Reason, no man enjoyed lawfull marriage, nor with assurance beheld his owne issue, neither were they acquainted with the commodity which upright Lawes bring with them.

*Cicero de inventione Rhetor. l. 1*

*Juvenal. Sat. 3.*

---Cum frigida parvas  
Præberet Spelunca domos, ignemque Laremque  
Et pecus & dominos communis clauderet umbra.

During this golden age, flourished *Camefis* and *Saturne*, and there is no doubt but by *Camefis* is understood *Cham* the son of *Noah*, & by *Saturne* *Nimrod*, whose son *Iupiter Belus* (famous for the deposition of his father, incest with his sister, and many other villaines) saw the last of this age. Now how vertuous these men and times were, appeares by the story of *Moses*. *Cham* like a most ungratious childe discovers and derides the nakednesse of his aged and worthy Father, and was therefore deservedly accursed to be a servant of servants. *Nimrod* grandchilde to *Cham*, as his name signifies, was a notorious Rebell, *Robustus venator coram Domino*, a great Oppressour, a Robber, as *Aristotle* numbers robbrie among the severall kindes of hunting: And besides hee is thought to have beene the ring leader in that outrageous attempt of building the towre of *Babel*. And such kinde of men are those *Gyants* supposed to have beene, who before



before this are called *Mighty men, men of renowne*; In as much as *Moses* Gen. 6. 4. presently addes. *And God saw that the wickednesse of man was great in the earth, and that every imagination of the thoughts of his heart was onely evill continually: And it repented the Lord that he had made man on the earth, and it grieved him at his heart.* *Quibus verbis intelligit, saith Cassanion, tantas ea tempestate fuisse morum corruptelas, ut omne vitiositatis, nequitiaeque genus ubique regnaret. Cum autem ex robore & potentia quâ isti pollebant, nominis celebritatem adepti sint, in eo animadvertere licet qualis fuerit prima mundi nobilitas aestimata, non quæ pietatis, justitiæ, aliæve cujusdam virtutis specie, & pulchritudine illustris appareret, sed quæ solius potentie, fortitudinisque titulo sese venditabat: Nam qui tum cæteris valentiores, robustioresque erant, vim alijs audacter inferentes, nobiliores, præstantioresque censebantur. Vnde fortassis illud invaluit, ut gentilitia quorundam insignia non nisi crudelium belluarum, rapaciumque ferarum & volucrum habeant imaginem.* By which words hee understands, that such and so great was the universall corruption of manners in those times, as all kinde of vice and wickednesse every-where raigned. And in that the men of that age are said to have gotten renowne by meanes of their exceeding great might, from thence wee may gather how the first Nobility of the world was valued, not such as was conspicuous by the beauty and lustre of piety, justice, or any other vertue, but such onely as gloried and contented it selfe with the title of strength & power. For those who then were more mighty and powerfull then others, and were thereby imboldned to oppress others, were commonly held the most noble and worthy. And happily from hence it was that some families carry in their Scutchions the representation of wilde beasts or birds of prey. Which the Poet hath well expressed of these first times in termes not much different,

--- Sed & illa propago

*Ovid met. 1.*

*Contemprix Superum, Sævaque avidissima cadis  
Et violenta fuit.*

That lawlesse race contemn'd the powers divine,  
Swilling downe blood as greedily as wine.

Howsoever we are sure that upon this universall inundation of sin, followed the universall deluge of water, washing and cleansing the earth from that abominable filthinesse which had generally infected and polluted it. And as about this time sin was ripened, so in the very infancy of the world it grew up so fast, that the second man in the world wilfully Gen. 4. 8. murdered the third, being then his onely brother. And another of the same race soone after was the founder of *Polygamy*, and a while after it is Gen. 4. 26. added, *Then men began to call upon the name of the Lord*, as if till then they had not done it, at least-wise in publique assemblies. And in that *Enoch* Gen. 5. 22. not long after this, is said to have *walked with God*, *Iunius* gives this note upon it, *id est, non est sequutus malitiam sui seculi*, that is, hee followed not the wicked courses of the age wherein he lived, and therefore was hee translated, lest wickednesse should alter his understanding, or deceit beguile his minde. *Hæc est illa aurea ætas quæ talia monstra nobis educavit*, This is forthwith that goodly golden age, which hath brought into the world and bred such foule monsters. Wee all make complaint of the iniquity of  
OUR



Eccles. pol. lib. 1.  
cap. 10.

our times not unjustly, for the dayes are evill (saith learned *Hooker*) But compare them with those times wherein therewere no civill societies, with those times wherein there was as yet no manner of publique regiment established, with those wherein there were not above 8 persons righteous living upon the face of the earth: and wee have surely good cause to thinke that God hath blessed us exceedingly, and hath made us behold most happy dayes.

Bib. Job. 26.

*Ætas ferrea domini adventu facta est aurea* (saith *Possevin* and truly, the Iron age by the Lords comming is become golden, whereunto those verses of *Virgill* may not unfitly bee applied, though by him perchance otherwise intended.

Eclog. 4.

*Ultima Cumæi venit jam Carminis ætas,  
Magnus ab integro sæclorum nascitur ordo,  
Jam redit & Virgo, redeunt Saturnia regna  
Jam nova progenies Cælo demittitur alto.*

*Et paulo post,*

*Tu modo nascenti puero, quo ferrea primum  
Desinet, & toto surget gens aurea mundo  
Casta fave Lucina.*

History of the  
World lib. 1.  
c. 9. Sect. 3.

And *Sr Walter Rawleigh* to a purpose not much unlike: if we understand by that age (which was called *Golden*) the ancient simplicity of our Fore-fathers, this name (sayth hee) may then truly bee cast upon those elder times: but if it bee taken otherwise, then, whether the same may bee attributed more to any one time then to another, (I meane to one limited time and none else) it may be doubted, for good and golden Kings make good and golden ages: and all times have brought forth of both sorts. After this the world was pestered with anumber of intolerable Tyrants, whom *Hercules* subdued, and yet was himselfe accounted by many but a Captaine of *Pirates*. And certaine it is, he was most foule, and yet I know not whether more foule, or strong in matter of lust, and both *Theseus* and *Pirithous* (whom hee admitted into his society) were of a straine much alike. But because these things happily may seeme fabulous, let us listen to *Thucydides*, one of the ancientest and truest fathers of history. Hee then hath left upon record, that a little before his time, in Greece it selfe so great was the wildnesse & barbarousnes thereof, that both by sea and land, robberies were commonly practised, and that without any touch of disgrace; it was usually demanded of passengers, whether they were *Theeves* or *Pirates*. And *Cesar* in a manner reports the same of the Germans, *Latrocinia nullam habent apud Germanos infamiã quæ extra fines cujusq; civitatis fiunt, atq; ea juvêtutis exercenda atq; desidia minuenda causa fieri prædicant.* It is no discredit among the Germans to robbe, so it bee without the bounds of the cities, and this they allow for the exercise of their youth and the shunning of idlenesse. But particulars are infinite, wherefore I will content my selfe with one Nation, and with a few notorious vices of that Nation. The Nation shall be that of the ancient *Romanes*, I meane before their receiving of Christianity, because they were commonly reputed the most civill and best disciplined of the whole world. The speciall vices I will instance in, shall be



be their *cruelty*, their *covetousnesse*, their *luxury*, their *vaine-glory* and *ambition*; their *flattery* and *ingratitude*: and in these will I shew their wonderfull *excesse* beyond latter ages, concluding with a demonstration, that the most eminent and renowned vertues of the *Romanes*, as their *Iustice*, *wisdome* and *courage*, have likewise beene at least matched by some of latter ages, and that in some other vertues, as namely in *modesty* and *humility*, they have beene much exceeded.

## CHAP. 4.

*Of the excessive cruelty of the Romans towards the Iewes, the Christians, other Nations, one another and upon themselves.*

## SECT. I.

*Of the Romans cruelty towards the Iewes.*

THE savage and barbarous inhumanity of the *Romans* appears, partly in their cruell handling of the *Iewes* and *Christians*, and partly of other *Nations*: But chiefly in their *unnaturall disposition* one towards another and upon themselves: First then for the *Iewes*, it is indeede true, that by putting to death the *Lord of life*, and crying aloud, *His blood be upon us and upon our children*, they wilfully drew upon themselves the *Divine vengeance* and that dreadfull threate: *Loe the dayes shall come when they shall say, happy are the barren and the wombes that have not borne children, and the paps that have not given sucke*. Yet were the *Romanes*, though greater enemies to *Christian Religion* then the *Iewes*, appointed by *divine providence*, as the Executioners of that vengeance, which they performed in a most unmercifull manner: and in regard of themselves; an undue and unjust measure. For to let passe all other bloody massacres of them in diverse townes and cities thorow the *Romane Empire*, after the passion of our *Saviour*, and before the destruction of *Ierusalem*; surely their cruelty acted in the sledge of that city, recorded by *Iosephus*, was such as were able even to resolute an heart of Steele into teares or bloud. It was on every side so strongly begirt, that the besieged by extremitie of famine, were forced to eate, not onely horses, asses, dogs, rats, and mice, and the leather that covered their shields and bucklers, but also the very dung out of their stables; yea and a Noble woman was knowne to eate her owne child that suckt upon her breast, wherein no doubt was fullfilled the prophesie of our *Saviour*, *happy are the barren*. Such as were taken by the *Romanes*, were by the commandement of *Titus*, crucified before the wals of the city, to the number of five hundred every day, untill at length (as *Iosephus* reporteth) *there wanted both crosses for the bodies and places for the crosses*. Also great numbers of them, who being forced with famine, sought to save their lives, by yeelding themselves to their enemies, were neverthelesse killed by the mercilesse souldiers, & their bowels ripped up, in hope to finde gold therein, upon a report, or at least a conceite, that the *Iewes* did swallow their gold

*De bello Iudaico. lib. 6. c. 7.*



Lib. 7. c. 17.

Lib. 4. c. 2.

gold to convey it out of the citty by that meanes. Finally, the number of those which were slaine and died during the siege, was, as witnesseth *Iosephus*, a million and an hundred thousand, and of the Captives nine hundred and seaventy thousand, whereof *Iosephus* himselfe was one, and of those, some were condemned to the publique workes, others of the stronger and handsomer sort carried in triumph, & such as were under the age of seventeene yeares, were sold for little or nothing, and those which remained in their countrey, were loaden with such grievous impositions and tributes, that they lived in a continuall misery and slavery worse then death. Yet the cruelty of the *Romans* towards these miserable *Jewes* ceased not here, but in the next age, in the time of *Traian* the Emperour, within lesse then fifty yeares after the subversion of *Ierusalem*, *infinita eorum millia*, saith *Eusebius*, infinite thousands of them were killed in *Egypt*, and *Mesopotamia*, in *Macedonia* they were utterly extinguished, and in *Cyprus* they were all either put to the sword or banished; and law made, that it should be death for any *Jewe* to arrive there, though he were driven thither by tempest against his will. And in a few yeares after *Iulius Severus*, being called out of *Brittaine* by the Emperour *Adrian*, and sent into *Iudea*, destroyed almost all the countrey. For as *Dion* writeth, hee dismantled fifty strong forts, and razed or burnt nine hundred eighty five townes or villages, and killed above fifty thousand *Jewes* in battle, besides an infinite number of others that dyed either by fire, famine, or pestilence, or were sold for slaves. Shortly after *Adrians* time, they were also miserably afflicted by the Emperour *Antoninus Pius*, and after him by *Marcus Aurelius*, and againe some yeares after that by the Emperour *Severus*, who renewed the decrees of *Adrian* for their exclusion from the sight of their countrey, and triumphed for his great victories against them. Now though it be true, that the wickednesse of the *Jewish* Nation was such, as they well deserved to bee thus severely punished, yet cannot the *Romans* bee excused from unreasonable cruelty in dealing thus unmercifully with them, as if they had beene beasts rather then men.

## S E C T. 2.

*Their cruelty towards the Christians, first in regard of the insatiable malice of their persecutors.*

Tacitus Annal.  
15. 10.

**T**Heir dealing with the *Christians*, (whom they likewise named *Jewes*, because our Saviours Apostles and first Disciples, were all of that nation) was yet more mercilesse, because more unjust; They pretended the frequent rebellions of the *Jewes*, to be the reason of their great severity towards them: but the *Christians* they deadly hated and most cruelly persecuted onely for their religion, whereas they suffered all religions save the *Christian*, to be quietly exercised thorow their dominions. *Nomen in nobis tantummodo damnatur non aliquod crimen*, saith *Tertullian*, it is the name onely that is condemned in us, not any crime: which was indeed verified by the example of *Attalus* the martyr, who being



being led about the Amphitheater at *Lions*, there was carried before him a table with this inscription *Hic est Attalus Christianus*, this is *Attalus* the Christian: and *Polycarpus* being brought forth to suffer in *Asia*, the cryer by command from the governour proclaimed: *Polycarpus se Christianum esse confessus est*, *Polycarpus* hath confessed himselfe to bee a Christian. Now the custome of those times was (as *Franciscus Baldunus* in his booke *de Edictis contra Christianos* hath well observed) to make knowne to the people the cause why any man was condemned, either by the voice of the cryer, or in the table which was carried before the condemned person, from whence it clearly appeares, that the Christians indeed suffered at the hands of the Romans for none other cause, but because they were Christians.

Now their cruelty towards the poore Christians appeared in the insatiable malice of their persecutors, the incredible number of those that suffered as Martyrs or Confessors, and the exquisite variety of their tortures. *S. Augustine* and his scholler *Orosius* compare the tenne persecutions of the Primitive Christians, (which as so many raging waves came tumbling one upon the necke of another, to the tenne plagues of Egypt; the first of which was under *Nero*, whose cruelty or luxurie was of the two more monstrous & unnaturall, cannot easily be determined. He caused *Rome* to be set on fire, that hee might the better conceive the flames of *Troy*, singeing unto it *Homers* verses. His father and brother he poysoned, murdered his master, wife, & mother, taking an exact view of her dead bodie, commending the proportion of some parts & discommending others. Besides, hee made away whosoever was valiant or vertuous in Senate, in city, in Province without any difference of sexe or age. No marvell then that, being of a disposition so bloody, he fell as a bitter storme upon the Christians, and his cruelty be by *S. Paul* compared to the mouth of a Lyon. Nay by reason of that violent persecution, which under him the Christians endured; hee was, as witnesseth *S. Augustine* commonly reputed *Anti-Christ*: but certaine it is, that *Rome* being by his command set on fire, he falsely accused and punished most greivously the innocent Christians for it. The second persecution was under *Domitian*, whom *Tertullian* calls *Neronis portionem*, *Eusebius*, heire, the one, a part, the other the heire of *Nero*. And *Tacitus* puts onely this difference betweene them, that *Nero* indeed commanded cruell murders, but *Domitian* not onely commanded them, but beheld them himselfe. What the world was to expect from him, appeared in his very entrance to the Empire, retyring himselfe every day into a private closet, where he passed his time in killing of flies with a sharpe bodkin, insomuch that one demanding, who was within with the Emperour, *Vibius Crispus* made answer, *ne musca quidem*, not so much as a flye: But from the blood of flies hee proceeded on to the shedding of the blood of men, so farre, and in so fierce a manner,

--- Vt timeas ne

Vomer deficiat, ne marra & sarcula defint.

Well might yee doubt

Least culters, mattockes, spades, yee soone should be without.

Ii

The

*Euseb. l. 4. c. 12.*

*Lib. 4. cap. 7.*

*De Civ. Dei. lib. 18. c. 52.*

*Sueton. c. 37.*

*2. Tim. 4. 17.*

*De Civ. Dei. l. 20. c. 19.*

*Tac. Annal.*

*In vita Julii Agricola.*

*Sueton. c. 2.*

*Juvenal. Saty. 3.*



Lib. 5. c. 11.

The Authour of the last and most grievous persecution, was Diocletian, whose raging cruelty towards the Christians, Lactantius sets forth in lively colours. *Nemo hujus tanta bellua immanitatem potest pro merito describere, quæ uno loco recubans, tamen per totum orbem dentibus ferreis sævit, & non tantum artus hominum dissipat, sed & ossa ipsa comminuit, & in cineres furit, ne quis extet sepultura locus. Quanam illa feritas, quæ rabies, quæ insania est, lucem vivis, terram mortuis denegasse?* No man can sufficiently describe the cruelty of this so unreasonable a beast, which lying in one place, yet rageth with his iron teeth thorow the world, and doth not only scatter the members, but breake the bones of men; yea shewes his fury upon their very ashes, least there should be found any place for their buriall: what rage what madnesse, what barbarous cruelty is this, to deny both the light to the living, and the earth to the dead? Where Lactantius seems to allude to that fourth namelesse beast of Daniell, which was fearefull and terrible, and very strong, it had great yron teeth, it devoured, and brake in peeces, and stamped the residue under his feete. And though I have instanced onely in these three, yet it is certaine, that the Authours and Instruments of these persecutions were all of a disposition much a like: Of whom the same Lactantius affirms, that they have borrowed the shapes of beasts, and yet were more cruell then they, pleasing themselves in this, that they were borne men, and yet had they nothing but the outward figure and lineaments of men. For what Caucasus, what India, what Hircania, saith he, ever bred or brought forth so cruell and bloody beasts? the rage of other beasts ceaseth when their appetite is satisfied, & their hunger being flaked, they grow more mild & tame, but the rage of these never ceaseth, their appetite is never satiated with blood; the truth whereof will easily appeare, if in the second place we doe but cast our eyes upon the infinite multitude of innocent Christians that every where suffered death, and for none other cause, but only the profession of their religion.

Daniel. 7. 7.

Lib. 5. c. 11.

## S E C T. 3.

Secondly, in regard of the incredible number of those that suffered.

Sacr. Histor. l. 2.  
Homilia 27. in

Evangelia.

**O**Mnis ferè sacro Martyrum cruore orbis infectus est, neq; ullis unquam magis bellis mundus exhaustus est, saith Sulpitius: well nigh the whole world is stayned with the blood of the Martyrs; neither was it ever in the like sort emptied by any warres. And Gregory the Great almost in the same words, *Totum mundū fratres aspiciate, Martyribus plenus est, jam penè tot qui videamus non sumus, quot veritatis testes habemus: Dic ergo numerabiles, nobis super arenam multiplicati sunt, quia quanti sunt à nobis comprehendere non possunt.* Brethren, looke abroad upon the whole world, it is filled with Martyrs, wee are hardly so many in number to behold them, as wee have witnesses of the truth, who have sealed it with their blood: In regard of God they are numerable, but in regard of us they are multiplied above the sand of the sea shore, in as much as wee cannot comprehend their number. And happily those latter words of Gregory had



had reference to that of *Cyprian*, himselfe a glorious Martyr, in his exhortation to *Martyrdome*. *Exuberante postmodum copia virtutis & fidei numerari non possunt Martyres Christiani, teste Apocalypsi & dicente, post hac vidi, &c.* The strength of courage and faith afterwards increasing, the Christian Martyrs could not bee numbred, according to that testimony in the *Apocalyps*. *After these things I beheld, and lo a great multitude, which no man could number of all nations, & kindreds, and people, & tongues, stood before the Throne & before the Lamb, clothed with long white robes, and palmes in their hands:* Whereunto might bee added, that other Propheticall passage of the same booke; *The winepresse was troden without the city, and blood came out of the wine-presse unto the horse bridles by the space of a thousand and six hundred furlongs.* Which Prophecie we may well conceive to have beene accomplished to the full, when the very axes, and swords of the Executioners were blunted with executions, & themselves were forced to give over and sit downe, being utterly wearied therewith, when the day fayling, the bodies of the executed were burnt in the night, to give light to passengers, and thirty three *Romane* Bishops successively from *S. Peter* to *Sylvester*, were all martyred; when hundreds, thousands, yea ten or twenty thousand were slaughtered at once: Lastly, when by the testimony of *S. Hierome* in his *Epistle to Chromatius* and *Heliodorus*, (if it be his) there was not a day in the yeare to which above five thousand might not justly be assigned, the *Kalends of January* onely excepted.

Apocal. 7. 9.

Cap. 14. 20.

T. 11. Annal. 19. 10.

Lactantius, 5. 1.

*Funditur ater ubique cruor, crudelis ubique*

*Luctus, ubique Pavor & plurima mortis imago.*

Piteous lamenting, dreadfull feare, and blood-shed every where,  
And many a ghastly shape of death did every where appeare.

In una *Ægypto* (*quantula Romani imperij particula?*) si *Domino Ignatio Patriarchæ Antiocheno* apud *Scaligerum* fides, *massata sunt centena & quadraginta quatuor hominum millia; Septingenta autem in exilium acta; unde* *Æra Diocletiana* apud *Ægyptios* nomen invenit, ut hodieque *Æra Martyrum* nuncuparetur. In *Ægypt* alone, but a small portion of the *Roman Empire* in comparison, if wee may beleeve *Ignatius Patriarch of Antioch*, as *Scaliger* reports it, there were massacred one hundred forty foure thousand men; and seven hundred thousand sent into banishment; from whence the *Æra of Diocletian* had his name among the *Ægyptians*, and at this day is called *Æra Martyrum*, that, is their computation of yeares from the time of the Martyrs.

De emendatione  
temporum, l. 5.  
de 10. Anno  
Dioclet.



## SECT. 4.

Thirdly in regard of the various and diuersh meanes and instruments which they deuised, and practised for the execution or torture of the poore Christians.

Now though the *Romane* cruelty sufficiently appeare in the malice of the principall persecutors of the *Christians*, & the infinite number of *Martyrs* that suffered, yet doubtlesse the various and diuersh meanes and instruments, which they deuised and practised for their dispatch or torture doth more evidently prove it. *Quæ autem per totum orbem singuli gesserint, enarrare impossibile est; Quis enim voluminum numerus capiet tam infinita tam varia genera crudelitatis?* saith *Lactantius*. Those things which in this kinde thorow the world were every where acted, to recount were impossible. For what number of volumes can containe so infinite and diuerse kindes of cruelty? And againe, *dici non potest huiusmodi iudices quanta & quam graua tormentorum genera excogitauerint, ut ad effectum propositi sui peruenirent*. It cannot bee exprest how many and how grievous kindes of torments those Iudges deuised, that they might obtaine the end of their purpose. And *Gregory* to like purpose, *Quæ pænarum genera nouimus quæ non tum vires Martyrum exercuisse gaudemus?* What kinde of punishment can wee conceive which wee rejoyce not then to have exercised the strength of the *Martyrs*? They were burned in furnaces, they were put into vessels of boyling oyle, they were pricked under the nales with sharpe needles, their breasts were seared, their eyes bored, their tongues cut out, they were roasted at a soft fire with vineger and salt powred upon them, they were throwne headlong downe the mountaines & rockes upon sharpe stakes, their braines were beaten out with mallets, their bodies were scraped with sharpe shells and the talents of wild beasts, they were fryed in iron chaires, and upon grid-irons, their entrals were torne out and cast before their faces, they were crucified with their heads downeward, they were hanged by the middles, by the haire, by the feete, their bones were broken with bats, they were torne asunder with the boughs of trees, and drawne in pieces with wilde horses, they were tossed upon buls hornes, and throwne to *Libards* and *Lyons*, they were covered under hogf-meate, and so cast to swine, they were stabbed with penknives, they were dragged thorow the streets, they were fleyd a live, they were covered in the skins of wild beasts and torne in peeces with dogges, as witnesseth *Tacitus*, they were set to combate with wild beasts, as witnesseth the *Apostle* of himselfe,

Lib. 9. c. 11.

Moral. 11. 12.

Annal. 15. 10.

1. Cor. 15. 32.

Virg. Æn. 1. 6.

*Non mihi si centum lingua sint, oraque centum  
Ferreæ vox, omnes scelerum comprehendere formas,  
Omnia pænarum percurrere nomina possem.*

An hundred tongues, an hundred mouths, an yron voice had I,  
I could not all those torments name, nor villany discry.

## SECT. 5.



## S E C T. 5.

of their extreame cruelty towards others, their very Religion leading them thereunto, as witnesseth, Lactantius.

**A**ND lest wee should thinke that this cruelty of the Romans towards the Iewes and Christians was onely in regard of their Religion, their owne Histories informe us of the like upon other Nations, nay their owne very Religion was (it seemes) their strongest motive and greatest inducement to cruelty: *Nec ullam aliam ad immortalitatem viam arbitrantur, quam exercitus ducere, aliena vastare, delere urbes, oppida exscindere, liberos populos aut trucidare, aut subyscere servituti*, saith Lactantius, They conceive there is no other way to immortality but by leading Armies, laying wast other mens Dominions, razing cities, sacking townes, rooting out or bringing under the yoke of slavery freeborne people. *Si quis unum hominem jugulaverit, pro contaminato & nefario habetur, nec ad terrenum hoc domicilium Deorum admitti eum fas putant, ille autem qui infinita hominum millia trucidaverit, cruore campos inundaverit, flumina infecerit, non modo in templum, sed etiam in calum admittitur, apud Ennium sic loquitur Africanus;*

*Si fas cadendo caelestia scandere cuiquam est,*

*Mi soli caeli maxima porta patet.*

Scilicet quia magnam partem generis humani extinxit ac perdidit. O quantis in tenebris Africane versatus es, vel potius o Poeta, qui per cades & sanguinem patere hominibus ascensum in calum putaveris! Cui vanitati & Cicero assensit; Est vero inquit Africane, nam & Herculi eadem ipsa porta patuit, tanquam ipse plane cum id fieret, janitor fuerit in caelo. Equidem statuere non possum dolendumne an ridendum putem, cum videam & graves & doctos, & (ut sibi videntur) sapientes viros in tam miserandis errorum fluctibus volutari. Si hac est virtus qua nos immortales facit, mori equidem malim quam exitio esse quamplurimis. If a man kill but one hee is held for a villaine, neither is it thought fit to admit him to the houses of the Gods here upon earth, but he who murthers infinite thousands, waters the fields, and dyes the rivers with blood, is not onely admitted into the Temple, but into Heaven; Thus in Ennius speakes Africanus.

If man by murdering may climbe Heaven, assuredly,

The widest gate of Heaven is open laid for me.

Forsooth, because hee had extinguished and made away a great part of mankind. O with how great darknesse art thou compassed Africanus, or rather thou Poet, who thoughtest that by slaughter and blood an entrance was opened for men into Heaven! yet to this vanity even Cicero himselfe assents; It is even so Africanus, saith hee, for the same gate was open unto Hercules, as if himselfe had then beene a Porter in Heaven when that was done. Truly I cannot well determine whether I should rather grieve or laugh when I see grave and learned, and (as to themselves it seemes) wise men, so miserably tossed up & downe in the waves of Errour: if this be the vertue which makes us immortall, for



De Const. lib. 2.  
cap. 23.

Valerius, l. 9, c. 6.  
Paul. Diac. l. 4.  
cap. 9.

Appianus in  
Ilericis.

Suetonius, c. 15.

Xiphilinus &  
Herodianus.

Senec. de Ira.  
lib. 2. cap. 5.

Lepid. admiran-  
da l. 4. c. 6.

mine owne part I professe I had rather die, then bee the death of so many. Yet had this doctrine (as it seemes) generally taken such deepe roote in the mindes of the *Romans*, that hee who shed most bloud was held the worthiest and the holiest man, that is, most like the *Gods*, and fittest for their habitation, which is the chiefe reason, as I conceive, that wee reade of such wonderfull slaughters committed by them, even to the astonishment of such as have beene acquainted but with the Principles of *Christian Religion*. Within the space of seaventeene yeares, their warres onely in *Italy*, *Spaine*, and *Sicily*, consumed above fiftene hundred thousand men, *Quasi vi enim curiosè*, saith *Lypsius*, I have diligently searched into it. One *Caius Caesar*, *ô pestem, perniciemque generis humani*! O plague and mischief of mankind! professeth of himselfe, and boasteth in it, that he had slaine in the wars eleven hundred ninety two thousand, yet so as the slaughter of his Civill warres came not into that account, but onely during his commaund a few yeares in *Spaine* and *France*. *Quintus Fabius* slew of the *French* one hundred & ten thousand. *Caius Marius* of the *Cimbri* two hundred thousand. *Ælius* one hundred sixty two thousand of the *Hunnes*. *Polybius* writeth that *Scipio* at the taking of *Carthage*, gave charge, that all should be put to the sword without sparing any; And then addes, that this was a common fashion of the *Romans*, *Videntur enim*, saith he, *terroris gratia hoc illi facere, itaque frequenter videre est quando Romani civitates capiunt, non homines modo occidi, sed canes etiam dissecari, & aliorum animalium membra truncari*. It seemes they did it to terrifie others, and therefore it hath beene often seene that the *Romans* upon the taking of the Citie, not onely slew the men, but also cut in sunder the dogges, and mangled other living Creatures. *Servius Galba* at his being in *Spaine* having assembled the Inhabitants of three Cities under the pretence of consulting with them about their welfare, on a sudden slew seaven thousand of them, among whom were the very flower of their youth. Likewise *Licinius Lucullus* Confull in the same Countrey, put to the sword twenty thousand of the *Caucas*, by the hands of his souldiers sent into the Citie against the expresse convenants of their rendring. *Octavianus Augustus* having taken *Perusia*, sacrificed 300 of the principall Townsmen, which yeelded themselves (as it had beene beasts) before an Altar erected to *Divus Iulius*. *Antoninus Caracalla* being incensed against the citizens of *Alexandria* for some petty jeasts broken upon him, entring into the Citie in a peaceable manner, & calling before him all their youth, he surrounded them with armed men, who at the signe given, fell instantly upon them, and slew every mothers son of them, & then using the like cruelty upon the residue of the Inhabitants, hee utterly emptied a spacious and populous Citie. *Volesus Messalla* Proconfull of *Asia*, tooke off with the axe the heads of three hundred in one day, and then walking in and out among the dead bodies with his hands behind him, as if hee had performed some noble act, hee cryes out, *ô rem verè regiam!* an exploit worthy a Prince! But mee thinkes that of *Sulpitius Galba* exceeds them all, who entring into *Portugall* in an hostile manner, laid waste the Countrey, the Inhabitants wondring thereat, and not knowing the reason, neither being



being guilty to themselves of any offence, they send Ambassadors to renew their former league, he entertaineth them and seemes to take pity on them that they were thus afflicted, but it may bee, saith he, it was your wants that caused you to make some spoyles and shew of warre, I will remedy the matter, I will range you into three parts, and will seat you in a good and fat soyle where you may lead the rest of your life more happily and securely: Come with your wives and children into such a valley, and there will I assigne you your portions. They miserable people come on joyfully, being ranged into three bands; to the first of which when he came he bids them lay aside their weapons, as being now friends and fellowes, which being laid aside, hee sets his souldiers upon them, and kills them all upon the place, in vaine calling upon the Gods and his faith given them. The same course hee tooke with the second and third band, before the report of the first bloody act could come unto them.

Neither did their cruelty extend onely to men, but to townes & cities. *Sempronius Gracchus*, if we may credit *Polybius*, razing and laying waste three hundred towns in *Spaine*. *Nec habet omne ævum opinor quod adstruat his exemplis præter nostrum, sed in orbe alio*, saith *Lypsius*. I suppose no age can afford examples matchable to these, except ours, but that in another World, where he instances in the *Spanish* cruelties upon the naked *Indians*. It is true indeed that *Theodosius* a *Christian Emperour* for a small matter in comparison, caused seaven thousand Innocents of *Thessalonica*, being called together into the *Theater*, as for the beholding of some playes, to be slaine by souldiers upon the place, and though hee might well for the present purpose bee numbred among the ancient *Romane Emperours*, yet as a *Christian* I rather chose to excuse him, and that justly, in as much as being admonished by *S. Ambrose*, he heartily repented of that bloody fact: and thereupon at the instance of that worthy *Prelate* made a Law that frõ thenceforth thirty dayes should passe betwixt the sentence of death and the execution thereof, in as much as the guilty, though spared for a time, might notwithstanding afterwards be executed; but the guiltlesse being once executed, could never againe be restored.

*Paul. Dia. hist  
misc. l. 13. c. 4.*

#### SECT. 6.

*Of their cruelty one towards another by the testimony of Tacitus and Seneca, and first in their civill warres.*

**N**OW that which yet much more aggravates the *Roman* cruelty is this, that they were not onely thus hard-hearted towards strangers, but without naturall affection, implacable, mercilesse, one towards another, as appeareth partly in their factions and civill warres, partly in the tyranny of their Emperours & inferiour Governours, & partly in their bloody games and pastimes. What a miserable complaint is that which is made by *Tacitus*? *Legimus cum Aruleno Rustico Petrus Thra- scus, Herennio Senesioni Priscus Helvidius laudati essent, capitale fuisse, nec in ipsos*

*Rom. 1. 32.*



ipſos modo Authores, ſed in libros eorum ſervitum, delegato Triumviriſ miniſterio ut monumenta clariffimorum ingeniorum in comitio ac foro urerentur, ſcilicet illo igne vocem populi Romani, & libertatem Senatus, & conſcientiam generis humani abolere arbitrabantur. Expulſis inſuper ſapientia profeſſoribus, & omni bona arte in exilium acta, ne quid uſquam honeſtum occurreret. De-  
dimus profeſſo grande patientia documentum, & ſicut vetus Reſpub. videt quid ultimum in libertate eſſet, ita nos quid in ſervitute: adempto per inqueſtiones etiam loquendi, audiendique commercio, memoria quoque ipſam cum voce perdiſſemus, ſi tam in poteſtate noſtra eſſet obliſci quam tacere. We read that when *Petus Thraſea* was praized by *Arulenus Ruſticus*, and *Prifcus Helvidius* by *Herennius Senefio*, it was made a capitall crime; neither did their rage extend onely to the Authours, but to their bookes. Commaund being given from the *Triumviri*, that the monuments of thoſe rare wits ſhould be burnt in the pleading and market places. Forſooth in that flame they made account at one blaze, to extinguiſh the voyce of the people of *Rome*, and the liberty of the *Senate*, and the conſcience of mankind. Beſides the Profeſſours of wiſedome & all ingenuous arts were baniſhed, that nothing carrying the face of honeſty might any where appeare. Then did we ſhew a ſingular example of Patience, and as former ages ſaw the utmoſt of liberty, ſo we of ſervitude. Moreover the mutuall commerce of ſpeaking and hearing being by inqueſtition abridged, wee had ſurely loſt our memory together with our voyce, had it beene as well in our power to forget, as to be ſilent. Yee more pittifull is that ſad complaint of *Seneca* touching his time: *Adeam publicum miſſa nequitia eſt, & in omnium pectoribus evaluit, ut innocentia non rara ſed nulla ſit. Numquid enim ſinguli, aut pauci rupere fidem? undique velut ſigno dato ad faſque neſaſque miſcendum coorti ſunt.*

De ira. l. 2. c. 8.

--- Non hospes ab hōſpīte tutus,  
Non ſocer à genero, fratrum quoque gratia rara eſt:  
Lurida terribiles miſcent aconita *Noverca*,  
Imminet exitio vir conjūgis, illa mariti,  
Filius ante diem patrios inquiri in annos.

*Sed quota pars iſta ſclerum eſt?* Wickedneſſe is become ſo common, and hath taken in all breſts ſuch deepe rooting, that innocencie is not only rare, but no where to be found: Neither have ſingle perſons, or ſome few onely tranſgreſſed the Law, but as it were at the giving of a ſigne, men are on all ſides every where riſen up to the blending, and confounding of right and wrong.

--- The hoſt his gueſt betrayes,  
Sonnes father in lawes, twixt brethren love decayes,  
Wives husbands, husbands wives attempt to kill,  
And cruell ſtep-mothers pale poyſons fill,  
The ſonne his fathers haſty death deſires.

And yet how ſmall a part is this of the preſent villanies?

But the *Civill warres* was it which chiefly diſcovered the bloody and vindictive diſpoſition of this *Nation*. Before which, as teſtifieth Saint *Auguſtine*, their dogges, their horſes, their aſſes, their oxen, and all ſuch beaſts as lived under the ſervice and for the uſe of men, of tame became ſo

De Civit. Dei.  
l. 3. cap. 23.



so wilde, that they forsooke their mansions & masters, & got them into mountaines and woods, not without the danger of such as offered to reduce them to their former condition. And surely this wildnesse of the beasts served as a fore-runner of that fiercenesse and inhumanity, which afterwards appeared in their Masters. The sedition of the *Gracchi* being appeased, *Lucius Opimius* Consull executed 3000, as being guilty of that conspiracie by judiciali proceffe, *ex quo intelligi debet, saith An- Cap. 24.*  
*gustine, quantam multitudinem mortuorum habere potuerit turbidus conflictus armorum, quando tantam habuit judiciorum velut examinata cognitio.* From whence we may probably gather what multitudes died in the confused conflict of Armies, since so great a number was made away by a legall tryall. But *Sylla* was hee, who under pretence of chastising the outrages of *Marius*, filled the Citie with bloud. *Illo bello Mariano atque Syl- Cap. 27.*  
*lano, exceptis his qui foris in Asia ceciderunt, in ipsa quoque urbe cadaveribus vici, platea, fora, theatra, templa completa sunt, ut difficile judicaretur quando victores plus funerum ediderunt, utrum prius ut vincerent, an postea quia vicissent.* In the warres of *Marius* and *Sylla*, besides those which were slaine in the fields abroad, in the citie it selfe, their streets, their market places, their theaters, their temples were all strewed over with carkases, so as it was hard to judge when the Conquerours slaughtered more, either first that they might conquer, or afterwards having conquered. *Sylla* alone, *quem neque laudare, neque vituperare quisquam satis digne potest, Valerius lib. 9. Cap. 2.*  
*quia dum querit victorias Scipionem se populo Romano, dum exercet, Hannibalem representavit,* whom no man can sufficiently either commend, or dispraise, for that in pursuing his victories hee shewed himselfe as another *Scipio* to the *Roman* state, in making use of them another *Hannibal*: hee alone I say; by his infamous proscription, bereaved the Citie of foure thousand & seaven hundred Citizens, whose names he commanded to be registred in the publique Records, *videlicet ne memoria tam praeclara rei dilueretur,* forsooth least the memory of so notable a fact should bee extinguished; neither were they of the baser ranke of the people, there being among them no lesse thē one hundred & forty Senatours, besides infinite slaughters committed either by his command or permission; neither did hee thus rage against those onely who bore Armes against him, but to the number of the proscribed he added the most peaceable Citizens if they were rich, he also drew out his sword against women, as not being satisfied with the slaughter of men; *Id quoque inexplabilis feritatis indicium est, saith Valerius,* that was likewise a signe of most unsatiable cruelty, that hee commanded the heads of such as he had slaughtered to be cut off and brought into his presence, though retaining neither life nor visage, *ut oculis illa, qua ore nefas erat manderet,* that he might feed upon them with his eyes, because with his mouth he could not: the eyes of *Marius* he plucked out before he deprived him of life, & then brake in peeces all the parts of his body: & *Marcus Pletorius*, because he fell into a sound at the sight of that execution, he comanded presently to be slaine upon the place, *novus punitor misericordia, apud quem iniquo animo scelus intueri, scelus admittere fuit,* a rare punisher of mercy, with whom unwillingly to behold a wicked act, was to commit wickednesse;



Aug. de Civit.  
Dei l. 3. c. 28.

Florus l. 3. c. 21.

Lib. 2.

kednesse; but perchance though he thus tyrannized upon the living, he spared the dead: no such matter, for digging up the ashes of C. Marius, who was sometimes *Questor*, though afterward his enemy, hee threw them into the river *Anien*, *En quibus actis felicitatis nomen sibi afferendum putavit!* Behold with what goodly acts hee purchased to himselfe the name of happinesse! *Vix mihi verisimilia narrare videor*, I scarce seeme to my selfe to report likelyhoods, saith *Valerius*: And S. *Augustine* tells us, that some counselled him (which counsell *Florus* ascribes to *Fursidius*) *sinendos esse aliquos vivere, ut essent quibus possit imperare*: that hee should doe well to suffer some to live, least there should be none whom hee might command. And from *Quintus Catulus* he he deservedly wrested that bitter speech, *Cum quibus tandem victuri sumus, si in bello armatos, in pace inermes occidimus?* with what forces are we likely to vanquish our owne enemies, if we thus kill our owne men, both armed in warre, and unarmed in peace? And from *Lucan* it drew those excellent verses,

*Sylla quoque immensis accessit cladibus ultor,  
Ille quod exiguum restabat sanguinis urbi  
Hauisit, dumque nimis jam putrida membra recidit,  
Excessit medicina modum, nimiumque secuta est  
Qua morbi duxere manus.*

After these barbarous butcheries revengefull *Sylla* came,  
The little blood that yet remain'd in *Rome*, he spilt the same;  
And whilst he off the rotten parts doth cut, the remedie  
Due measure too much doth exceed, his hands the maladie  
Pursue too farre.

Valerius lib. 9.

And that herein hee delivered no more then truth, or rather indeed came short of it, may sufficiently appeare by this one bloudy act; *Sylla* having upon his credit received to favour foure Legions (which make up twenty foure thousand) of the adverse part, hee caused them notwithstanding in publique to be cut in peeces, calling in vaine for mercy at his treacherous hand. And when the Senate hearing their groanes and scatches, stood amazed at it; the satisfaction he gives them, was none other then this. *Hoc agamus Patres: conscripti, pauculi seditiosi iussa meo puniuntur*: My Lords let's to the businesse, as for the tumult you heare, it is onely a few mutinous souldiers are punished at my command. Upon which *Lypsius* gives this just censure: *Nescio quid magis hic mihi ex hominem id facere potuisse an dicere*: I know not whether of the two I should more wonder at, that a man could either so doe, or so speake. Yet me seemes we need not much wonder at it, since the Senatours themselves were drawne out of the Senate-house, as it had beene a prison to execution. Nay *Mutius Scævola*, being both a Priest and a Senatour, was slaine imbracing the very Altar in the temple of *Vesta*, then which nothing among the *Romans* was held more sacred, & was like to have quenched with his blood that fire, which was alwayes kept burning by the care of *Virgins*: *Quæ rabies exterarum gentium, quæ sevitia barbarorum, hæc de civibus victoria civium comparari possit*: saith S. *Augustine*: What rage of forraine nations, what cruelty of barbarians was ever comparable to this

De Civit. Dei  
l. 3. c. 19.



this victory of fellow Citizens upon each other? Yet was the fire of these broyles scarce quenched before the flames burst out afresh in the civill warres, betwixt Sertorius and Catiline, Lepidus & Catulus, Caesar and Pompey; of which *Lucan*.

--- *Alta sedent civilis vulnera dextra:*

*Heu quantum terra potuit pelagique parari,  
Hoc quem civiles hauserunt sanguine dextra?*

Deepe sticke the wounds which civill armes have made:  
What lands, what seas might have beene purchased,  
Even with that bloud which civill warres have shed:

And againe,

--- *Desuntque manus poscentibus arvis:*

They wanted hands  
For tillage of their lands.

And in another place,

--- *Generis quo turba reducta est*

*Humani?*

Hard it was to finde  
What was become of mankinde.

Yet after all this, againe upon the death of *Caesar* in the *Senate*, the *Triumviri*, *Octavius*, *Lepidus*, and *Antony*, under the pretence of revenging his death and reforming his state, like the true schollers of *Sylla*, ordained the like *proscription* as hee had done, proscribing at once the heads of three hundred *Senatours*, and two thousand *Roman Knights*: Reade *Appian*, and in him a most lively description of the incredible cruelty of those times, some making themselves away, some flying, some hiding themselves in wells and draughts; servants, and wives, and children, hanging and howling about their masters, and husbands, and parents, but not able to helpe them: *Heu scelera, quibus nihil acerbius Sol ille vidit visurusque est ab ortu omni ad occasum! peream ego nisi humanitatem ipsum perisseye dicas fero & ferino illo aeo*, they bee the words of *Lypsius* the great patron of the *Roman vertue*. O horrible cruelty, then which the Sunne never saw, or shall see any thing more greivous from the rising to the falling thereof! Let me not live, if you would not beleve that humanity it selfe was utterly lost out of the world, in that bloudy and barbarous age.

*De bellis civilibus lib. 4.*

*De Constantia l. 2. c. 24.*

#### S. E C T. 7.

Secondly, of the cruelty of their Emperours towards their subjects, their Captaines towards their souldiers, their Masters towards their slaves, and generally of their whole nation.

Y<sup>E</sup>t within a while after *pax cum bello de crudelitate certabat & vicit*, *August* peace contended with warre, which should bee more cruell, and overcame: I will instance only in *Tiberius* and *Caligula*, the third and fourth Emperours, and content my selfe only with a part of *Snetonius* his testimony concerning their monstrous cruelties. Touching the first,



Suet. in Tiber.  
cap. 59.

first, *specie gravitatis & morum corrigendorum*, sed & *magis natura obtemperans*, saith he: Under a colour of gravity & reformation, but in truth by a powerfull inclination in his nature hee did many such outrageous acts, as it gave occasion among others to the casting out of these verses on him.

*Fastidit vinum, quia jam sitit iste cruorem,  
Tam bibit hunc avidè quàm bibit antè merum.*

He loatheth wine, and now he after blood doth thirst,  
Drinkes this as greedily as wine hee dranke at first.

Cap. 61.

*Nullus à pana hominum cessavit dies, ne religiosus quidem ac sacer*; no day was priviledged from executions, no not the most solemne holy dayes. Because *Virgins* by a received custome were not to be strangled; he caused the hang man first to deflowre a *Virgine*, & then to strangle her. He thought death so light a punishment, that when he heard *Carnulius* had by death prevented his tortures, he cryed out, *Carnulius me evasit*, *Carnulius* hath escaped me. His thoughts were so intent upon nothing else but horrible execution, that having by familiar letters invited a Citizen of *Rhodes* to come to him to *Rome*, and being informed of his coming, hee commanded him instantly to be put to the racke, and his error being discovered, to be put to death, least it should be divulged. Having caused men to bee drawne on to fill themselves with wine, hee would suddainely command their privy parts to bee fast bound with lute strings, that so for want of meanes for avoyding their urine, they might endure miserable torments.

Suet. Calig. 6. 27

*Caligula*, a man of much like temper, succeeded him in the Empire, but in cruelty farre exceeded him. Many of honourable ranke being first branded with infamous markes, hee condemned to the mines, or the beasts, or shut them up like beasts in cages, or sawed them asunder in the midst. And that not for great matters, but either because they had no good opinion of his shewes, or had not sworne by his *Genius*: He forced fathers to be present at the execution of their sons, and to one, excusing himselfe by reason of his sicknesse, he sent his litter for him, inviting him to mirth and jollity. Having recalled one home, who in his Predecessours dayes was sent into banishment, hee asked him how hee spent the time while he was abroad, who answered by way of complement, that he incessantly prayed for the speedy death of *Tiberius*, & his succession to the Empire: whereupon, conceiving that his banished men prayed likewise for his death; he presently dispatched away messengers to the Ilands where they lived in exile, commanding them all to be put to the sword. When he desired that a Senatour should be torne in peeces; hee hired one, who entring into the Senate-house, should assault him as an enemy to the state, and stabbing him with stillettoes, should leave him to bee torne by others. *Neque ante satiatus est quam membra, & artus; & viscera hominis tracta per vicos, atque ante se congesta vidisset*: Neither was he satiated before, with his eyes he beheld the members & bowels of the man dragged thorow the streets, and cast before him. He did not commonly execute any, but with many & soft strokes: his command being now generall and commonly knowne, *Ita feri ut se mori sentiret*

Cap. 30.



*sensit*, so strike him that he may feele himselfe to die; Being offended with the multitude for crossing his desires, he was heard to say, *Vtinam populus Romanus unam cervicem haberet*, I could wish the people of Rome but one necke; meaning to chop them off at one blowe. He was wont openly to complaine of the unhappy condition of his times, that they were not made famous by any publique calamity: That *Augustus* his government was memorable by the slaughter at *Varia*; & that of *Tiberius* by the fall of the scaffolds at *Fidena*: but his was like to be buried in oblivion, by the calme and prosperous current of all things. And there-upon would he often wish, for the overthrow of his armies, famine, pestilence, fire, earth-quakes, & the like; & when he was sporting or feasting himselfe, he abated nothing of his inbred & wonted cruelty, but shewed the same fiercenesse both in his words & deedes: Many times while hee was dyning were some examined upon the racke in his presence, and other had their heads stricken off. At *Phizoll* at the dedication of a bridge, having invited many unto him from the shore, on the suddaine he gives order for the tumbling of them down headlong into the sea, & such as took hold of any thing to save their lives, he causes to be beaten off with poles & oares. Being one day very free at a great feast, he suddenly brake forth into a great slaughter: And the *Consuls*, who were next him, demanding the reason thereof, his answer was, *Quid? nisi uno meo nutu jugulari utrumque vestrum statim posse*, nothing but this, that at a beck from me, both your throats may presently be cut. In the midst of his jeasts, when standing neare the statue of *Iupiter*, he demanded *Apelles* the *Tragedian*, which of the two, himselfe or *Iupiter* seemed the greater; *Apelles* making a pause, he commands him to be sliced in peeces with rods, now and then commending his voyce calling for mercy, as being sweetly tunable in the very groaning. As oft as hee kissed the neck of his wife or mistresse, he would commonly adde, *tam bona cervix simul ac iussu jugulari utrumque vestrum statim posse*, so faire a necke may bee taken off the shoulders when I list: And sometimes he boastingly threatned, that hee would wrest it out of the heart of *Cæsonia* his darling with the racke, why he so affectionately loved her, so as it might truly be said of him, that he was indeed none other then *lutum sanguine maceratum*, a lumpe of clay soked in bloud, and of his time might justly be verified, what *Seneca* in his preface to his fourth booke of *naturall questions* speakes of *Caius*, *sciebam olim sub illo in eum statum res humanas decidiisse, ut inter misericordie opera haberetur occidi*: under him things were brought to passe, as it was reckoned amongst the workes of mercy to be slaine.

And againe in his second booke *de beneficijs*; *Si exemplo magni animi opus est, utemur Gracini Iulij viri egregij, quem Caius Caesar occidit ob hoc unum, quod melior vir esset quam esse quenquam tyranno expediret*; If there needed, faith hee, the example of a great spirit, let us make use of that admirable man *Gracinus Iulius*, whom *Caius Caesar* put to death for this one thing, that hee was a better man then was expedient for a tyrant that any one should bee.

Neither was this the disposition only of their *Emperours*, but of their inferiour governours & officers, happily by imitatio of their *Emperours*:



Tertullian. de  
Pallio. cap. 5.  
Lib. 9. cap. 23.

De Ira. l. 1. c. 16

Seneca Ibid.

Lib. 1.

De Civit. Dei  
l. 3. c. 14.

Gellius. 10. c. 6.

in masters towards their slaves, in Generals towards their souldiers, and generally the whole multitude one towards another. *Vedius Pollio* was wont upon every light occasion, as sometimes for the breaking of a glasse or some such trifle, to cast his slaves into his pond of Lampres, to be devoured by them: *Vt in visceribus earum aliquid de servorum suorum corporibus & ipse gustaret*, saith *Tertullian*; that the entralls of his Lampres might rellish somewhat of the flesh of his slaves: But *Pliny* gives this censure upon it: *Invenit in hoc animali documenta savitiae, non tanquam ad hoc feris terrarum non sufficientibus, sed quia in alio genere totum pariter hominem distrahi spectare non poterat*. Hee found out in this fish a new kinde of cruelty, not but that the wilde beasts of the earth were sufficient to effect the same, but because hee could in none other kinde behold the whole man to bee torne in peeces. Not much inferiour to this, was the rigorous cruelty of their Generals towards the souldiers, masked under the vizar of strict discipline. It is in this kinde a memorable example, that *Seneca* relates of *Piso*, who finding a souldier to returne from forraging without his companion, as if he had slaine him whom he brought not backe with him, condemned him to death; his execution being in readinesse, and hee stretching forth his necke to receive the stroke of the axe, behold in the very instant his companion appeares in that place; whereupon the Centurion, who had the charge of the Execution, commands the Executioner to sheath his sword, and carries backe the condemned souldier to *Piso*, together with his companion, thereby to manifest his innocency, and the whole army waited on them with joyfull acclamations: But *Piso* in a rage gets him up to the Tribunall, and condemnes both the souldiers, the one for returning without his companion, and the other for not returning with him; and hereunto addes the condemnation of the Centurion for staying the execution without warrant, which was given him in charge, & thus *constituti sunt in eodem loco perituri tres ob unius innocentiam*: Three were condemned to die for the innocency of one. In more ancient times, three of the *Albanes* named *Curatij*, combating with three of the *Horatij*, Romans, for the Empire, by consent of both their states; two of the Romans were vanquished by the three *Albanes*, and the three *Albanes* againe by one of the Romans, whose sister having married one of the *Albanes*, because she wept to see her brother wear the spoyles of her husband, she was instantly dispatched by him. *Humanior huius unius femina quam universi populi Romani mihi videtur fuisse affectus*, saith *S. Augustine*; the disposition of this one woman seemeth to me more humane then that of the whole body of the people of Rome. Hereunto may bee added that bloody speech, cast forth by the daughter of *Appius Cæcus*, who being crowded by the multitude, as shee came from seeing some publique shew, *Vtinam, inquit, reviviscat frater, aliamque classem in Siciliam ducat, atque istam multitudinem perditum eat, quæ me malè nunc miseram convexavit*: I wish, saith she, my brother were alive againe, that hee might conduct another fleete against Sicilie, and so make away this multitude which thus troubles mee: Now her brother *Publius Claudius* lately before had lost many thousands of the

Romanes



Romanes in an expedition by sea against the Sicilians, and with them his owne life.

### SECT. 8.

Thirdly, of their cruelty one towards another in their sword-fight: In which first is considered the originall and increase of these games, as well in regard of the frequencie, as both the number and quality of the fighters.

**A**Nd no marvell this speech should fall from her comming from a publique shew, in as much as the whole body of this people made the effusion of humane blood, and the slaughtering of men their common sport and pastime. Some they cast to beasts, some they set to fight with beasts, some to fight with one another. These they called *Gladiatores*, sword-players; & this spectacle, *munus gladiatorium*, a sword-fight, in which, their skill in defence was not so much regarded or praised, as the undaunted giving or receiving of wounds, and life unfearefully parted with: neither mattered it who had the hap to survive, he being reserved but for another dayes slaughter. And here I shall crave pardon, if I descend a little to particulars, and insist somewhat largely upon some of them; The matter in it selfe seemes to require it, being no doubt very strange to such as are not acquainted with the *Romane* History, so strange, that in a people so renowned for their morall vertues, it might happily seeme incredible, but that I make it good by the testimony of grave *Authours*, and which is more, their owne; The testimony of any man against himselfe being in reputation of law, of sufficient validity, without either legall exception, or just suspicion. If the *Apostle* judged the testimony of *Epimenides* the Poet, forcible against his owne Countrey-men the *Cretians*, why should not wee judge the testimony of the most approved *Romane Historiographers*, Poets and *Orators* weighty enough, being alleadged against the *Roman Nation*? First then, I will consider the cruelty of the act it selfe, together with some aggravating circumstances. Secondly, the cruell disposition of the people, in entertaining it with that heat and fervencie of affection, as is wonderfull. Thirdly, that the *Christian Religion* was it which first cryed out against it by the penne of her *Divines*, and then cryed it downe by the edicts of her *Emperours*. Titus 1. 12.

The beginning of these kinde of shewes originally sprang from a superstitious conceite, (suggested no doubt by the common enemy of mankind) of sacrificing with the blood of men, for the *Manes* or Ghosts of their deceased parents or neare friends. *Iunius Brutus* was the first Plorus wee reade of that began it in honour of his fathers funeralls, about 500 yeares after the *Cities* foundation. Hee exhibited to this purpose in the market place, 22 paires of sword-players: *Hoc scilicet erat expiare manes patris, vel potius placare diabolum*, saith *Peter Martyr*: This forsooth was to appease his fathers *Manes*, or rather to please the Devill. After this, they grew so common, that men by their testaments appointed



De Spectac.

Suetonius, c. 26.

Tertullian.

Satyr. 3.

Suetonius, c. 12.

Sermon Satyr.  
1. 12.

them at their *funeralls*. Some there are, saith *Seneca*, who undertake to dispose of matters, even beyond the tearme of their lives, taking order for stately monuments, pompous *funeralls*, & *ad rogum munera*, and at the end of their *funeralls*, the exhibiting of *sword-fights*. And whereas it was in use onely at the *funeralls* of great men, within a while private men tooke it up, *privatorum memorijs Legataria editiones parentant*, saith *Tertullian* in somewhat an harsh *African* phrase I confesse, but doubtlesse his meaning is, that even private men by legacies in their last wils, provided for these *sword-fights*, which by the *Romans* were called *Editiones*. Neither was this used at the *funeralls* of men onely, but of women too. *Julius Caesar* exhibiting it at the death and for the honour of his daughter, which none ever did before him: and so from a small brooke, it increased to a great and mighty sea, and from matter of Religion, became a matter meerely of honour in those that gave it, and of pleasure in those that beheld it. *Transiit hoc genus Editionis ab honoribus mortuorum ad honores viventium*: These shewes passed from the honour of the dead to the honour of the living: The *Ediles*, the *Pretors*, the *Quaestors*, the *Consuls*, the *Priests*, the *Emperours* exhibited them at their birth dayes, at the dedication of publique works, & at triumphes: and by degrees they came to set *solemne dayes*, which they held as festi-vall; and at the last, not the *Magistrates* alone, but private men exhibited them at all times, without difference of persons or dayes. *Juvenall* speaking of some, that of base fellows were become rich, addes

*Munera nunc edunt, & verso pollice vulgi  
Quemlibet occidunt populariter.*

Sword-players they do bestow, and when they turne the thumbe  
They murder whom they list.

And *Martiall* tells us of a *Cobler* that exhibited them,

*Das gladiatores sutorum regule Cerdo,  
Quodque tibi tribuit Subila, sica rapit.*

Brave king of *Coblers*, thou sword-players dost maintaine;  
And what thine awle doth get, the sword soone spends againe.

The number of *sword-players* thus exhibited, grew in the end to a multitude incredible. *Caesar* in his *Edile-shippe* exhibited three hundred and twenty paire. *Gordianus* sometimes 500, and never lesse then an hundred every moneth. *Trajan* by the space of 123 dayes, without intermission tenne thousand; but that of *Nero* exceeds all, and almost beleife it selfe: *Exhibuit ad ferrum quadringentos Senatores, sexcentosque Equites Romanos*: He brought forth to the sword-fight foure hundred Senatours, and sixe hundred *Romane* Knights. So that in regard of that excessive number thus wilfully cast away thorow the *Romane* Empire, we may justly complaine with *Lypsius*: *Non temerè à funere or-tares, quæ revera funus & pestis orbis terræ, credo; imò scio, nullum bellum tantam cladem vastitatemque generi humano intulisse, quam hos ad voluptatem ludos numerum cum animis vestris recensete dierum quos dixi hominum-que, mentior, si non unus aliquis mensis Europa stetit vicenis capitum millibus, aut tricenis*: It seemes upon good reason to borrow it's originall from *Funeralls*, it being in truth the very funerall and plague of the World,



I thinke, nay I know that no warre ever made such havocke of mankinde as those games of pleasure: Doe but count the number of dayes and men which I named, and let mee not bee credited, if one moneth sometimes did not cost *Europe* twenty thousand or thirty thousand heads. Yet was the expence infinite which these bloody games cost the masters of them in hiring, in dieting, in disciplining, in arming, in bringing forth their *sword-players*, in preparing the *Theater* and the like: And in this regard, as for some noble & meritorious act, they had titles and honours bestowed upon them, and pillars with inscriptions erected to them, and during their shewes, they had the power of publique *Magistrates*: And though those whom they exhibited in these games at first, were slaves onely or captives, over whom they had *jus vitæ & necis*, power of life and death; yet afterwards they drew into the land freemen, *Knights*, *Senatours*, yea Histories not onely affirme, that *Commodus* the *Emperour* did himselfe play the *Gladiator* in person, but his Statue in that fashion starke naked with his naked sword in his hand, is yet to be seene at *Rome*, in the pallace of the *Farnesi*. But that which passeth all bounds of humanity, moderation and modesty is, that *Domitian* exhibited women in these sword-fights, of which *Statius*,

*Stat sexus rudis insciusque ferri,  
Ut pugnas capit improbus viriles,  
Credas ad Tanaim ferumque Phasin,  
Thermodontiacas calere turmas.*

*In Sylva.*

The unskillfull sexe not fit for broyles:  
In bloody fights too man-like toyles:  
You at Tanais would have thought  
Or Phasis, Amazons had fought.

### SECT. 9.

Secondly, for the fervent and eager affection of the people to these games, as also that they were in use in the Provinces, namely among the Jewes, but refused by the Grecians, and why.

**N**OW the affection of the people to these bloody games was such, that at the death of a great man they would call for them as due, and mutine if they had them not. This market-place being not able to containe the multitude that flockt unto them, they had *Theaters* and *Amphitheatres* built if not purposely, yet specially for these shewes, which places were of incredible, both charge & capacity, some one of them being sufficient to hold above a hundred thousand persons, & yet all little enough in regard of the infinite troupes that resorted thither.

*Equidem existimo, saith Tully, nullum tempus esse frequentioris populi quam illud Gladiatorium:* Truly I thinke there is at no time a greater concourse

*Oratione pro  
Sestio.*

of the people then at the sword-plays. And againe, *Id autem spectaculi genus erat quod omni frequentia atque omni genere hominum celebratur, quo multitudo maximè delectatur;* that kinde of shew is it which is most fre-

quented



quented with company of all sorts, & with which the multitude is most delighted. They left all other sports to run to this,

*Primo actu placeo, cum interea rumor venit  
Datum iri gladiatores, populus convolat,  
Tumultuantur, clamant, pugnant de loco.*

They be the words of the Comickall Poet, My first act pleased them well, when in the meane while a rumor was rais'd that the sword-players were at hand, at which noise the people flocke thither: They strive tumultuously, they cry out, they fight for their places. When the day was set, they thought the time long before it came, as appears by that of Seneca,

*De brev. vita. Quicquid interjacet grave est, tam mehercules, quam quando dies gladiatorij muneris dictus est, transire medios dies volunt.* Whatsoever falls in between

*De ira, lib. 1.*

is troublesome, as are the dayes which come between the publishing of the day of the sword-players, & the coming of it. Being assembled, & the sword-players entred the fight, *Irascitur populus & injuriam putat quod non libenter pereunt*, saith the same Seneca, the multitude growes angry, and hold it a wrong and scorne done them, if they die not willingly.

*Lib. 6. c. 39.*

With whom Lactantius accords in sense, and almost in words, *Irascuntur etiam pugnantibus nisi celeriter e duobus alter occisus est, & tanquam humanum sanguinem sitiant oderunt moras*: They are displeased with the sword-players except one of them bee presently slaine: And as if they thirsted for humane blood, they are impatient of delays. Such as were wounded and lay weltring in their blood, they desired to be searched; *Ne quis illos simulata morte deludat*, least they should deceive them with a faigned death: And this was not done onely by men, but by women, by Virgines, by Virgines devoted to Religion, by the Vestall Virgines themselves.

*prudensius.*

---*Consurgit ad ictus*

*Et quoties Victor ferrum jugulo inserit, illa  
Delicias putat esse suas, pectusque jacentis  
Virgo modesta jubet converso pollice rumpi.*

---Rise up at every stroke shee must,

And whiles into the throat the Victours knife is thrust,  
That's th'onely sport, and then the modest Vestall Priest

Turning her thumb, commands to stab him through the brest.

Besides this, some of them bathed their hands in the blood of the slaine, as Lampridius observes in the life of Commodus: And which of all is most horrible to imagine, they sucked the reeking blood out of the fresh wounds. For which wee have the testimony of Pliny: Now a dayes, saith he, you shall see them that are subject to the falling evill to drinke the very blood of Fencers & sword-players as out of living cups; a thing that when we behold within the same shew-place, Tigers, Lyons, & other wilde beasts to doe, we have it in horreur as a most fearefull and odious spectacle, and these monstrous minded persons are of opinion, that the said blood forsooth is most effectuell for the curing of that disease, if they may sucke it breathing warme out of the man himselfe, if they may set their mouth close to the veine, to draw there-  
by

*Lib. 28. c. 1.*



by the very heart blood, life and all; How unnaturall soever, otherwise it be holden for a man to put his lips so much as to the wounds of wild beasts for to drinke their blood. So as it seemes they still retained the nature of that *wolfe* which *Romulus* their founder sucked; and as their walls were tempered with blood,

*Fraterno primi maduerunt sanguine muri.*

With brothers blood the walls at first imbrewed were:

So were their mindes; And yet as if in all this they had done marvelous well, they proclaimed these games, they set up bills in publique places to signifie the time and the number of the dayes they lasted, together with a list of the names and qualities of the sword-players, and sometimes the more to content and provoke the multitude, but too forward of themselves, they set forth and exposed to publique view those *Tragicall* sports in painted tables, artificially done and to the life, which practise was first begun by *Terentius Lucanus*, as witnesseth *Pliny*: All which considered, I have often wondred at two things, the one that *Sathan* should so farre prevaile upon this people in blinding their understanding, being otherwise held a wise Nation, and great Professors of *Morality*, the other, that the *Divine Vengeance* should suffer such prodigious Cruelty to passe so long unrevenge: yet *Bodin* rightly and truly observes, that by Gods judgment at *Fidene* fifty thousand men beholding a sword-fight, were at once slaine by the fall of a Theater: which notwithstanding this foule practise infected most of their *Provinces* and *Colonies*, and so farre wrought it upon the *Jewes* themselves, that *Agrippa* exhibited unto them *una commissione paria septingenta*, seaven hundred paires of *Fencers* at one sitting, exceeding therein the *Romanes* themselves. And a kinde of shadow hereof we have resembled in the 2. of *Samuel* and the 2. *Abner* said to *Joab*, Let the young men now arise and play before us: and *Joab* said, let them arise: Then there arose and went over twelve of *Benjamin* by number, which pertaineth to *Ishbosheth* the sonne of *Saul*, and twelve of the servants of *David*; and every one caught his fellow by the head, and thrust his sword in his fellows side, so they fell downe together. In which combate, saith *Peter Martyr*, in his Commentaries on the place, their meaning was not to decide the controversy by the event of the conflict, for the sparing of blood, as was intended in the duells betwixt *David* and *Goliath*, the *Horatij* and the *Curati*, *sed nihil aliud hic queritur quam ut homines barbarico & belluino more sese mutuo sauciantes & cadentes, spectantium oculos pascere horrendo spectaculo*: Heere they fought for nothing else, but that men wounding and killing one another in a barbarous and a beastly manner, and so falling downe dead before them, they might feed the eyes of the beholders with an horrible spectacle. And thus, *dum spectaculis indulgent, supplicia quondam hostium artem faciunt*, whiles they glutted themselves with these spectacles, they made that a commendable art, which formerly was held a punishment of the enemy.

*Lib. 35. 7.*

*Methodo Hist.*

*cap. 7.*

*Tacitus Annal.*

*4. 14.*

*Iosephus lib. 19.*

*Florus lib. 2.*

Now for the *Grecians*, though it bee true that the *Athenians* indeed desired the sword-players after the *Romane* manner, yet *Demonax* gave them



them a short and wise answer, *prius evertendam esse Aram misericordie, quam tanta atrocitas publice reciperetur*, that the Altar erected to Mercy was first to bee demolished, before so outrageous cruelty could with reason be admitted.

## S E C T. 10.

*Thirdly, these bloody spectacles were cryed out against by the tongues and penes of Christian Divines, and then cryed downe by the Lawes and power of Christian Emperours.*

**B**Ut after the bright beames of the glorious Gospel of Iesus Christ began to shine through the world, these bloody games were cryed out against by the writings of Christian Divines, and at last cryed downe and utterly abolished by the power and edicts of Christian Magistrates. *Lactantius* is full and round in this point, *Qui hominem, quamvis ob merita damnatum, in conspectu suo jugulari pro voluptate computat, conscientiam suam polluit, tam scilicet, quam si homicidij quod sit occulte, spectator & particeps fiat; hos tamen ludos vocant in quibus humanus sanguis effunditur, adeo longè ab hominibus faceffit humanitas, ut cum animas hominum interficiant, ludere se opinentur, nocentiores ijs omnibus quorum sanguinem voluptati habeant.* Hee that makes it his pastime to behold a man put to death, though justly deserving it, stains his Conscience as much as if hee were guilty of secret murther, yet these they call games, in which the blood of men is shed, so farre is manhood abandoned from men, that they thinke it but a sport, being in truth themselves more worthy to suffer then they, in the shedding of whose blood they thus delight. And before him *Cyprian*, *Paratur gladiatorius ludus, ut libidinem crudelium luminum sanguis oblectet*; The sword players are prepared, that the blood gushing out may satiate the wicked longing of their cruell eyes. And before him againe *Tertullian*, *Qui ad cadaver hominis communi lege defuncti exhorret, idem in amphitheatro derosa & dissipata, & in suo sanguine squalentia corpora patientissimis oculis desuper incumbit.* Hee that startles at the sight of the Corpses of a man dead by the common course of Nature, most patiently and contentedly beholds them in the Amphitheater mangled and all to be goared with their owne blood.

Now as the pens and tongues of the Christians were thus armed against this Monster, so were likewise their Lawes and Swords. *Constantine* the first Christian Emperour was he that first gave it a deadly wound. *Vetuit Idolis sacrificari, vetuit gladiatorum cadibus pollui urbes*; Hee forbade sacrificing to Idolls, & the pollution of cities by the slaughter of sword-players. And the Law it selfe wee have inserted into the Code, *Cruenta spectacula in otio civili & domestica quiete non placent, quapropter omnino gladiatores esse prohibemus*; such bloody spectacles in these peaceable times wee like not, and therefore straitly forbid all kinde of sword-playes, Yet after this, such was the madnesse of the people upon them, that they were vehemently desired & brake out by starts, but it was a resolute & worthy answer of *Theodosius* to them, earnestly solliciting him for the restitution

Lib. 6. c. 30.

Epist. ad. Donat. matum.

Despectacula.

F. 4. feb. l. 4. de vna Constant.

Lib. 2. Tit. 43.



restitution of these games, *Pium Principem oportet non tantum regnare, sed etiam spectare clementer*; it behooves a religious Prince not only to reigne, but to looke mildely and mercifully, that is, not to accustome himselfe to such cruell spectacles. And to the same purpose writes *Prudentius* to *Honorius*.

*Lib. ult. contra  
Symachum.*

*Jam solis contenta feris infamis arena,  
Nulla cruentatis homicidia ludat in armis,  
Nullus in urbe cadat cujus sit pœna voluptas.*

Th'infamous sand is now with beasts content,  
In bloody armes manslaughter is not playd,  
Nor pleasure made of death and punishment.

### SECT. II.

The Romans being thus cruell towards others, likewise turned the edge of their cruelty upon themselves, partly by a voluntary exposing themselves to present death in those publique shewes, either for money, or upon a bravery; or by laying violent hands upon themselves, which by their gravest writers was held not onely lawfull and commendable, but in some cases honourable.

Thus we see how these bloody shewes had their birth from *Paganisme*, but their death from *Christianity*, yet before wee conclude this point touching the *Romane cruelty*, it shall not bee amisse to consider how by the just judgment of God, they who were thus barbarously cruell towards others, turned the edge of their cruelty upon their owne breasts, and became likewise most unmercifull and unnaturall towards themselves; not onely by a voluntary exposing of themselves to death in their *Theaters*, by encountering with men & beasts, but by holding it lawfull, yea in some cases both commendable & honourable, to lay violent hands upon themselves, & to cut off the threed and extinguish the lampe of their owne lives. For the first, it is certaine that many of them were well content to sell their lives for money,

---- *Quanti sua funera vendant,  
Quid refert? vendunt nullo cogente Nerone.*

What skills it for how much their death they sell?

They sel't, yet them no *Nero* doth compell,

Saith *Juvenal*. And *Manilius* to like purpose:

*Nunc caput in mortem vendunt & funus arena,  
Atque hostem sibi quisque parat cum bella quiescunt.*

*Lib. 4.*

In th' Amphitheater to death and slaughter they their head

Do sell, and seeke out enemies when warres are quieted.

And with this did the *Christians* upbraid them, *Nec vita quidem sua parant, sed extinguendas publicè animas vendunt*, saith *Lactantius*, Neither do they so much as spare their owne lives, but sell their soules to bee publicquely extinguished: and some times they did it upon a bravery to shew their courage, as appeares by that of *Tertullian* in his exhortation to *Martyrdome*, *Quot otiosos affectatio armorum ad gladium vocat, certè ad feras ipsas affectatione descendunt, & de morsibus & cicatricibus formosiores sibi*

*Lib. 5. c. 9.*



*sibi videntur*: How many idle companions onely thorow a vaine affectation of applause, are drawne into the sword fights, nay encounter with wilde beasts, seeming to themselves more beautifull by the scarres and wounds which they there receive?

Neither did they only thus voluntarily expose their lives for a prize or vaine-glory to the rage of men or beasts, but which was more cruell, their greatest *Clearkes* held it not lawfull onely, but commendable, and in some cases honourable, to cut off the threede of their owne lives. Heere upon he cryes out in the Tragedie,

*Oedipus apud  
Senecam, Theb.  
act. 1. scen. 1.*

*Vbique mors est, optime hoc caruit Deus,  
Eripere vitam nemo non homini potest,  
At nemo mortem, mille ad hanc aditus patent.*  
Death's every-where, God would it so should be,  
Life every man from man, death none can take,  
A thousand wayes thereto wide open lye.

And lest we should thinke this to be but a *Poeticall fiction*, whereby men are made to speake what the *Poet* pleaseth, let us heare the wisest & worthiest among them speaking in good earnest in this matter. *Quintilian* affirms, that *nemo nisi sua culpa diu dolet*, no man is long in paine or sorrow unlesse it be thorow his owne fault, meaning that killing himselfe he may be rid of it when he pleaseth. Yea even *Seneca* himselfe approves this selfe-homicide in diverse places, and though himselfe of a contrary Sect, yet hee highly commends that speech of *Epicurus*, *Malum est in necessitate vivere, necessitas nulla est: Quidni nulla sit? patent undique ad libertatem viae multae, breves, faciles, agamus Deo gratias quod nemo in vita teneri potest*. Indeed it is a misery to live in necessity, but there is no necessity for a man so to live, there are many, and short, and easie wayes to free our selves, let us give thanks to God that no man can be compelled to live whether hee will or no. And againe, *Si me quidem velis audire hoc meditare, exerce te ut mortem & excipias, & si ita res suadebit, accersas; interest nihil an illa ad nos veniat, an ad illam nos*. If thou wilt follow my counsell, so prepare thy selfe, that thou maist entertaine death, nay if neede bee, thou mayst send for it; For it matters not whether death come to us, or wee goe to death. Yea he mockes and derides those that make any scruple thereof, *bono loco res humanae sunt, quod nemo nisi vitio suo miser est; placet? Vive: si non placet, licet eo reverti unde venisti*, the condition of our estate in this is happy, that no man is miserable but by his own default: Doth thy life please thee? live; if it please thee not, thou maist returne when thou wilt from whence thou camest. And in another place, *Quocunque respexeris ibi malorum finis est, vides illum precipitem locum? illac ad libertatem descenditur. Vides illud mare, illud flumen, illum puteum? Libertas illic in imo sedet; vides illam arborem, brevem, horridam, infelicem? Pendet inde libertas. Vides jugulum tuum, guttur tuum, cor tuum? effugia servitutis sunt. Nimis mihi operosos exitus monstras, & multum animi atque roboris exigentes. Quaris quod sit ad libertatem iter? qualibet in corpore toto vena*. Which way soever thou lookest, there is an end of all euills to be found. Dost thou see an high and steepe place? by falling downe from it, thou shalt fall into liberty. Seest thou such a sea, or such a river,

*In praemio, l. 6.*

*Epist. 12.*

*Epist. 70.*

*Epist. 70.*

*De ira, l. 3. c. 16.*



ver, or such a pit? liberty lies in the bottome of them, if thou have the heart to cast thy selfe into them. Dost thou see a tree whereon others have beene hanged? there hangs liberty if thou wilt hang thy selfe. Dost thou see thine owne necke, throate, heart? they are all places of escape to flie from bondage. Are these too hard and painefull meanes to get out, and wouldest thou yet know the way to liberty? Every veine in thy body is a way to it. To conclude this point, *Pliny* would have us beleve that our mother earth having pittie on us, doth bring forth poyson to dispatch our selves out of this wretched world with an easie draught, without wounding the body or shedding the bloud, when there shall be due occasion. And to this purpose, the fact of *Cato* and *Pomponius Atticus*, are by their *Historians* highly commended, as is likewise that of *Rafias*, by the Authour of the bookes of *Maccabees*, as a manfull and noble act. But among *Christians*, though it be sometimes practised, yet it is not taught by them; nay by the *Christian Religion*, it is straitly forbidden and condemned, and so farre as punishment may light upon the dead, it is punishable, not onely by the *Common*, but by the *Canon* and *Civill Lawes*. The *Romans* are generally much commended for their *courage*, their *wisedome*, their *justice*. But I would demaund what *courage* it is for a man to runne away from misery, that hee may not grapple with it, or looke it in the face? What *wisedome*, to commend their *Citizens* for dispatching themselves at their owne pleasure, so robbing the state of a member, and perchance a very serviceable one, such as *Cato* was? What *justice*, that men either thorow weakenesse of minde, or strength of passion not alwayes capable of reason, should bee permitted to give sentence, and doe execution upon themselves.

Pliny, l. 2, c. 63.

Maccab. 2. 18.

## S E C T. 12.

*Of the Romans cruelty in strangling or exposing their children to the mercy of wilde beasts.*

**N**OW for their cruelty to their children (who to many men are dearer then their owne persons) I will begin with the law made by *Romulus* himselfe, the founder of their state, as wee finde it reported by *Dionysius Halicarnassæus*; *Omnem masculam prolem educari, & e femellæ primogenitas. Nihil autem quod natum esset occidere ante triennium tempus, nisi aliquid mutilum aut monstruosum statim à partu esset. Hac enim talia non vetuit exponi, sic tamen, ut parentes prius quinque viris è vicinia ostenderent si & ipsa ita videretur*: Hee ordained that every male childe should bee brought up, and of females the first borne, but that nothing which was borne should bee put to death within the space of three yeares, except it were maim'd, or monstrous immediately from its birth. That such should bee exposed hee forbade not, yet not before the parents thereof did shew it to five men of their neighbours, if it so seemed good unto them. Which law of *Romulus* seemes indeede to carry with it a shew of mercy,

but



but this very shew seemes to have been forgotten by that father in *Apuleius*, who going to travell, commanded his wife, *ut si sexus sequioris edidisset fœtus, protinus quod esset editum necaretur*: that if shee brought forth a female it should presently bee made away. And the same command doth *Chremes* give to *Sostrata* in *Terence*, which *Muretus* in his argument of that Comedie thus deservedly censures; *Fuit hæc immanitas in veterum moribus, ut cum fera nulla sit quæ fœtus suos non diligat, quos alere nollent liberos, eos recens natos aut interficere, aut exponere fas putarent*. This was the cruelty in the manners of the ancient, that when there is no wilde beasts which loveth not her owne young ones, they thought it lawfull either to kill, or cast away those children newly borne, which they were unwilling to bring up. And hereunto doth *Seneca* allude; *Portentosos fœtus extinguimus, liberos quoque si debiles monstrosique editi sunt abijcimus*. Wee make away monstrous births, nay, our very children, if they be weake and deformed we cast them forth. And this barbarous custome of the *Romans* did the *Christian Doctors* often cast in their way; as namely *S. Ambrose*, *Pauperiores abijciunt parvulos & exponunt, & deprehensos abnegant*; The poorer sort cast away their young ones, and expose them, and being found deny them. *Arnobius*; *Vos enim video procreatos filios, nunc feris & avibus exponere, nunc adstrangulatos misero mortis genere elidere*; for I see you sometimes expose your children to wilde beasts and birds, and sometimes by strangling, cruelly to put them to death. *Lactantius*, *Qui natos ex se pueros aut strangulant, aut si nimium pi fuerint exponunt*. Who either strangle the children borne of their owne bodies, or if they bee very tender hearted expose them. Now what is meant by exposing, *Suidas* tells us. *Exponere liberos pro eo quod est feris in cibum, aut aliter in exitium solitudine aliqua deponere*. To expose their children was to cast them forth to bee devoured by wilde beasts, or to lay them in some solitary place thereby to bee brought to some mischievous end. Which the *Declaimer* in *Quintilian* makes to bee all one, as if they were cast into the maine sea. The more I wonder at *Tertullian*, who in his *Apologie* thus mollifies the matter, *In primis filios exponitis, suscipiendos ab aliqua prætereunte matre extraneâ*. But chiefly I observe that you expose your children to be taken up and nourished by some stranger mother passing by; which in truth had beene a kinde of mercy, but *Tertullian* as we see herein differs not only from *Arnobius* and *Lactantius*, but from *Suidas*, and doubtlesse from the truth it selfe, as may easily appeare in an Epistle of *Lipsius* written to *Dionysius Villerius*, which he thus begins: *Novum tibi, immane, incredibile erat, de liberis quos veteres passim exponebant vel abiciebant; & alienum non solum à ratione censebas sed à natura; omnia consentio & cedo, sed non in fide quia certiores ita fuit, & communis adeo ut dixi; si vis homines accusare, qui hominem, non solum parentem exuebant, in tenella & innoxia plantula extinguenda non abnuo, teum imò accusavero: sed de facto non de qualitate quaestio nobis erat. Ego autem pertendo & vel scripto nunc doceo sic fuisse*. It seemed unto you a strange thing, barbarous and incredible, touching the exposing or casting forth of children, which was usuall among the Ancients. This you thought a matter repugnant not onely to reason but to nature; all which

*Heauton: act. 4.  
scen. 2.*

*De Ira. lib. 1.*

*Plenam. c. 18.*

*Lib. 1.*

*Lib. 6. cap. 20.*

*Cap. 4.*

*Ep. Select. 39.*



which I yeeld you and freely consent, only for the truth thereof therein I differ from you; for most certaine it is that such a custome there was, and that no lesse universall then I affirmed; if you please to accuse them as putting off not onely the persons of parents, but the nature of mankind, in destroying those tender and innocent plants, I plead not for them, nay together with you I condemne them; but the question was between us not of the qualitie, but of the fact it selfe, which I still maintaine; and now by writing shew that so it was. Now as this barbarous custome was in use among the *Romans*, held a civill Nation: so could it not get any footing among the *Germans*, even in those times when they were accounted most barbarous. *Numerum liberorum finire, aut quenquam ex agnatis necare, nefas habetur*, saith *Tacitus*, to set a certain number to their children, or to kill any borne of them, they held it a greivous offence. And the Christian *Emperours* well weighing the greivousnes hereof, made it capitall by their lawes: The first of which I thinke were *Valentinian*, *Valens* and *Gratian*, whose law is extant touching this point in both the *Coas*, as well of *Theodosius* as *Justinian*. *Ad leg. Cornel. de sicarijs. Siquis necandi infantis piaculum aggressus aggressave sit, erit capitale istud malum.* And with the lawes of the *Empire* did those of the *Church* accord, as may appeare in the ninth *Canon* of the *Vasen Conncell*.

*Ad leg. Cornel.  
de sicarijs.*

And least wee should thinke that this cruelty so many wayes so barbarous, was the onely vice this Nation (so much renowned for civility and vertue) was subject unto, I will likewise in passing touch their covetousnesse which was in truth insatiable, and then take a larger view of their luxurie spreading it selfe into many branches, but all of them excessive, and were they not recorded by their owne writers almost incredible.

## CHAP. 5.

*Of the excessive covetousnesse of the Romans, and their insatiable thirst of having more, though by most unjust and indirect meanes.*

## SECT. 1.

*Of excessive covetousnesse of the Romans in generall, by the testimonies of Petronius Arbiter, Juvenall, Galgacus, and Hanniball; and in particular of Cæcilius Claudius, Marcus Crassus, and specially Seneca the Philosopher are taxed for this vice.*

**T**He rapine and covetousnesse of the *Romans* was such, that being Lords in a manner of all the knowne world, yet therewith they rested not content.

*Orbem jam totum Victor Romanus habebat,  
Quà mare, quà tellus, quà sidus currit utrumque,  
Nec satiatu erat.*

*Petronius Ar-  
biter.*

Now the victorious Roman all the world had wonne,

LI

Sea



Sea, land, and all where both the starres their course do runne,  
Yet was not satisfied.

These are they, whom brave *Galzacus* in the life of *Iulius Agricola*,  
justly stiles *Raptores orbis*, unjust robbers of the world, who having left  
no land, saith hee, to bee spoyled, search also the sea, whom not the  
East nor West, have satisfied: To take away by maine force, to kill  
and to spoyle, falsely they call Empire, and when all is laid waste as a  
wildernesse, that they call peace. And *Caratacus* likewise a King of  
the *Brittish* Nation, being by the *Romans* taken captive and carried to  
*Rome*, having taken a full view of the wonderfull magnificence of that  
Citie; *Itane, inquit, cum hac & huiusmodi habeatis, nostra tuguriola con-*  
*cupiscitis?* Having such and so stately buildings, how comes it to passe,  
saith he, that you long after our poore cottages?

*Camden in Car-*  
*dis.*

This unquenchable desire of theirs, *Hanniball* likewise both truly  
and wittily expressed; before whom, when *Antiochus* mustered a great  
army prepared against the *Romans*, richly furnished with weapons in-  
amiled, ensignes, saddles, bridles, and trappings, imbossed and im-  
broydered with gold and silver, being demaunded by the King, whe-  
ther all that gallant shew were not sufficient for the *Romans*, his answer  
was short but sharpe, taxing as well the Cowardize of *Antiochus* his  
souldiers, as the covetousnesse of the *Romans*: *Plane satis esse credo Romanis*  
*hac, etsi avarissimi sint*, yestruely I belceve heere is enough for the *Ro-*  
*mans*, though they bee most excessively covetous. But this humour of  
theirs afterwards increased infinitely, as appeares by that of *Iuvenall*.

*Macrobius, l. 2.*  
*cap. 2.*  
*Ex Gallia, l. 5.*  
*cap. 5.*

*Iuven. Sat. 1.*

*Vberior nunquam vitiorum copia, nunquam*  
*Major avaritie patuit finis.*

Was never yet more plentious store of vice,  
Nor deeper gulfe lay ope of avarice.

And *Manilius*,

*Lib. 4.*

*Nulla votorum sine beati,*  
*Victuros agimus semper, nec vivimus unquam.*

Never contented with our present state,

W'are still about to live, but live not till too late:

Every man, saith he, wisheth for that he hath not, but maketh no rec-  
koning of that he hath.

*Nec quod habet numerat, tantum quod non habet optat.*

*Plin. l. 33. c. 10.*

For particulars, *Pliny* tels us, that when *Asinius Gallus*, and *Martius Cen-*  
*forinus* were Consuls, died *Cecilius Claudius*, who signified his last will  
and testament, that albeit he had sustained exceeding great losse during  
the troubles of the civill warres, yet he should leave behind him at the  
houre of his death, of slaves belonging to his retinew, foure thousand  
one hundred and sixteene, in oxen, three thousand & six hundred yoke,  
of other cattell, two hundred fifty seaven thousand, & in ready coyne,  
li three score millions of sesterces, besides a very great summe hee set out  
for defraying his funerall charges. And for *Marcus Crassus*, the same  
Authour in the same chapter affirmes, that he was wont to say, that no  
man was to be accounted rich and worthy of that title, unlesse he were  
able to dispend by the yeare as much in renew, as would maintaine  
a legion

According to  
Doctour Hol-  
land, whose  
translation of  
*Pliny* I com-  
monly follow,  
as also his  
computation  
of the *Roman*  
coynes, menti-  
oned by that  
Authour.



a legion of souldiers. And verily, saith *Pliny*, his owne landes were esteemed worth two hundred millions of *Sesterces*; and yet such was his avarice, that hee could not content himselfe with that wealthy estate, but upon an hungry desire to have ali the gold of the *Parthians*, would needes undertake a voyage against them; in which expedition hee was taken prisoner by *Surinas*, Lieutenant Generall for the King of *Parthia*, who strooke of his head, and powred gold melted into his mouth to satisfie his hunger after it. But I most wonder at *Seneca* the Philosopher, who every where in his writings bitterly inveighs against these covetous desires, and yet within foure yeares space, gathered hee three thousand times three hundred thousand *Sesterces*, which amounts in our coyn to 2343750 pounds, and in casting up this summe, both the Translatour of *Tacitus* his *Annals*, and Master *Brerewood* precisely accorde. And whatsoever faire pretence he make in his bookes of mortification and contempt of the world, yet certaine it is, that besides this masse of treasure, he had goodly *farmes* in the countrey, as appeares by his owne *Epistles*, and in the city spacious *gardens*, & princely sumptuous *palaces*, the one mentioned by *Juvenall*. Sat. 10.

*Seneca praevidit hortos:*

The gardens of *Seneca* the rich:

The other by *Martiall*: lib. 4. Epigram. 40.

*Et docti Seneca ter numeranda domus.*

Three houses of *Seneca* the learn'd.

## SECT. 2.

*Of their wonderfull greedinesse of gold, manifested by their great toyle and danger in working their mines, fully and lively described by Pliny.*

**B**Ut that which much more aggravates this vice of the *Romanes* is, that commonly they gathered their riches either by violent rapine, extortion, and oppression, or by cunning sleights, & base practises, or lastly by the infinite toyle of such as therein they imployed, not without the indangering of the lives of many thousands. I will begin with the last, and that I may the more clearely and effectually expresse it, I will deliver it in the words of *Pliny*, where hee thus speakes of the earth, torne and rent in sunder for rich mettals and pretious stones. The misusage, saith he, which she abideth above, and in her outward skin, may seeme in some sort tollerable, but wee not satisfied therewith, pierce deeper and enter into her very bowels, wee search into the veines of gold and silver, we mine and digge for copper and lead mettals, and for to seeke out gemmes and some little stones, we strike pits deepe within the ground. Thus wee pull the very heart-strings out of her, and all to weare on our finger one gemme or pretious stone. To fullfill our pleasure and desire, how many hands are worne with digging & delving, that one joynt of our finger might shine againe? Surely if there were any Devils beneath, ere this time verily these mines (for to feede covetousnes & riot) would have brought them up above ground.



'ground. And againe in his proeme to his 33 booke, wee descend, saith  
 'he, into her entrals, we goe downe as farre as to the seate and habitati-  
 'on of infernall spirits, and all to meete with rich treasure, as if the  
 'earth were not fruitfull enough, and beneficiall unto us in the upper  
 'face thereof, where shee permitteth us to walke and tread upon her.  
 Now the *infinite toyle*, the *fearefull and continuall danger of these workes*, he  
 'notably describeth in the fourth chapter of the same booke. The  
 'third manner of searching of this mettall is, saith hee, so painefull and  
 'toylesome, that it surpasseth the wonderfull working of the *Gyants* in  
 'old time. For necessary it is in this enterprize and businelle to un-  
 'dermine a great way by candle light, and to make hollow vaults under  
 'the mountaines, in which labour the *Pioners* worke by turnes, suc-  
 'cessively after the manner of a reliefe in a set watch, keeping every  
 'man his houres in just measure, and in many a moneths space, they ne-  
 'ver see the sunne, nor day-light. This kinde of worke and mines they  
 'call *Arrugia*; wherein it falleth out many times, that the earth above  
 'head chinketh, and all at once without giving any warning setleth and  
 'falleth, so as the poore *Pioners* are overwhelmed and buried quicke:  
 'yet say, they worke safe enough, and bee not in jeopardy of their lives  
 'by the fall of the earth, yet be there other difficulties which impeach  
 'their worke: For other whiles they meete with rockes of flint and  
 'ragges, which they are driven to cleave and pierce thorow with fire &  
 'vineger; yet for feare of being stifled with the vapour arising from  
 'thence, they are forced to give over such fire-workes, & betake them-  
 'selves oftentimes to great mattocks and pickaxes, yea and to other  
 'engines of iron, weighing one hundred & fifty pound a peece, where-  
 'with they hew such rockes in peeces, and so sinke deeper & make way  
 'before them. The earth and stones which with so much adoe they  
 'have thus loosed, they are faine to carry from under their feete in  
 'scuttles and baskets upon their shoulders, which passe from hand to  
 'hand evermore to the next fellow. Thus they moyle in the darke both  
 'day and night in those infernall dungeons, and none of them see the  
 'light of the day, but those that are last, and next unto the pits mouth  
 'or entry of the cave. Howbeit, bee the rocke as ragged as it will, they  
 'count not that their hardest worke: For there is a certaine earth re-  
 'sembling a kinde of tough clay, which they call white Lome; this be-  
 'ing intermingled with gravell or gritty sand, is so hard baked toge-  
 'ther, that there is no dealing with it; it so scorneth and checketh all  
 'their ordinary tooles & labour about it, that it seemeth impenetrable.  
 'What doe the poore labourers then? They set upon it lustily with  
 'yron wedges, they lay on load uncessantly with mighty beetles, & ve-  
 'rily they thinke there is nothing in this world harder then this labour,  
 'unlesse it be this unsatiable hunger after gold, which surpasseth all the  
 'hardnesse and difficulty that is.

Now notwithstanding the great *danger* and *toyle* of these workes,  
 infinite was the *number* which the *Romans* imployed therein, as may  
 in part appeare by the same Authour in the same chap. 'Here saith he,  
 'commeth to my remembrance an *Act* of the *Censors* extant upon re-  
 'cord,



cord, as touching the gold mine of *Ictimulum*, a towne in the territory of *Verfelles*, which act contained an inhibition, that the *Publicanes*, who farmed that mine of the *Citie*, should not keepe above five thousand *Pyoners* together at worke there: By which restraint it should seeme, that their usuall practise was to keepe more, and this have wee by *Polybius* fully cleared, affirming that in the *Spanish* mines at *New Carthage*, no lesse then forty thousand men were daily imployed.

## S E C T. 3.

*The unmercifull pilling and poling, robbing and spoyling the Provinces, not sparing the very temples and things sacred.*

**Y**ET had all this in some sort beene tollerable, had they not hereunto added the pilling and poling, the robbing and spoyling of their provincials; sometimes by open force and rapine, but commonly under the colourable pretences of tributes or *Fees*. *Demades* was wont to say when he was advanced to any place of government; *ad auream messem se venisse*, that he was come to a golden harvest; and this was surely the conceit of the *Romane Presidents* when they went to their charges every one like another *Iuson*, promised to himselfe the bringing back of a golden fleece: these were in truth the *Harpies*,

*--- Quarum decerpitur unguibus orbis,*

*Qua pede glutineo qua tetigere trahunt.*

Whose claws spoyle all the world; whose glewie feete  
Draw to themselves what ere they touch or meete.

*Armati terram exercent, semperque recentes,*

*Convectare iuvat pradas & vivere rapto.*

*Rutilius Itiner. 1.*

*Virgil Aeneid. lib. 7.*

That which *Cicero* charged *Verres* with, in the government of *Sicilie*, was doubtlesse the common practise of them all in like places, as in part appeares by the conclusion of *C. Gracchus* his speech to the people, after his returne to *Rome* from the government of *Sardinia*; as *Gellius* relates it: the bagges, saith he, which I carried forth with me full of money, I brought backe empty; whereas others returned home those barrels full of silver, which they sent forth filled with wine. It was in reference to this practise of the *Romans*, that *Petronius Arbiter* wrote, and wrote truly;

*Quisquis habet nummos securâ naviget aurâ,*

*Fortunamque suo temperet arbitrio. &c.*

*Multa loquor; quidvis nummis presentibus opta*

*Et veniet, clausum possidet arca Iovem.*

*15 12.*

They had officers under them for their collecting of their tributes, whom they named *Publicans*; which word wee have still retained in our *Gospels*; but so as it there appears, they were an odious kinde of people, by reason of their unjust and unmercifull exactions, whence some (though improperly in regard of the word, yet not impertinently in regard of their snarling and biting conditions) have stiled them *Publicani*, *quasi publici canes*; and if these were dogges, surely the *Presidents* them-



Zephany. 3.3.

Act. 24 v. 26. 2.

Appianus, l. 5.

bellorum civilium.

Plutarch.

Lib. 45.

Idem, l. 4. 3.

Lib. 8.

Sueton. c. 54.

themselves were *wolves and lyons*, not leaving the bones till the morrow, as the Prophet describes the Princes and Judges of Israel. One of them while hee was yet trembling at S. Pauls sermon touching Righteousnesse, Temperance, and the Iudgement to come, yet such a corrupt habit had hee gotten, that even then he groped him for a bribe, though a man most unlikely to afford it, as well in regard of his doctrine and profession, as his poore estate. But some where have I read of this unhappy Felix, that hee was *inexplebilis avaritie gurgis*, an unsatiable gulfe of covetousnesse. Such a one, I am sure, was Sylla, who raised out of the lesser Asia alone, *twenty thousand talents* yearly: Yet Brutus and Cassius went farther, forcing them to pay the tribute of *tenne yeares* within the space of two, and Anthony in *one*; by which computation they payd in one yeare *two hundred thousand talents*, a mighty summe. L. Paulus held one of their best cittizens, pretending to make the Epirots free, as were the Macedonians whom he had conquered, under that pretence, calling out tenne of the chiefe of every citty, he advised them to bring forth their gold and silver, which done, he divided his cohorts amongst them, and gave in charge to the Tribunes and Centurions what his pleasure was: In the morning his command was executed by the Townes-men, and at foure of the clocke, signe was given to his souldiers for the sacking of the Towne. *Tantaq; praeda fuit, laith Livie, ut in equitem quadringenti denarij, peditibus duceni dividerentur*: So great was the spoyle, as there fell to the share of an horse-man foure hundred denarij, and of a foote man two hundred. Nay, in Italy it selfe, Plemminius Lieutenant to Scipio Africanus proceeded so farre upon the Locreans, over whom he was set with a garison, that hee abstained not from sacriledge, neither did hee spoyle other Churches alone, but that of Proserpina, robbing and carrying away, *intactos omni aetate thesauros*, treasures till then untoucht. These were strange outrages. That of Galba was indeed lesse outrageous but more base, hee being Proconsull in Spaine under Nero, the Taraconians sent him for a present a Crowne of gold, affirming that it weighed fiftene pounds. Hee received it, and causing it to be weighed, found it to want three pounds, which he exacted from them: *Postposito omni pudore*, laith Fulgus, laying aside all shame, as if it had beene a due debt. And to shew he was no changeling, even after his comming to the Empire, hee gave with his owne hand to a certaine musician that pleased him, out of his owne purse 20 Sesterces, about three shillings English, and to his steward at the making up of his bookes, a reward from his table. This was base, but that of Julius Caesar most dishonest, who in his first Consulship, stole out of the Capitoll three thousand weights of gold, laying up as much gilded copper instead thereof. He sacked in an hostile manner certaine townes of the Portugals, though they disobeyed not his commaunds, but freely and friendly opened their gates unto him for his entrance. In France he robbed the Oratories and Temples of the Gods, stored with rich offerings and ornaments, & laid waste their Cities, *Sapius ob pradam, quam ob delictum*, laith Suetonius, oftner for love of booty then for any offence by them committed, and afterwards supplied the expence of his civill warres, his triumphes, his shewes to the people, *evidentissimis rapinis & sacrilegijs*.



sacrilegys, by most notorious pillaging and sacrilege. And no marvell, since as witnesseth *Cicero* in the third booke of his Offices, hee had alwayes that of *Euripides* in his mouth.

*Si violandum est ius, imperij gratia  
Violandum est.*

If right for ought a man may violate,  
'Tis for a Kingdome.

And I see not, but that he might as safely hold, that justice is to be violated for treasure, by which Empire is to be gotten and maintained, as for Empire it selfe.

#### SECT. 4.

*Of the base and most unconscionable practises of Tiberius and Caligula, nay even of Vespasian himselfe for the heaping up of treasure.*

**N**OW if this were the opinion and practise of *Julius Caesar*, what should we expect from *Nero*, *Tiberius*, and *Caligula*: of whom the first wasted *Italy* by contributions and borrowing of money, ruined the provinces, and impoverished the confederates of the people of *Rome*, and the cities which were called free. Yea the Gods themselves were not priviledged from being made a prey: But the temples in the City were robbed, & the gold carried away, which the people of *Rome* in all ages, either in triumphs or vows, in prosperity or feare had dedicated to the Gods: Yea in *Achaia* and *Asia* not onely consecrated gifts, but the images of the Gods were taken away; *Acratus* and *Secundus Carinates* being sent thither of purpose. The second being presented with a goodly fish, he sent it to be sold in the market, and being designed heire by *Cn. Lentulus* one of the *Augures*, and a man of a great re-  
Tac. Annal. 15.  
11.  
Seneca epist. 97.  
Suet. cap. 49.

venewes, never left him till thorow feare and anguish hee had brought him to his grave. Also to pleasure *Quirinus* who had beene *Consull*, a wonderfull rich man, but childlesse, in hope to be his heire, he condemned his wife *Lepida* a noble and vertuous Lady, divorced from her husband after twenty yeares marriage, and accused of contriving his death by poyson long before. *Venon* likewise King of *Parthia*, who being driven out of his owne Kingdome, and betaking himselfe to the trust of the people of *Rome*, came to *Antiochia* with infinite treasures, he caused most perfidiously to bee robbed both of it, and of his life, and of his life for it.

*Verum ut hac in eo horrenda fuerunt, ita qua sequuntur dedecoris plena*, as these things in him were horrible, so were those that followed most abominable and shamefull, saith *Fulgosus*, in reference to *Caligula*, the successour to *Tiberius*, as well in vice as Empire. Some with threats he forced to name him their Heire, and if they recovered after the making of their wills, hee dispatched them by poyson, holding it ridiculous that they should long live after their wills were made. For the bringing in of money he set up stewes both of boyes and women in the palace it selfe, and sent some thorow the streetes to invite men thither for the in-  
Sueton. 38. et  
in sequentibus.



creasing of the *Emperours* renewes, and having by this and such like wretched meanes amassed huge summes of treasure, he to satiate his appetite, *contractanda pecunia cupidine incensus*, being inflamed with a longing desire of touching money, would sometimes walke upon heapes of gold, and sometimes as they lay spread abroad in a large roome, rowle himselfe over them starke naked. *O ingentem nimiamque avaritiam, quæ in tanto imperio tantum Principem excecavit in eam vilis abiectionemq; deduxisti, ut neque dedecus suum, neque imperij ignominiam agnosceret*, saith *Fulgosius*, most transcendent and excessive covetousnesse which blinded so great a Commander, and cast him into such extremity of basenesse as to become a publike Pandar, and a poysoner for love of money, which no ingenuous minded man, though pressed with extreame necessity, would practise though in private.

*Suet. cap. 16.*

But this was in these *Monsters* no miracle, I more wonder at *Vespasian*, who had the reputation (perchance by reason of their villanie) of a good *Emperour*; yet even he was so impotently covetous, that hee not onely called for the arreareages due in *Galbaes* time, but raised new tributes, & laid upon the Provinces more grievous impositions, doubling them in some places, *Negotiationes vel privato pudendas pro palam exercuit*, hee publicquely practised such kinde of traffique, as even a private man would shame to doe; taking up commodities at a cheape hand, that afterward he might vent them at dearer rates: neither did he spare to sell honours to such as sued for them, or absolutions to such as were accused, whether they proved guiltlesse or guilty, hee was thought of set purpose to have made choice of the most ravenous poling officers hee could any where finde out, and to have advanced them to the highest places, that being thereby growne rich, he might condemne their persons, and confiscate their goods, and these men, he was commonly said to use as sponges, *Quod quasi & siccos madefaceret, & exprimeret humentes*, because he both moistned them being dry, and wrung them out being moistned. When some of his speciall friends for his honour intended to erect to him a sumptuous statue worth a million of Sesterces, *Vos vero, inquit, mibi argentum date*, hee desired rather to receive from them the value thereof in ready coyne, as being lesse troublesome to them, and to himselfe more acceptable. Nay which was more base, he laid an imposition upon *Vrine*, and being by his Sonne *Titus* put in minde of the basenesse of it, hee tooke a peece of money received for that use, and putting it to his Sonnes nostrils, demaunded of him whether hee felt any other savour from it, then from any other money, adding withall, *Bonus odor lucris ex re qualibet*, the smell of gaine is good from any thing whatsoever.

*Deon. in Vesp.*



## S E C T. 5.

*That the whole Nation was deeply infected with the same vice.*

**A**ND to speake a truth, the whole body of this people was so farre possessed with this dropsie, that *Salvianus* makes it their *National* disease, *Avaritia inhumanitas proprium Romanorum malum*, Lib. 7. de Tro- videtur. inhumane covetousnesse is the disease proper to all the *Romans*. And with him accords *Mithridates* in *Iustin*, *Non temerè se lupi uberibus alitos* Lib. 36. *jaçtare, omnes enim habere luporum animos inexplēbiles, sanguinis, imperij, divitiarumque avidos esse & jejunos*, that they did not without reason boast themselves to be nourished from the dugges of a she Wolfe, in as much as they have all of them insatiable mindes of wolves, greedily thirsting after Empire, bloud and riches. And this well appeared in two publique *Acts* of theirs, the one was, that a peece of land being in controversie betweene the *Ardeatines* and the *Aricinians*, they both by joynt consent referred themselves to the arbitration of the *Romans*, binding themselves to stand to their award: but they adjudg'd it to themselves. The other was that the *State* having taken great summes of money of certaine tributary Cities to make them free, forced them afterward to pay their old tribute without restoring unto them the money they had paid for their freedome; which saith *Cicero* was *turpe imperio*, a shame to their Empire, *Piratarum enim melior fuit fides quàm Senatus*, for the faith of pirates was better then the faith of the Senate. This was most dishonest, yet I know not whether that which followes were not more dishonourable. Their greatest men tooke to farme their basest tributes before mentioned, and worse then those, yea & sued for them, *Non aliter quàm* Lib. 3. & 59. *militarem aliquam perfecturam, aut civilem Magistratum*, they bee the words of *Evagrius*, none otherwise then it had beene some great command in the warres, or some principall office in the Citie. And *Juvenal* speaking of those who from small matters were raised to great fortunes, thus describes them.

*Conducunt foricas, & cur non omnia? cum sint*

*Quales ex humili magna ad fastigia rerum*

*Extollit quæties voluit fortuna jocari.*

They draughts (and why not all things else?) doe hire,

Being such as fortune when shee would be merrie,

To highest place doth raise from lowest mire.

What marvell then if *Seneca* complaine, *Hæ ipsa res tot magistratus tot judices detinet, quæ Magistratus & Judices facit, pecunia*. This selfe-same thing which keepes in so many Magistrates and Judges in their places, is it which makes both Magistrates and Judges, to wit, money; *Mercatoresque & venales invicem facti, quarimus non quale sit quid, sed quanti*, and being become Merchants on all hands, we seeke not so much of what quality things are, but of what price. And all kinde of offices being thus purchased with money, as the places of Judicature were commonly bought, so was Justice openly sold. *Omnium sermone percrebuit in his judicys*



*dicys quæ nunc sunt, pecuniosum hominem, quamvis sit nocens, neminem posse damnari*, saith Cicero. It is rife in every mans mouth in these Courts of Justice, which now are, that a moneyed man, though he be guilty, cannot be condemned: and againe, *nihil tam sanctum quod non violari, nihil tam munitum quod non expugnari pecunia possit*: there is nothing so sacred which with money may not be violated, nothing so fenced which may not be razed.

Proper. 3. l. 2.

*Auro pulsa fides, auro venalia jura.*

The Lawes for gold  
Are bought and sould.

Ovid. lib. 2. de  
Arte.

*Aurea nunc verè sunt sacula, plurimus auro  
Venit honos, auro conciliatur amor.*

Now is the golden age indeede,  
Honour and friendship gold doth breede.

Salust.

Nay Catiline could say of Rome, *ô urbem venalem & maturè perituram si emptorem invenerit*! O mercenary citie and soone to be ruined by sale if it might but finde a Chapman! If a friend now deny not that which was pawned to him, and if hee bee so honest as to render the whole againe; this truely (saith the Satyrist) is a prodigious trust, and worthy registring in the Priests Annals:

Juven. lib. 3.  
Sat. 13.

*Nunc si depositum non inficitur amicus,  
Si reddat veterem cum tota arugine follem,  
Prodigiosa fides, & Thuscis digna libellis.*

And againe, the losse of money is more lamented then of the nearest friends,

--- *Majore domus gemitu, majore tumultu  
Planguntur nummi, quam funera.*---

So as even then was covetousnesse come to that height, as it could hardly by their owne confession, make so much as one step forward.

Ovid. l. 1. Fast.

*Tempore crevit amor, qui nunc est summus, habendi;  
Vix ultra quo jam progrediatur, habet.*

1. Tim. 6. 10.

Not without reason then have some found in the word *ROMA*, *Radix Omnium Malorum Avaritia*, Covetousnesse is the roote of all mischief, taking the first letters of those words as they lie in their order for the making up of that name. And not without proper signification did Rome take to her selfe the Eagle for her Ensigne, which as Job speaketh, *dwelleth and abideth on the rocke, upon the cragge of the rocke & the strong place: from thence shee seeketh the prey, and her eyes behold a farre off, her young ones also sucke up blood, and where the slaine are, there is he.* So as generally might be verified of them, what Claudian writes of Ruffinus,

Cap. 39. v. 28.  
29. 30.

*Plenus savitia, lucrique cupidine fervens,  
Non Tartassiacis illum satiarec arenis  
Tempestas pretiosa Tagi, non stagna rubentis  
Aurea Pactoli, totumque exhausserit Hamum  
Ardebit majore siti.*

Greedy of filthy gaine, and full of cruelty,  
Nor can Tartessian sands him of the pretious Tage,  
Or golden streames of red Pactolus satisfie,

Might



Might he all Hæmus drinke his thirst the more would rage.

Or Strozza of Scaurus.

*Scaurus habet villas, urbana palatia, nummos,*

*Pinguique innumeris pradia bobus arat:*

*Huic tamen assidue major succrescit habendi,*

*Nunquam divitijs exsatiata fames.*

Scaurus hath farmes, coyne, cities, palaces,  
With many an ox he fertile field he plowes:  
Yet wealth his hunger never satisfies,  
But his desire to have still greater growes.

## CHAP. 6.

of the Roman Luxurie in matter of incontinencie and drunkenesse.

### SECT. I.

A touch of the Roman Luxurie in generall, and in particular of the  
sinnes of the flesh.

**N**OW as the Roman covetousnesse was unsatiabie, and their cruelty  
unquenchable: so was their Luxury most incredible, were it not re-  
corded by their owne Writers.

*Nunc patimur longa pacis mala, se vior armis*

*Luxuria incumbit, victumque ulciscitur orbem,*

*Nullum crimen abest facinusque libidinis, ex quo*

*Paupertas Romana perit.*

*Juven. Sat. 6.*

Now suffer we the plagues and mischiefs of long peace,  
Now is the conquer'd world reveng'd by luxurie,  
Farre worse then armes, and since Rome's poverty did cease,  
There wanted no attempt of crime or lecherie.

*Pariterque & Luxuria nata est, & Carthago sublata,* saith *Pliny*, no sooner  
was Carthage vanquished by us, but we by luxurie: and these two, cove-  
tousnesse and luxurie mutually made way each for other:

*Luxuriamque lucris emimus luxuque rapinas.*

*Mar. lib. 4.*

Wee draw on luxurie by unjust gaine,  
And rapine by luxurie is drawne on againe.

*Ejusmodi tempora constat à Tacito in Annalibus esse descripta, quibus nulla  
unquam fuerunt turpissimis vitijs fœdiora, neque aut virtutum steriliora, aut  
virtutibus inimiciora,* as witnesseth *Casaubon* in his Preface to *Polybius*:

It is evident that those times are by *Tacitus* described in his *Annals*,  
then which never were any more fruitfull in most shamefull and abho-  
minable vices, or of vertues more barren, or to vertue more opposite:

The branches of the Roman luxurie were, monstrous excesse in all kinde of  
uncleannes & incontinencie, in diet, in apparrell, in retinew of servants, in buil-  
dings & furniture of their houses, in bathings & annointings of their bodies, in  
prodigall gifts, and lastly, in setting forth their playes and Theatricall shewes.

I am not ignorant that *Meursius* a Netherlander hath composed an en-  
tire



tire booke purposely of this subject, intituling it, *De luxu Romanorum* of the Roman Luxurie, and concluding it with this censure, *damno, damne luxum vestrum Romani, & in hac sententia concludo*, O ye Romans, I damne, I damne your Luxurie, and with this sentence I conclude: yet is it certaine that hee hath omitted many materiall Collections which might have beene added, and the most observable in him I shall not faile to make choyce and use of. First then for their *excesse in the sinnes of the flesh*, it is evident that they acted more then is now commonly knowne to *Christians*, and I rather desire the foulness thereof should bee eternally buried in oblivion, then by exposing it to publique view defile my penne with it, and perchance teach whiles I reprehend. The *Apostle* in the first to the *Romans* hath given us a touch thereof; yet so as no doubt but hee concealed much that hee knew, and many things by them, were practised, which came not to his knowledge. Though this infection were so generally spread, & had taken so deepe roote amongst them, that they made but a jest of the foulest sinnes in that kinde. They had certaine pastimes, which they tearmed *Ludos Florales*, in honour of *Flora*, a notorious strumpet. *Qui ludi tanto devotius quanto turpius celebrari solent*, saith *S. Augustine* in his second booke *de Civitate Dei*, and 27 chapter; which games of theirs the more dishonestly, the more devoutly they were celebrated. In these the *common queanes*, which got their maintenance by that trade, ran up and downe the streetes by daylight, & in the night with burning torches in their hands, having their whole bodies starke naked, and expressing the most beastly motions & gestures, and uttering the most filthy speeches and songs that could possibly be imagined. To these the *Poet* alludes.

Alexander ab  
Alexandro. 6.8.

Ovid. FASTER. 5.

*Turba quidem cur hos celebret meretricia ludos,  
Non ex difficili cognita causa fuit.*

Why queanes these playes doe celebrate, I trow  
'Tis not so difficult the cause to know.

Yet to these shamefull, or rather shamelesse pastimes were their youth admitted, thereby adding, as it were, fire to tinder, nay the sagest *Senatours*, gravest *Matrones*, and severest *Magistrates* were well content to grace them with their presence, as it had beene some very commendable or profitable exercise.

Ovid.

*Nobilis hac virgo, Matronaque, virque, puerque  
Spectat, & ex magna parte Senatus adest.  
Nec satis incastris temerari vocibus aures,  
Assuescunt oculi multa pudenda pati.*

De Gubernat.  
Dei. lib. 6.

But these *Florall* playes were but once a yeare; their *enterludes* in the *Theater*, acted upon the open stage, were almost daily, yet so abominable, that the godly devoute *Fathers* of the *Primitive Christian Church* can hardly write of them with patience, specially *Salvianus*, whose words to this purpose are very smart and piercing: *Talia sunt*, saith he, *quæ illic fiunt, ut ea non solum dicere, sed etiam recordari aliquis sine pollutione non possit. Alia quippe crimina singulas sibi in nobis vendicant portiones, ut cogitationes sordida animum, impudici aspectus oculos, auditus improbi aures, ita ut cum ex his unum aliquid erraverit, reliqua possint carere peccatis,* in  
Theatru



*Theatris verò nihil horum reatu vacat, quia & concupiscentijs animus & auditu aures, & aspectu oculi polluuntur, quæ quidem omnia tam flagitiosa sunt, ut explicare ea quispiam atque eloqui salvo pudore non valeat. Quis enim integro verecundiæ statu dicere queat illas rerum turpium imitationes, illas vocum ac verborum obscænitates, illas motuum turpitudines, illas gestuum fæditates? quæ quanti sint criminis, vel hinc intelligi potest, quod & relationem sui interdicunt.* His conclusion is, *Quæ cum ita sint, ecce qualia aut omnes, aut penè omnes Romani agunt.* Of such a nature they are which are there acted, that a man cannot speake of them, nor well remember them without some touch of pollution: Other offences challenge to themselves but a part of us, as impure thoughts the minde, unchast fights the eyes, wicked speeches the eares; so that when one of these is tainted, yet the rest may bee cleare from pollution, but in the Theatre none of them is free from the guilt of infection, in as much as the minde is there defiled with corrupt thoughts, the affections with naughty desires, the eares by hearing, and the eyes by seeing, all which are so lewd, that no man without blushing can so much as name them, much lesse fully describe them. For what modest man is there, who can recount those representations of beastly actions, those filthy speeches, and motions, and gestures? which how sinfull they are, we may from hence conjecture, that they cannot well be related: which being so, behold what manner of things, all, or at least-wise the greatest part of the Romans practise. And this may wee adde to *Salvianus*, that the Actors of these Comedies were by the state it selfe highly regarded, and richly rewarded, as if they had done some profitable peece of service for the Common-wealth. But this kinde of *luxurie*, as being loathsome in the very handling I briefly passe over, as men lightly skippe over quagmires, and proceed to their luxury in diet, and first of their *excesse in drinking*.

## SECT. 2.

*Of their excesse in drinking.*

THIS we may partly guesse at, by that which *Ammianus Marcellinus* writes of their pots, *graviora gladijs pocula erant*, their pots were heavier then their swords: Among the rest they had a kinde of cups which *Horace* calls *Ciboria*.

---*Oblivioso lævia massico*

*Carm. l. 2. od. 7.*

*Ciboria imple.*

Goe fill the biggest cups you may,  
With liquor that drives care away.

Thought to bee the leaves of the *Egyptian* beane, which are so broad, which *Dioscorides* for their largeness compares them to a bonnet; *Theophrastus* to a *Thessalian* hat; & *Pliny* thus describes them under the name of *Colocassia*. The leaves of *Colocassia* are exceeding large, and comparable to the broadest that any tree beareth, of these plaited and infolded one within another, the *Egyptians* make them cuppes of diverse

M m

formes



Lib. 1. Animad.  
cap. 10.

formes & fashions, out of which they take no small pleasure to drinke; where by the leaves of *Colocassia*, *Adrianus Iunius* conceiveth *Horace* his *Ciboria* to be described. Such a kinde of cup, it seemes, was that which that mad fellow speakes of in *Plautus*, upon casting the dice.

*Plautus in Curs.  
cultone.*

*Iacto basilicum, propino magnum poculum,  
Ille ebibit.*

I threw the principall chance, & thereupon begin an health in the greatest bowle, and hee instantly pledges me the whole. Now the principall chance was *Venus*.

*Hor. Carm. l. 2.  
8d. 7.*

--- *Quem Venus arbitrum  
Dicet bibendi.*

Whom *Venus* shall name  
To be Judge of the game.

And this Lord of mis-rule in their comperations or drunken meetings, was cal'd *Modiperator*, or *Magister*; his office was to prescribe rules, and to see them executed, and there hee commanded as a Sovereigne Monarch in his kingdome.

*Horace Carm.  
l. 1. od. 4.*

*Nec regna vini sortire talis*

Nor shalt thou any more by chance of dice  
Win *Bacchus* kingdome, or the drinking price.

Their rules of drinking they borrowed, for the most part, from the *Grecians*, the most debosht drunken Nation, I thinke that ever was, in so much, as their very name is for that quality growne into a proverbe, both in *Latine* and *Englisb*. Of these rules, one was to drinke downe the evening-starre, and drinke up the morning-starre, *ad Diurnam stellam matutinam potantes*, saith *Plautus*, another commonly practised among them, was the drinking of so many healths as there were letters in their *Mistresses* name.

*Pergacari, a  
merry Greeke.  
In men.*

*Martiall.*

*Navia sex Cyathis, septem Iustina bibatur,  
Quinque Lycas, Lyde quatuor, Ida tribus.  
Six healths to Navia drinke, seaven to Iustina,  
To Lycas five, to Lyde foure, and three to Ida.*

And yet it should seeme by *Plutarch* in his *Symposiaks*, that they had a superstitious conceit of drinking foure healths, perchance because an even number.

*Aut quinque bibe, aut tres, aut non quatuor:  
Three drinke, if more,  
Five, but not foure.*

These drunken matches were in a manner the dayly trade of their Poets,

*Nulla manere diu nec vivere carmina possunt,  
Qua scribuntur aqua potoribus.  
Who nought but water drinke, their rime  
Cannot endure or live long time.*

*Horat. Carm.  
l. 1. od. 37.*

*Nunc est bibendum, nunc pede libero  
Pulsanda tellus.*

Now let us drinke out wit,  
And dance and frolike it.

And



And the *Epigrammatist* tells us of himselfe, that sober, he was no bodie for invention, but drunke, fiftene Poets strong.

*Possum nil ego sobrius, bibenti  
Succurrunt mihi quindecim poetae.*

*Mart. lib. 11.  
Epig. 7.*

Neither were their very women free from this excesse. Nay *Seneca* assures us, that in this practise they put downe the men themselves; *Non minus pervigilant, non minus potant, & oleo & mero viros provocant, æquè in- vitis ingesta visceribus peros reddunt, & vinum omne vomitu remetiuntur, æque nivem rodunt solatium stomachi æstuantis*: They no lesse sit up late in the night, they drinke no lesse then men themselves, nay they challenge men to the annointing of their bodies, and the swilling downe of wine, regorging what they eate and drinke, as well as they; neither doe they forbear to chaw upon snow, as men doe for the refreshing of their boyling stomackes. And this custome of drinking snow and yce in their wine was so common, that they made a trade of selling it, and set up shoppes thereof: to which custome *Solomon*, it should seeme, alludes *as the cold of snow in the time of harvest, so is a faithfull messenger to them that send him*.

*Epist. 96.*

*Sen. nat. quæ. 4.*

*12.*

*Prov. 25. 13.*

### SECT. 3.

*The same confirmed by the testimony of Pliny and Plutarch.*

**T**His vice of *excessive drinking* is by some thought to be the *Epidemicall* proper disease of this age: But he that will be pleased patiently to peruse, & advisedly to consider this ensuing discourse, which I shall here annex out of *Pliny*, will I presume, alter his opinion therein, not by excusing the present, but by not excusing the former ages, and the better learne to detest this beastly vice in both. Thus then writeth hee, no lesse sharply then elegantly of this vice; and the great excesse thereof in his time. 'If a man marke and consider well the 'course of our life, wee are in no one thing more busie and curious, nor 'take greater paines then about wine, as if *Nature* had not given to man 'the liquor of water, which of all other is the most wholesome drinke; 'and wherewithall other Creatures are well contented: But we think- 'ing it not sufficient to take wine our selves, give it also to our horses, 'mules, & labouring beasts, and force them against nature to drinke it. 'Besides such paines, so much labour, so great cost & charges we are at 'to have it, such delight & pleasure we take in it, that many of us thinke 'they are borne to nothing else, and can skill of none other contentment in this 'life: Notwithstanding when all is done, it transporteth & carrieth a- 'way the right wit and minde of men, it causeth furie & rage, and indu- 'ceth, nay it casteth headlong as many as are given thereunto into a 'thousand vices & misdemeanours; and yet forsooth to the end that we 'may take the more cups, and powre it downe the throat more lustily, 'we let it runne thorow a strainer for to abate and geld, as it were, the 'force thereof; yea and other devices there bee to whet our appetite 'thereunto, and cause us to quaffe more freely; nay to draw on their

*Plin. l. 4.*



drinke men are not afraid to take *poysons*, while some take hemlocke before they sit downe, because they must drinke perforce then, or else die for it; others the powder of the *Pumish* stone and such like stuffe, which I am abashed to rehearse, & teach those that be ignorant of such lewdnes. And yet we see those that be the stoutest & most redoubted drinkers, even those that take themselves most secured of danger to lie sweating so long in the baines & brothell-houses for to concoct their surfet of wine, that otherwhiles they are carried forth dead for their labour: You shall have some againe, when they have beene in the hot-house not to stay so long as they may recover their beddes, no not so much as to put on their shirts, but presently in the place all naked, as they are puffing and labouring still for winde, catch up great cans and huge tankards of wine (to shew what lusty and valiant *Champions* they be) set them one after another to their mouth, poure the wine downe the throat without more adoe, that they might cast it up againe, and so take more in the place, vomiting & revomiting twice or thrice together that which they have drunke, and still make quarrell to the pot, as if they had beene borne into this world for none other end but to spill and marre good wine, or as if there were no way else to spend & waste the same but thorow mans body. And to this purpose were taken up at *Rome* these forraine exercises of vaunting and dancing the *Moriske*, from hence came the tumbling of wrasters in the dust and mire together, for this they shew their broad breasts, beare up the heads, & carry their necks farre backe, in all which gesticulations, what doe they else, but professe that they seeke meanes to procure thirst, and take occasion to drinke: But come now to their pots that they use to quaffe and drinke out of: are there not graven in them faire pourtraies thinke you of adulteries? as if drunkennesse it selfe were not sufficient to kindle the heat of lust, and to teach them wantonnes. Thus is wine drunke out of *libidinous cups*, & more then that, he that can quaffe best and play the drunkard most, shall have the greatest reward. But what shall we say to those (would a man thinke it?) that hire a man to eat also as much as he can drinke, & upon that condition, covenant to yeeld him the price for his wine-drinking and not otherwise. You shall have another that will enjoyne himselfe to drinke every denier that he hath wonne at dice. Now when they are come to that once, & he thoroughly whittled, then shall you have them cast their wanton eyes upon mens wives, then fall they to court faire Dames and Ladies, and openly bewray their folly even before their jealous and sterne husbands, then I say the secrets of their heart be opened and displayed. Some you shall have even in the midst of their cups make their wills even at the board where they sit, others againe cast out bloody and deadly speeches at randome, & cannot hold but blurt out those words which afterwards they are forced to eate againe, for thus many a man by a lavish tongue in his wine, hath come by his death & had his throat cut. And verily the world is now grown to this passe, that whatsoever a man saith in his cups is held for sooth, as if *truth were the daughter of wine*. But say they escape these dangers, certes speed they never so wel,

the



'the best of them all never seeth the Sun rising, so drowzie and sleepe  
 'they are in bed every morning, neither live they to be old men, but die  
 'in the strength of their youth. Hence commeth it that some of them  
 'looke pale with a paire of flaggie cheekes, others have bleared & sore  
 'eyes, and there bee of them that shake so with their hands that they  
 'cannot hold a full cup, but shed and powre it downe the floore. Gene-  
 'rally they all dreame fearefully, (which is the very beginning of their  
 'hell in this life) or else have restless nights. And finally if they chance  
 'to sleepe (for a due guerdon and reward of their drunkenness) they  
 'are deluded with imaginary conceits of *Venus* delights, defiled with  
 'filthy abominable pollutions: & thus being sleeping & waking they sin  
 'with pleasure. Well, what becomes the morrow after? they belch  
 'sowre, their breath stinketh of the barrell, and telleth them what they  
 'did over night, otherwise they forget what ever they did or said: they  
 'remember no more, then if their memory were utterly extinct. And  
 'yet our jolly *drunkards* give out and say that they alone enjoy this life,  
 'and rob other men of it: But who seeth not that ordinarily they loose  
 'not onely the yesterday past, but the morrow to come? Of all Nati-  
 'ons the *Parthians* would have the glory for this goodly vertue of wine-  
 'bibbing: and among the *Greekes* *Alcibiades* indeed deserved the best  
 'game for this worthy feate. But here with us at *Rome*, *Nivellius Tor-*  
 '*quatus* a *Millanois* wan the name from all *Romans* and *Italians* both.  
 'This *Lombard* had gon thorow all honourable degrees of dignity in  
 '*Rome*, he had beene *Pretor*, and attained to the place of a *Proconsull*. In  
 'all these offices of state he wonne no great name: but for drinking in  
 'the presence of *Tiberius* 3 gallons of wine at one draught, and before hee  
 'tooke his breath againe, he was dubbed *Knight* by the surname of *Tri-*  
 '*congius*, as one would say, the 3 gallon *Knight*. And the Emperour, sterne,  
 'severe and cruell otherwise though he was, now in his old age, (for in  
 'in his youthfull dayes hee was given overmuch to drinking of wine)  
 'would delight to behold this worthy & renowned *Knight* with great  
 'wonder and admiration. For the like rare gift & commendable qua-  
 'lity men thinke verily that *C. Piso* first rose, and afterwards was advan-  
 'ced to the *Provost-ship* of the *Citie of Rome* by the said *Tiberius*: and  
 'namely for that in his court being now Emperour, he sate two dayes &  
 'two nights drinking continually, & never stirred foot from the board.  
 'And verily *Drusus Cesar* (by report) in nothing more resembled his  
 'Father *Tiberius* than in taking his drinke. But to retorne againe to  
 'noble *Torquatus*, herein consisted his excellencie, that he did it accor-  
 'ding to art (for this you must take withall, there is an *Art of drinking*,  
 'grounded upon certaine rules and precepts) *Torquatus* (I say) dranke  
 'he never so much, was not knowne at any time to falter in his tongue,  
 'never eased himselfe by vomiting, never let it goe the other way un-  
 'der board: how late soever he sate up at the wine over night, he would  
 'be sure to relieve the morning watch and sentinell. He dranke most of  
 'any man at one entire draught before the pot went from his head: and  
 'for smaller draughts besides, he went beyond all other in number, his  
 'winde hee never tooke whilst the cup was at his mouth, but justly ob-



served the rule of drinking with one breath : hee was not knowne to  
 spit for all this : and to conclude, he would not leave a drop behinde  
 in the cuppe, not so much as would dash against the pavement, and  
 make the least sound to bee heard, a speciall point and precise law to  
 prevent the deceit of those that drinke for a wager. A singular glory  
 no doubt in him, and a rare felicity. *Tergilla* challenged *M. Cicero* the  
 younger, sonne to that *M. Cicero* the famous Oratour, and reproached  
 him to his face, that ordinarily hee dranke two gallons at once, and  
 that one time above the rest when hee was drunke, hee flung a pot at  
*M. Agrippa* his head. And truly this is one of the fruits and feates of  
 drunkennesse. But blame not young *Cicero* if in this point yet he desi-  
 red to surmount him that slew his father, *M. Antonius* I meane ; for he  
 before that time strained himselfe, and strove to winne the best game  
 in this feate, making profession thereof, as may appeare by a booke  
 which hee compiled and set forth with this title, *Of his owne drunken-*  
*nesse* : wherein he was not ashamed to avow and justifie his excesse and  
 enormities that way, and thereby approved (as I take it) under pre-  
 tence and colour of his drunkennesse all those out-rages of his, all  
 those miseries and calamities that he brought upon the whole world.  
 This Treatise hee vomited and spued out a little before the battle of  
*Actium*, wherein hee was defeated. Whereby it may appeare very  
 plainly, that as he was drunken before with the blood of the *Citizens*,  
 so still hee was the more blood-thirsty : For this is a property which  
 necessarily followeth this vice, that the more a man drinketh, the  
 more hee may, and is alwayes dry. And herein spake to good pur-  
 pose a certaine Embassadour of the *Scythians*, saying, that the *Parthi-*  
*ans* the more they drunke the thirstier they were. To this testimony  
 of *Pliny* may not unfitly bee added that of *Plutarch* in his booke of the  
 precepts of health, speaking of the excessive drinking of the gallants of  
 that time, where hee sayeth it was growne into a Proverbe, that *Wine*  
*was to bee expelled by wine, and one surfet digested by another* : and though  
 hee condemned this opinion and practise of the gluttons and drunk-  
 ards of his time ; yet what himselfe a strict and severe Philosopher  
 thought of drunkennesse may partly appeare, by that which hee makes  
*Zeuxippus* to speake in delivering his precepts of health. Wee ought,  
 saith hee, when we are bidden to great feasts and meetings, to be pre-  
 pared before hand (because we know wee shall be inforced to drinke  
 round in our turnes, and to answer every ones challenge) as to keepe a  
 roome in our stomakes both for meates, and also for fine cates and jnn-  
 ketting dishes ; and therefore bring an appetite fresh and ready for any  
 such thing.



## S E C T. 4.

*In particular this excesse of the Romans in drinking, is confirmed by the practise of Anthony, specially at his being with Cleopatra, as also by the practise of Clodius sonne to Esope the Tragedian in drinking of dissolved pearle.*

**N**OW because *Pliny* hath instanced in *Anthony* as one of the most notorious drunkards among the *Romans*, not onely for the practise but for the defence thereof, notwithstanding his eminent place and great command, it shall not bee amisse a little farther to enquire into some particulars touching his great excesse therein. It is a most shamefull one which *Cicero* chargeth him with: *Sed hac quæ robustioris improbitatis sunt omittamus; loquamur potius de iniquissimo genere levitatis. Tu istis faucibus, istis lateribus, ista gladiatoria totius corporis firmitate, tantum vini in Hippie nuptijs exhauseras, ut tibi necesse esset in Populi Romani conspectu vomere postridie. O rem non modo visu fœdam, sed etiam auditu! si inter cœnam in tuis immanibus illis poculis, hoc tibi accidisset, quis non turpe diceret? in cœtu verò populi negotium publicum gerens, magister Equitum, cui ructare turpe esset, is vomens frustis esculentis vinum redolentibus, gremium suum & totum tribunal implevit.* But those villanies which require more strength let us omit, & speake rather of his wicked kind of lightnesse. Thou with those chaps of thine, with those sides, with that ruffian-like strength of thy whole body at the wedding of *Hippia*, didst take in so much wine, that the next day thou must needs vomit in the open view of the people of *Rome*, a filthy act not onely to be seene but to be heard, if at supper-time in the midst of those thy monstrous pots the same had fallen out, who would not have cryed out shame on thee? but now the Master of the Horse being about a publique businesse in an assembly of the people, where it had beene a shame for such a man to belch, vomiting out gobbets of flesh smelling strongly, therewith filled both his owne bosome and the whole court of *Iustice*.

This was indeede very foule in it selfe, though but once done, even without the *Oratours* Rhetoricall aggravation: but his daily practise of excessive drinking during his abode with *Cleopatra* was lesse excusable, because more frequent; touching which *Pliny* relates two memorable stories, though in different kindes, the one was this.

Here by the way (saith he) I cannot choose but remember the device of *Queene Cleopatra*, full of fine wit, and as wicked & mischievous withall. For at what time *Anthony* prepared the expedition and journey of *Actium* against *Augustus*, and stood in some doubt and jealousy of the said *Queene*, for all the faire shew that shee made of gratifying him, and doing him all pleasure, hee was at his taster, and would neither eate nor drinke at her table without assay made. *Cleopatra* seeing how timorous he was, and minding yet to make good sport and game at his needlesse feare and foolish curiosity, caused a Chaplet to be made for *M. Antonius*, having before dipped all the tips and edges of the flowers that



went to it in a strong and ranke poyson, and being thus prepared, set it upon the head of the said *Anthony*. Now when they had sitten at meate a good while, and drunke themselves merry, the *Queene* began to make a motion & challenge to *Anthony* for to drinke each of them their chaplets; and withall began unto him in a cup of wine seasoned and spiced as it were with those flowres which shee ware her owne selfe. O the shrewd and unhappy wit of a woman when shee is so disposed: who would ever have misdoubted any danger of hidden mischief herein? Well, M. *Anthony* yeelded to pledge her: off goeth his owne garland, and with the flowres minced small, dresseth his owne cup. Now when hee was about to set it to his head, *Cleopatra* presently put her hand betweene & stayed him from drinking, and withall uttered these words: 'My deare heart and best beloved *Anthony*, now see what she is whom 'thou so much dost dread & stand in feare of, that for thy security there 'must waite at thy cup and trencher extraordinary tasters; a strange & 'new fashion I wis, and a curiosity more nice then needefull; loe how I 'am not to seeke of meanes & opportunities to compasse thy death, if I 'could finde in my heart to live without thee; which said, she called for a prisoner immediatly out of the goale, whom she caused to drinke off the wine which *Anthony* had prepared for himselfe: no sooner was the goblet from his lippes againe, but the poore wretch died presently in the place.

The other story he thus relates, Two onely pearles there were together, the fairest & richest that ever have beene knowne in the world, and those possessed at one time by *Cleopatra* the last *Queene* of *Egypt*, which came into her hands by the meanes of the great Kings of the *East*, and were left unto her by descent. This *Princesse* when *Marcus Antonius* had strained himselfe to do her all the pleasure he possibly could, & had feasted her day by day most sumptuously and spared for no cost: in the height of her pride and wanton bravery (as being a noble *Cyprian* and a *Queene* withall) began to debase the expence and provision of *Anthony*, and make no reckoning of all his costly fare. When he there at demanded againe how it was possible to goe beyond this magnificence of his, she answered againe, that shee would spend upon him in one supper 100 thousand *Sestertij*, *Anthony* who would needes know how that might bee, (for he thought it was impossible) lay'd a great wager with her about it, and she bound it againe and made it good. The morrow after when this was to be tryed, and the wager either to be wonne or lost, *Cleopatra* made *Anthony* a supper (because she would not make default, and let the day appointed passe) which was sumptuous & royall enough, howbeit there was no extraordinary service seene upon the board: Whereat *Antonius* laughed her to scorne, and by way of mockery, required to see a bill with the account of the particulars. Shee againe said, whatsoever had beene served up already, was but the overplus above the rate and proportion in question, affirming still, that shee would yet in that supper make up the full summe that shee was sealed at: yea her selfe alone would eate above that reckoning, and her owne supper should cost six hundred thousand *Sestertij*: and with that

*Cenam paravit  
post lucubilem  
Macrobium Sat.  
3. 17.*

7 com.



commanded the second service to bee brought in. The Servitours that waited at her trencher ( as they had in charge before ) set before her onely one crewet of sharp vinegar, the strength whereof is able to dissolve pearles. Now shee had at her eares hanging those two most pretious pearles, the singular and only jewels in the world, and even *Natures* wonder. As *Anthony* looked wistly upon her, and expected what shee would doe, she tooke one of them from her eare, steeped it in the vinegar, and so soone as it was liquified, dranke it off. And as she was about to doe the like by the other: *L. Plancius* the judge of that wager, laid fast hold upon it with his hand, and pronounced withall, that *Anthony* had lost the wager: whereat the man fell into a passion of anger. There was an end of one pearle: But the fame of the fellow thereof may goe therewith. For after that this brave *Queene*, the winner of so great a wager, was taken prisoner and deprived of her royall estate, that other pearle was cut in twaine, that in memoriall of that one halfe supper of theirs, it should remaine unto posterity, hanging at both the eares of *Venus* at *Rome* in the temple *Pantheon*.

And yet, saith the same *Pliny*, as prodigall as these were, they shall not goe away with the prize in this kinde, but shall loose the name of the chiefe and principall in superfluity of expence. For long before their time, *Clodius* the sonne of *Æsop* the *Tragedian Poet*, the onely heire of his Father who died exceeding wealthy, practised the semblable in pearles of great price: so that *Anthony* need not be over proud of his *triumvirate*, seeing that he hath to match him in all his magnificence one little better then a *stage-player*: Who upon no wager at all lay'd, ( and that was more princely and done like a *King* ) but only in a bravery, and to know what tast pearles had, mortified them in vinegar and drunke them up. And finding them to content his palate wonderous well, because he would not have all the pleasure by himselfe, and know the goodnesse thereof alone, he gave to every guest at his table one pearle a peece to drinke in like manner.

This madnesse of *Clodius*, *Horace* thus describes.

*Filius Æsopi detractam ex aure Metellæ*  
*( Scilicet ut decies solidum exsorberet ) aceto*  
*Diluit ingentem baccam, qui sanior ac si*  
*Illud idem in rapidum flumen jaceretue cloacam*  
 The sonne of *Æsop* from *Metellæ* eare,  
 ( That he at once ten thousand sols might drinke )  
 Pluckt off, and it dissolu'd in vinegar,  
 As wise as if h' had thrown't into a sinke.

And therefore *Valerius* in expresse terms calls him, *non solum perdita sed etiam furiosa luxuria juvenem, amplissimum patrimonium tanquam amaram sarcinam quam celerimè abijcere cupientem*; a young man not only of a dissolute but of a frantique kinde of *Luxury*, striving to cast away with all the speede hee might a goodly patrimony as if it had bin some grievous burthen.



## SECT. 5.

Of excessive drinkers among the Romans in regard of the quantity of the liquor, and how both their Princes and people were all generally tainted with this vice.

Ep. 63. ad Con-  
tubernacles suos

**T**Hese were *luxurious drinkers* in regard of the *pretiousnes* of the liquor, such as I thinke this age hath not heard of, & God forbid it should. Now for excesse in *quantity* of wine at one draught or one sitting, *Lipsius* hath written a large *Epistle*, wherein he hath made a collection of many examples, borrowed from the ancient *Historians* to that purpose, the title of it is, *de potoribus & edonibus*, of excessive drinkers and eaters, and beginning with the first of these he thus makes his entrance. *Quos ubi & quando non est invenire? in veteri & nostro aro, in noto & novo orbe videas, & Plinij dicto, nulla in parte mundi cessare ebrietatem.* Which kinde of men where and when shall you not finde? you may see them as well in the old as in our age, both in the knowne and new world, and to use *Plynies* speech, no part of the world is free from them. To let goe the *Grecians*, and those *Romans* already named, out of *Spartianus* hee tels us of one *Firmus*, who under *Aurelian* was Deputy of *Egypt*; this man being challenged by *Barbarus* a famous drinker, *Sitalas duas plenas mero duxit*, hee tooke off two buckets full of wine. *Bonofus* was such another who lived about the same time, of whom the same *Emperour*, as witnesseth the same *Authour*, was wont to say, *non ut vivat natus est, sed ut bibat*, he was borne not to live, but to drinke: & being hang'd for some misdemeanour, they jeasted on him, *amphoram pendere, non hominem*, that a barrell or tankard hung there, not a man: But that which *Capitolinus* reports of the *Emperour Maximinus* is almost incredible: *Bibisse saepe in die vini Capitolinam amphoram*, that he often dranke in one day an *Amphora* of the *Capitol*, an *Amphora* containing of our measure nine gallons, counting a gallon and a pinte to the *Congius*, whereof the *Amphora* containes eight; *Trepidarem hac scribere*, saith *Lypsius*, *sed bonus & priscæ fidei Author adserit, quam ego non sugillem*: I should feare to write these things, but that I vouch it from an *Authour* of good credit, which I durst not impeach or question. Yet one instance beyond this againe he brings out of *Vopiscus*, in the life of *Aurelian*, of one *Phagon*, who dranke out in one day *plus orca*; what measure this *Orca* held, I cannot well determine, neither could *Lypsius* himselfe, yet thus much hee confidently affirmes of it, *Scio vas vinarium fuisse & amphorâ quicquam majus, sed quanto mihi latet*, I know for certaine that it was a vessell of wine, and that bigger then the *Amphora*, but how much I know not. To these may bee added that memorable epiraph found at *Rome* without

*Cent. 1. cap. 94*: the gate *Capena*, as witnesseth *Camerarius*.

*Heus, hic situs est Offellius Buratius Bibulus,*

*Qui dum vixit, aut bibit aut minxit. Abi praeceps.*

Heare you, here lies buried *Offellius Buratius Bibulus*,  
Who whiles hee lived, either powred in liquor or powred  
it forth. Enough; goe, bee gone.

Now



Now that which most of all infected the state with this beastly vice, was, that the *Emperours* themselves were deeply infected with it, both heartily affecting it themselves, and highly rewarding it in others. *Tiberius Nero*, *propter nimiam vini aviditatem*, saith *Suetonius*, by reason of his excessive drinking, was nick-named *Biberius Mero*; and besides, *Piso*, whom *Pliny* told us before, he advanced to the *Provostship* of the city for that quality, hee likewise for the same promoted *Flaccus Pomponius* to the presidentship of the Province of *Syria*, stiling them in his letters patents, *lucundissimos & omnium horarum amicos*, his most pleasant companions and friends for all seasons: But that which exceeded the rest, and indeede reason it selfe, was, that *ignotissimum Quastura candidatum nobilissimis anteposuit*, ob *epotam in convivio propinante se vini amphoram*, that he preferred a base fellow, who was a sutor for the *Treasurershippe*, before the most noble and worthy that stood in competition with him, only for the taking off of a *Amphora* of wine at a feast which himselfe had begun. Now who would not strive to excell and exceed in this lewd practise, when it was in such request and esteeme with the greatest *Commanders*? the multitude soone conforming themselves to their manners, specially in naughtines, and being thereunto encouraged by commendation and rewards. And how farre this *unmanly* vice had infected the Commons, may apeare by that of *Macrobius*, who affirmes, that at that time when *Lex Fannia* was made against drunkennes, *eo res redierat, ut plerique ex plebe Romana vino madidi in comitium venirent, & ebris de Reipub: salute consulerent*; to such a passe were things brought, that the greatest part of the common people of *Rome* came loaden with wine into the Counsell-house, and being drunke, consulted of the safety of the state. Saturnal. l. 3. c. 17.

## S E C T. 6.

*Of the costlinesse and curious workmanshippe of the vessels out of which they dranke, which was likewise a meanes to draw them on to excessive drinking.*

**N**OW as I began this discourse of *drunkennesse* with the greatnes, so will I end it with the *costlinesse* and *curious workmanship* of the vessels out of which they dranke, which was likewise a meanes to draw them on to excessive drinking. The world (saith *Pliny*) is given to such inconstancie, as touching silver plate, that a wonder it is to see the nature of men, how variable they be in the fashion and making of such vessels: For no workmanship will please them long. Onewhile we must have our plate out of *Furnius* his shop, another while we will bee furnished from *Clodius*: And againe in a new fit, none will content us but of *Gratius* his making (for our cupbords of plate & tables, forsooth, must beare the name of such & such goldsmiths shops.) Moreover, when the toy takes us in the head, all our delight is in chased and embossed plate; or else so carved, engraven, and deepe cut in, as it is rough againe in the hand, wrought in imagerie or flower worke, as if the painter had drawne



drawne them. These *celatures* in their drinking cups were so fram'd, that they might put them on or take them off at pleasure, & were therefore called *Emblemata*. Such was that, whereof the *Satyrist* speaks.

Juvenal. Satyr.

--- *Stantem extra pocula caprum.*

x.

--- A goat standing out from the cup.

Plin. l. 33. c. 11.

Idem. 36. 7.

Juven. Satyr. 6.

Two of this kinde wrought by the hand of *Mensor*, cost *Lucius Crassus* the *Orator* one hundred thousand *Sesterces*: Sometimes were they made of *Onix* stones drawne out of the mountaines of *Arabia*, sometimes of mother of pearle, or some rare pretious shels.

*Cum perfusa mero spumant unguenta Falerno,  
Cum bibitur concha.*

When their *Falernian* wines mingled with oyntments crop,  
And when they drinke in shels.

Lil. 33. proam.

And all these kinds they richly inamel'd with pearles and pretious stones; we drinke, saith *Pliny*, in rooes of pearle, and garnish our pots with emerals; it delights us to hold the *Indies* in our hands as a provocation to drunkennes, and gold is now become but an *accessorie*. And for this reason had they some at their feasts set to watch their drinking vessell.

Juven. Satyr. 5.

--- *Custos affixus ibidem*

*Qui numeret gemmas, unguisque observet acutos.*

Fast by some one is set to watch and tell the plate,  
Least any be purloyn'd by some lime-fingred mate.

In Panegyrico.

6. in Verrem.

De beneficiis, l.

3. c. 9.

37. 2.

Neither were they content to garnish their cups with pearle and pretious stones, but made them of *entire gemmes*, they thought not themselves dainty enough, saith *Pacatus*, *nisi luxuria intervertisset annum, nisi hyberna poculis rosa innatassent, nisi astitam in gemmis capacibus glaciem falerna fregissent*, unlesse luxury had changed the season of the yeare, unlesse winter roses swam upon the top of their pots, unlesse their pleasant wines dissolved the summer yce in a large gemme. And such a one was that which *Tully* mentions; *Erat etiam vas vinarium ex una gemma praegrandi trulla excavata cum manubrio aureo*: There was likewise a drinking cuppe for wine made of one entire gemme or pretious stone, with a great hollow bowle and an handle of gold. They had also drinking vessels of *Murrin* & *Christall* of wonderfull great prices. *Video isthic Christallina, quorum accendit fragilitas pretium, omnium enim rerum voluptas apud imperitos ipso, quo fugare debet, periculo crescit; Video Murrina pocula, parum scilicet luxuria magno fuerit, nisi quod vomant, capacibus gemmis inter se propinarent*: I there see, saith *Seneca*, their *Christall* glassses, whose very brittlenesse inhaunces their price: For among the vulgar; their delight in things is increased by the very danger, which should rather induce them to shunne it. I likewise see their *Murrin* cups, their luxury being not held sufficient, unlesse they may in large gemmes drinke that which soone after they vomit up againe. The price of some of these, *Pliny*, takes the paines particularly to relate: *Crescit indies ejus rei luxus, Murrino octoginta Sestertijs empto, capaci plane ad sextarios tres calice*: The excessive luxury hereof increaseth daily, a *Murrin* cuppe of three quarts being sold for foure score thousand *Sesterces*; one of these bought for three



three hundred thousand, *Petronius*, who had beene *Consull*, brake in peeces a little before his death on a spite to *Nero*, *ut mensam ejus exheredaret*, that hee might disinherit his table thereof. Another of *Christall*, mentioned by the same Authour, I may not forget; *alius hic furor*, here is another kinde of madnesse, one *Christall* bowle, being bought by the mistris of a family, and shee not over rich neither, cost her one hundred and fifty thousand *Sesterces*, Hereunto might not unfitly be added the beastly formes of many of their cups.

*Vitreo bibit ille Priapo,*

*Sat. 2.*

Saith *Juvenall*, and *Pliny* to like purpose, *in poculis libidines calare juvat & per obscantates bibere*. But I passe from their drunkennesse to their gluttony.

*Proem. l. 33.*

## CHAP. 7.

*Of the excessive gluttony of the Romanes.*

### SECT. 1.

*of their costly tables, their huge platters, the quantity, order, and number of their waiters, and also of their Arts and Schooles of Carving.*

**T**OUCHING their *excesse in gluttony*, it is an *Ocean* both boundlesse & bottomeles, whether wee consider the *rarity* or the *variety* of those dishes which at their solemne feasts they presented: But before I come to the furnishing of their tables, it shall not bee amisse to say somewhat touching the *tables* themselves, upon which they placed, and some *monstrous platters* in which they served in their provision, and the *number* and *order* of their *waiting servants*. They had tables of *silver* and some of *gold*.

*Sustentatque tuas aurea mensa dapes.*

*Martial. lib. 3  
Epig. 31.*

Tables of gold thy dainties do sustaine.

But their most pretious which they had in greatest request were of *Citron*, as appears by the same *Poet* in another *Epigram*: These, as witnesseth *Petronius Arbitr*, they fetched from *Africa*.

*Lib. 14. Epig. 89*

----*Ecce Aphris eruta terris*

*In Satyrice.*

*Citrea mensa.*

Tables of Citron brought from *Africa*.

With whom *Pliny* therein accordeth, who in his *Naturall History* hath a discourse proper to this purpose. 'The *Monres*, saith hee, that border upon the mountaine *Atlas*, are stored with abundance of *Citron* trees, 'from whence commeth that excessive expence and superfluitie about ' *Citron* tables made thereof: And our dames at home by way of revenge twit us their husbands therewith, when we should seeme to find ' fault with the costly pearles which they weare: there is at this day to ' bee seene a board belonging sometimes to *Tullius Cicero*, which cost ' him tenne thousand *Sesterces*; a strange matter, considering hee was ' no rich man; but more wonderfull, if we call to minde the severity of

*Lib. 13. cap. 15.*

N

that



*De beneficijs,*  
*lib. 7. c. 9.*

The tax of a  
Senatour was  
then *duodecies*  
*Sestertium*,  
twelve hun-  
dred thousand  
*Sestertij*. *Suet.*  
*Aug. 41.*  
*De pallio, c. 5.*

that age wherein he lived. Much speech there is besides of *Asinius Gallus* his table, sold for an eleven thousand Sesterces: Moreover there are two other which King *Juba* sold, the one was prized at fifteen thousand Sesterces, and the other held little under, a round lumme, & the price of a good faire Lordship: which incredible prizes are notwithstanding confirmed by *Seneca*, who farther tels us, they were valued according to their knottines: *video istic mensas, & aestimatum lignum censu Senatoris, eo pretiosius quo illud in plures nodos arboris infelicitas torfit*: I see there their tables, and a peece of wood valued at a Senatours re-venew, so much the more pretious, as the unhappy tree is wrested into diverse knots. To which passage of *Seneca* and *Pliny*, *Tertullian* seemes to allude, for having produced the instances of *Tully* and *Asinius Gallus* mentioned by *Pliny*, though with some addition to the prices, hee presently addes: *Hem quantis facultatibus aestimavere ligneas maculas*! at what high rates did they value those spots in wood? Besides, these tables they supported with Yvorie feete,

*Martial, lib. 2.*  
*Epigram 43.*

*Tu Lybicos Indis suspendis dentibus orbes,*  
*Fulcitur testa fagina mensa mihi.*

Thy Lybian tables Indian teeth to reare,  
My Beechen bord an earthen caske doth beare.

And these yvorie feete were artificially carved into the shape of Lyons or the like, which was so common, that without these, their greatest dainties could not relish to their pallates,

*Juvenal, Sat. 11*

*Nil Rhombus nil dama sapit, putere videntur*  
*Vnguenta atque rosa, latos nisi sustinet orbes*  
*Grande ebur, & magno sublimis pardus hiatus:*

Nor buck nor Turbet tast, sweet ointments yeeld no sent,  
And roses stinke, unlesse huge gaping yvorie Pardes  
Bearing a loft their large round tables give content.

Yet such was the store which one man possessed of these, that it exceeded some hundreds.

*Martial, lib. 7.*  
*Epig. 47.*

*Cum mensas habeat fere trecentas,*  
*Pro mensis habet Annius ministros.*

An hundred tables *Annius* hath thrice told,  
And waites at his tables manifold.

*Lips. l. 1. manu-*  
*duct. ad Stoic.*  
*Philos. cap. 18.*  
*Lib. 33. cap. 11.*  
*Plutarch in the*  
*life of Caesar.*

And *Dion* reports of *Seneca*, that notwithstanding his severe and Stoicall profession, hee was stored with foure hundred of those Citron tables. Whereunto we may not improperly add that *Iulius Caesar* feasted all the Citizens of Rome at once, seating them at 2200 tables.

Touching their platters or chargers, no longer since, saith *Pliny*, then in the dayes of *Claudius* the Emperour, *Drusillanus* a slave of his furnished *Rotundus*, the Senescall or Treasurer under him in high Spaine, had a silver Charger of five hundred pound weight, for the working whereof, there was a forge framed aforehand of set purpose, and the same was accompanied and attended with eight more of a smaller size, weighing fifty pound a peece: Now I would gladly know if it might please you, saith *Pliny*, how many of his fellowes, such slaves I meane  
as



as himselfe, there must be to carry the said vessell and serve it up to the table, or what guests they might be who were to be served with such huge plate: But this is nothing to that *Charger of Vitellius*, who whiles he was *Emperour* caused one to be made and finished that cost *a million* of *Sesterces*; for the making whereof, there was a furnace made of purpose in the field; alluding to this monstrous platter, *Mucianus* in his second *Consulship*, when he ripped up in a publique speech the whole life of *Vitellius* now dead, upbraided the memoriall of him in these very tearmes, calling his excesse that way, *Patinarum Paludes*, platters as broad as pooles or ponds: and verily, saith hee, that platter of *Vitellius* came nothing behind another, which *Cassius Severus* reproached *Asprenas* withall, whom hee accused bitterly, and said, that the poyson of that one platter had killed one hundred and thirty persons, who had tasted thereof. Matchable to these, was the famous platter of *Esopé* the *Tragedian*, save that it was more notorious for the daintinesse of the provision which he served in it, then for the massines of the dish it selfe.

Their waiters were sometimes naked wenches. *Tiberius* (saith *Suetonius*) sent to *Sestius Gallus*, that he would come and sup with him, upon condition, that hee should change nothing of his wonted fashion, *utque nudis puellis ministrantibus cœnaretur*; a message worthy of him, who as the same *Author* reports in the same place, erected a new office, *à voluptatibus*, onely to devise new pastimes and pleasures. But *Seneca* describes the order and number of their waiters more particularly: They had waiting on them, saith he, *puerorum infeliciū greges*, whole troopes of unfortunate *Ganymedes*, they had *exoletorum agmina*, armies of *Exoletes* growne to mens estate, these they ranged into severall bands according to their nations and complexions, they of the same band were all of a smoothnesse alike, or had the same length of downy mosse in their chin; nay speciall care was had, that their haire might bee futable, as in length, so in colour and kinde: *ne quis cui rectior est coma, crispulis misceretur*, that none whose haire grew long & straight, should be ranked with the curle pates. He farther tels us of the infinite number of their Cooks and Bakers, and such like officers; *Per quos signo dato ad inferendam cœnam discutiitur*, by whom the waiters run presently upon the signe given for the carrying of supper: his conclusion is, *Dū boni quantum hominum unus venter exercet!* good God, what a number of men doth one belly see a worke! and in another place *Convivia mehercule horum non posuerim inter vacantia tempora, cum videam quam solliciti argentum ordinent, quam diligenter exoletorum suorum tunicas succingant, quam suspensi sint quomodo a per a coquo cœsus exeat, quanta celeritate signo dato glabri ad ministeria decurrunt, quanta arte scindantur aves in frustra non enarmia, quam curiose infelices pueruli ebriorum sputa detergant.* Truly for my part, I should not put their feasts among their vacant or leasure times, when I see how solicitous they are about the ordering of their plate, how diligently they tucke up the coates of their *Exoletes*, how carefull they are in what manner the Bore come out of the Cookes handes and bee served in, how suddainely the smooth-chinne *Catamites* runne to the dresser upon the sound given, with what singular art their birdes are



cut up into competent portions, how studiously and curiously their unhappy boyes wipe out the spuing and spitting of their drunken Masters.

And to this their artificiall carving and ordering their dishes on the table doth the *Satyrist* allude, where hee intimates *Schools* and *Masters* of that Art, who taught their Schollers by dishes fashioned in wood, after what manner, and with what gesture of the body they should cut them up.

Lib. 4. Sat. 11.

*Sed nec structor erit, cui cedere debeat omnis  
Perigula, discipulus Tripheri doctoris, apud quem  
Sumine cum magno lepus, atque aper, & pygargus,  
Et Scythica volucres, & phanicopterus ingens,  
Et Getulus oryx, hebeti lautissima ferro  
Caditur, & tota sonat ulmea cæna Subura.*

The carvers at my board disciples never were  
To Doctour Trypherus, with whom none may compare,  
Sowes milkie teats, the hare, the boare, white buttockt roe,  
Pheasant, Getulian goat, huge Phenicopter too,  
All dainties with blunt knife hee carves as is most meete,  
And th'Elmen supper sounds through all Subura streete.

## SECT. 2.

That after-ages sometimes reformed the abuses of former times: of the great number and chargeable hire of their Cookes; of Apicius his wastfulness in belly-cheere, that such wastefulnesse was common among them.

Lib. 4. de Affe.

Lib. 3. c. 3.

**N**OW for the provision, I may say with *Budeus*, *Majora sunt ista omnino nostra ætatis captu*, it was beyond the reach and conceit of our age, so as *Pliny* herein hath proved a true Prophet, *nos fecimus quæ posteri fabulosa arbitrentur*, wee have done those things which posterity will not beleieve, but account fabulous. In the handling hereof it shall not be impertinent first to observe that after-ages sometimes reformed the abuse of former times. Thus *Latinus Pacatus* in his *Panegyricke* commends *Theodosius* for his sobriety and frugality in regard of his Predecessors, in as much as there was then no neede *ad penum Regiam flagitare remotorum littorum piscem, peregrini aeris volucrem, alieni temporis florem*, to take up and purvey for the Emperours use and provision, a fish of a remote coast, a bird of a strange ayre, or a flowre of a contrary season: Then goes hee on to describe the excessive Luxury of former ages in respect of the present.

Saturnal. l. 3. c.  
13.

Cap. 17.

In like manner *Macrobius* in a conference at a supper betwixt *Horus* and *Cecinna*, makes *Horus* to declaime against the Luxury of his owne times, but *Cecinna* answers him by proving that Antiquity was much more faulty that way. Among other instances and reasons alleaged by him, this is one; that *Peacocks* egges were commonly sold for five pence a peece, which then were nothing worth to be sold: and againe that anciently so many Lawes were made against it, as *Lex Orchia, fan-*  
*nia,*



*ma, aida, Licinia, Cornelia, and others and then concludes, nisi pessimis effusissimisq; moribus viveretur, profecto opus tot legibus ferendis non fuisset, vetus verbum est, Leges bona ex malis moribus procreantur: Except men had then lived in a most inordinate and licentious manner, they had never needed the making of so many lawes; it being an old saying, that good lawes are occasioned by evill manners.*

Another argument for their excessive gluttony in former times, might be taken from the number and excessive hire of their Cookes, and their wonderfull expences in their Kitchens and at their Tables. For the number of their Cookes, *Aspice Culinas nostras, saith Seneca, & concursantes inter tot ignes coquos nostros; Looke into our Kitchens, and marke the number of the Cookes running up and downe among so many fires. And in another Epistle, innumerabiles esse morbos non miraberis, coquos numera, In Rhetorum ac Philosophorum scholis solitudo est: At quam celebres culinae sunt: quanta circa nepotum focos juvenus premit? Do you wonder that our diseases are innumerable? number our Cookes if you can: The schooles of Rhetoricians and Philosophers are empty, but how are our Kitchens frequented? what multitudes of youth presse about the chimneys of unthrifts? And for their hire, they were wont to complaine, saith Pliny, that the hire of a Cooke was as much as the price of an horse, whereas now adayes we can hardly get them for the price of three horses: nullusque jam prope mortalis aestimatur plaris, quam qui peritissime censum Domini mergit; and scarce any man is in greater request then he that can most artificially waste his Masters substance. And what infinite waste they made this way, the onely story of Apicius a famous belly-god may suffice to shew: who having layd up ninety millions of Sesterces for his Kitching, besides many great gifts of Princes, and a mighty renew of the Capitoll, being deepe in debt, he began at last, though sore against his will, to looke into his reckonings, and take an account of his estate, and found that all being cast up, hee had yet left unto himselfe cleare tenne millions of Sesterces, and thereupon *velut in ultima fame victurus, veneno vitam finivit*, as if he should have beene forced poore man to live in a hunger-starved fashion, he poysoned himselfe: *Quanta luxuria est cui sestertium centies egestas fuit?* how great was that Luxurie to which ten millions of Sesterces seemed poverty? This notable vanity and folly of Apicius, the Epigrammatist most deservedly scoffes at.*

*Dederas Apici \* his trecenties ventri,  
Sed adhuc supererat centies tibi laxum,  
Hoc tu gravatus, ne famem & sitim ferres,  
Summa venenum potione duxisti,  
Nil est Apici tibi gulosius factum.*

Apicius thou didst on thy gut bestow  
Full ninety millions: yet when this was spent  
Ten millions still remaind to thee, which thou,  
Fearing to suffer thirst and famishment,  
In poyson'd potion drankst: Apicius  
Of all thy facts this was most gluttonous.

N n 3

And

*Martial. l. 3.  
Epg. 22.  
\* It seemes it  
should be read  
ter trecenties,  
the figures of  
II being mista-  
ken for III.*



And no marvaile *Apicius* should runne so farre upon the score and consume such a masse of treasure by this meanes, since it was usuall to lavish out and devour whole patrimonies at a sitting,

--- *Vna comedunt patrimonia mensa.*

*Juven. Sat. 1.*

*Seneca Ep. 96.*

*Quid est cæna sumptuosa flagitiosius, & equestrem censum consumente? & tricæ tamen Sestertio adyctiales cæna frugalissimis Viris constiterunt.* What is more lewde, saith *Seneca*, then a sumptuous supper wasting a Knights revenewes? yet it stands the most frugall commonly, if it be solemne, in three hundred thousand Sesterces. And he that shall but looke into their bills of fare, and take a particular view of the number of their Courses at a feast, and of their dishes at a course, and of the prizes of their dishes, together with their long and often sittings, will rather wonder that they spent so little, then that they brought going so much.

### SECT. 3.

Of their long and often sitting and usuall practise of vomiting, as also of the number of their courses at a sitting, together with the rarity and costlinesse of their severall services.

*Cap. 42.*

*Cap. 27.*

*Cap. 13.*

*Seneca de Consolatione ad Albinam. c. 9.*

**F**OR their long sittings *Suetonius* reports of *Tiberius*, that hee spent a whole night and two dayes out right in nothing else but eating & drinking, *Noctem continuumque biduum epulando, potandoq; consumpsit*: And of *Nero*, *Epulas à media die ad mediam noctem protrahabat*, he held out his feast from noone day till midnight. And of *Vitellius* for often sittings, that he feasted usuall three times, sometimes foure times a day, every sitting being valued at foure hundred thousand Sesterces, *facile omnibus sufficiens vomitandi consuetudine*, being easily able to goe thorow them all by a continuall custome of vomitting: which it seemes was among them a common practice: *Vomunt ut edant, edunt ut vomant: epulas, quas toto orbe conquirunt, nec concoquere dignantur*: they vomit that they may eate, and eate againe that they may vomit, and those delicacies which they hunt for thorow the world, they vouchsafe not so much as to concoct, and from hence (as I conceive) did they usuall rise from their great feasts so colourlesse and indispos'd,

*Juv. Sat. 2. l. 2.*

--- *Vides, ut pallidus omnis*

*Cæna desurgat dubia? quin corpus onustum*

*Hesternis vitijs, animum quoque prægravat una,*

*Atque affigit humo divina particulam aure.*

Seest thou how pale they from their doubtfull supper rise:

Their body further charg'd with riotise

Of yester day, weighs downe the soule, and in the mire

Of this base earth doth plunge the sparke of heav'nly fire

The number of their Courses at a sitting were usuall seaven, and that sometimes when they sate privately,

*Juvenal. Sat. 1.*

--- *Quis fercula septem*

*Secreto cœnavit avus?*

Which of our Ancesters upon  
Seaven services did sup alone?

But



But that monster *Heliogabalus* had served in at one feast two and twenty severall courses, *Exhibuit aliquando & tale convivium ut haberet viginti duo fercula ingentium epularum*; hee once made such a feast that he had served in, two and twenty courses, all of the choicest fare. *Lampridius.*

For their variety of dishes wee may partly guesse at them by that adventitious supper, (as *Suetonius* calls it) which was made *Vitellius* by his brother, *in qua duo millia lectissimorum piscium, septem avium apposita traduntur*, in which are said to have beene served in, two thousand of the choicest fish, and seaven thousand fowle. *Cap. 13.*

Now for the delicacie and prices of their dishes, it certainly exceeded their variety and number, they were farre fetcht and deare bought, *Quicquid mari, aut terra, aut etiam cælo gigneretur, ad satiandam ingluviem suam natum existimans, faucibus ac dentibus suis subdidit*, saith *Macrobius* of *Anthony*, he devoured with his chaps and teeth whatsoever the Sea, or Earth, or Aire brought forth, as if all had beene borne only to satisfie his luxurie. And *Salust* of *Metellus Proconsull* in Spaine, *Epule verò exquisitissimæ, neque per omnem modum provinciam, sed trans maria ex Mauritania volucrum & ferarum incognita antea plura genera*. His feasts were most exquisite, not onely for all the dainties which were to bee had in those parts, but many kindes of birds and beasts before unknowne in that Countrey, were brought from beyond the Seas and out of *Mauritania*. *Quis ganeonum aut lurconum possit vel ausit imitari? Quis nostrum hodie aves aut feras trans mare cæna causâ conquirat*: Which of our thriftlesse Belly-gods can or dare imitate him? Which of us now adayes sends for birds or beasts beyond the Seas to make a supper? Yet, was this practise among them no rare matter, as may appeare by that of *Petronius Arbitr.* *Satur. 3. c. 17.*

*Ingeniosa gula est, Siculo scarus æquore mersus  
Ad mensam vivus deducitur, inde Lucrinis  
Eruta littoribus vendunt conchyliæ cænis,  
Et revovent per damna famem; jam Phasidos unda  
Orbata est avibus, mutoque in littore tantum  
Sola desertis aspirant frondibus aura.*

The throat is witty, thence the Guilthead that doth clive,  
Sicilian sea is brought unto the board alive.

Shelfish they sell that in the lake of Lucrin grew,  
To sup on, by their losse their hunger to renew.

The bankes of Phasis now are dumbe, the birds are gone,  
And on forsaken boughs now breathes the winde alone.

And least wee should thinke that hee speakes Poetically and hyperbolically, the grave *Seneca* in his sober and sad manner goes beyond it. *Non est necesse omne perscrutari profundum, nec strage animalium ventrem onerare, nec conchyliæ ultimi maris ex ignoto littore eruere, Dii istos Deaque perdant, quorum luxuria tam invidiosi imperij fines transcendit, ultra Phasin capi volunt quod ambitiosam popinam instruat, nec piget à Parthis quibus nondum pœnas repetivimus, aves petere, undique convehunt omnia vota fastidienti gula, quod dissolutus delicijs stomachus vix admittat ab ultimo portatur Oceano*. There is no necessity of searching the deepe, nor of filling our bellies with the slaughter *De consolat. ad Albinam. c. 9.*



slaughter of beasts, nor of dragging shell-fish of the most remote seas & the unknowne shore. The Gods and Goddeses plague them, whole luxury cannot bound it selfe within the lists of so large and so much envied an Empire: It must be taken beyond the river *Phasis*, which should serve the provision of their ambitious kitchen, neither are they ashamed to borrow birds from the *Parthians*, upon whom they have not yet taken revenge, from all places they hunt after that which they long for to satisfy, their yawning appetite; nay they fetch that from the farthest part of the Ocean, which their stomacke weakened with delicacies, will hardly admit. And a while after, *o miserabiles quorum palatum nisi ad pretiosos cibos non excitantur, pretiosos autem non eximius sapor aut aliqua faucium dulcedo, sed raritas & difficultas parandi facit.* O wretched men, whose pallates are not stirred but with pretious meates, specially when that which makes them pretious, is not any singular relish or excellent savour they have, but onely their scarcity and difficulty of procuring them.

And herein *Latinus Pacatus* in his *Panegyricke* accords well with *Seneca*, if he goe not a straine beyond him; *Horum gule angustus erat orbis noster: namque appositae dapes non sapore sed sumptu aestimantes, illis demum cibis acquiescebant, quos extremus Oriens, aut positus extra Romanum Colchus Imperium, aut famosa naufragis maria misissent:* This our world was too narrow for their throates: for not valuing their Cates by their tast, but by their cost, they rested content onely with that provision which they got from the uttermost parts of the *East*, or *Colchus*, seated beyond the *Romane Empire*, or seas infamous with shipwrackes.

*Juvenal, Satyr*  
16.

--- *Magis illa placent quae pluris emuntur.*

That pleaseth most  
Which dearest cost.

Many thinke it (saith *Plutarch*, in that golden booke of his touching the precepts of health,) an absurd thing, not to feede liberally of things which are rare, and can hardly be come by, as a Sowes pappes when she hath newly farrowed, *Italian Mushrooms*, *Samian Cakes*, or Snow out of *Egypt*, forcing the body (which otherwise would not seeke after them) to participate of such rare things, onely because they be much spoken of, and hard to come by, to the end that they may report, and recount to others, what they have eaten, that they may bee reputed happy and fortunate in having enjoyed things so deare, so singular and geason.

#### SECT. 4.

*Of the sumptuous provision of two platters furnished out, the one by Vitellius, the other by Aesope the Tragædian, as also of the horrible excesse of Caligula and Heliogabalus*

*Suet cap. 13.*

THESE dainties wee may partly guesse at by the furniture of two famous platters, the one of *Vitellius*, which for the huge bignesse thereof, hee was wont to call *Minerva's buckler*, in this hee blended



ded together the livers of Guiltheads, the braines of Fefants and Peacocks, the tongues of Phænicopters, & the melts of Lampries brought from the *Spanish & Carpathian Seas*, by the Masters of Shippes and Gallies. The other of *Æsop* the *Tragædian*, which he furnished out with the rarest singing birds, or such as imitated mans voice; they cost him six thousand Sesterces a peece, and the whole platter six hundred thousand: *Nulla alia inductus voluptate, nisi ut in his imitationem hominis reanderet*, induced hereunto by no other pleasure, saith *Pliny*, but that thereby he might eat the imitation of mankinde, or perhaps *imitatione hominem*, mankinde by imitation.

*Valer. l. 9. c. 11.  
Senec. Ep. 96.*

*Tertul. de Pal.  
lio.  
Pl. 10. 51.*

To these may be added the horrible excesse of *Caligula* and *Heliogabalus*, the former of which, *Videtur natura edidisse ut ostenderet quid summa vitia in summa fortuna possent*, whom nature secmes to have brought forth, to shew what effects the greatest vices joyned with the greatest fortune could produce. This man, saith *Suetonius*, *nepotensis sumptibus omnium prodigorum ingenia superavit*, in thriftles expences exceeded the wits of all the prodigalls that ever were, *commentus portentosissima genera ciborum atque canarum*, inventing most monstrous kindes of meates & suppers, the most orient pearles that were to be gotten, hee dissolved in vineger and swallowed downe, and set before his guest bread & victuals of gold, *aut frugi hominem esse oportere dictitans, aut Casarem*, commonly saying, that a man neede be thrifty, or *Cesar*; yet notwithstanding, saith *Seneca*, being assisted with the inventions of all his companions, he could hardly finde the meanes to spend the tribute of the *Provinces* at one supper. Which I wonder *Seneca* should affirme, considering he practised the dissolving and swallowing of pearles.

*De Consol. ad  
Albinam, c. 9.*

Now for *Heliogabalus*, *Lampridius* thus begins his story. *Vitam Heliogabali Antonini impurissimam nunquam in literas misissem, ne quis fuisse Romanorum Principem sciret, nisi antè Caligulas, & Neronis, & Vitellios hoc idem habuisset Imperium*: The most beastly life of *Heliogabalus Antoninus* I would never have committed unto writing, that it might not have bin knowne, that ever there was such an Emperour of the *Romans*, unlesse *Caligula*, and *Nero*, and *Vitellius* had before sate in the same throne. Of him then, besides his other most abominable filthinesse, hee reports for his excesse in diet, that at one supper he caused to be served in the heads of six hundred *Ostriches*, onely for the eating of their braines; being neare the Sea, hee never tasted fish, but in places farthest distant from the Sea, all his diet was upon fish: And in the In-land hee fed the countrey clownes with the melts of Lampries and Pikes. To be brieft, *Cenas & Vitellij & Apicij vicit*, he exceeded the suppers both of *Vitellius* and *Apicius*.



## S E C T. 5.

*Of the excessive luxury of more ancient times.*

**W**Hat should I speake of more ancient times? of the Dictator *Caesar*, who borrowed of *Hirrius* six thousand Lampries by weight, for the furnishing out of a triumph supper, and by weight to be repaid againe, and if such were his store of Lampries, what shall we conceive of his other provision? Of *Fabius Gurgis*, so called for devouring his Patrimonie thorow the throat? Of *Metellus Pius*, who made suppers *ultra Romanorum ac mortalium etiam morem*, not only beyond the custome of the *Romanes*, but of mankind? Of *Metellus Pontifex*, of whom *Macrobium* having specified the dainties served in at his table in all kindes, concludes, *Vbi jam luxuria tunc accusaretur quando tot rebus facta fuit cœna Pontificum?* who should then excuse luxurie, when the table of the high Priests was furnished with such variety of rarities? Of *Hortensius*, who usually watered (if I may so speake) his plane trees with wine, in so much, that one day being to pleade a cause, wherein *Cicero* was likewise retained, hee sollicited him to change turnes with him, that so he might returne the sooner to his country farme, to powre wine on his Planes with his owne hand; and so curious hee was about his fish-ponds, that the same *Cicero* some where calls *Phillip* and him, *Piscenarios*, pond-men or fish mongers, and so chary withall of his fish, that sooner should you get by his good will, *ex equis rhedariis mulas quam ex piscina barbatum mulum*, his coach mules out of his stable, then one barbell out of his ponde: yet was a mule sold sometimes for the price of an horie.

*Macrobium.*  
*Satur. 2. 11.*  
*Pliny. 9. 55.*

*Macrob.*  
*Satur. 3. 13.*  
*Salust.*

*Varro de re rust.*  
*Lib. 3. 17.*

*Marcell. lib. 3.*  
*Epig. 2.*

*Tertul. de pal.*  
*lib. 1.*  
*Macr. Satur. 3.*  
*16. Pl. 9. 17.*

--- *Plus mûla est quam domus empti tibi.*

More for a mule then for a house thou pay'st.

Of *Asinius Celer*, who laid downe for one mullet six thousand Sesterces, as *Tertullian*, seaven thousand, as *Macrobium*, eight thousand, as *Pliny*, *In qua re luxuriam illius seculi eo magis licet aestimare*, saith *Macrobium*, *quod Plinius secundus temporibus suis negat facile mulum repertum quiduis pondo libras excederet, at nunc & majoris ponderis passim videmus, & pressa hæc insana nescimus*: wherein we may the sooner guesse at the luxurie of that age, in as much as *Plinius Secundus* affirmes that in his time, 'twas hard to finde a mullet of above two pound weight, whereas now wee have them every where of a greater quantitie, and yet are not acquainted with those mad prices. Of *Lucullus* a great States-man, whom *Tully* and *Pompey* meeting by chance in the market-place, out of a desire they had to know what his daily fare might bee, invited themselves to suppe with him that night, but upon condition, he should give no warning thereof, for that they desired not to put him to charge: He began at first to put them off with excuses for that time, wishing them rather to agree on the next day; but they importuning him for the present, he demanded of them, whether or no they would then suffer him to give order in what roome they should sup; that they permitted: whereupon he



he presently dispatches away a message in their hearing, that he would that night suppe in *Apollo*, within a while they follow after, and finde all things ready in a pompous and princely manner, but knew not the true reason, all the cunning lying in the word, *Apollo*: For he had so disposed of his roomes, that being distinguished by names, their provision & charge when he sate in them was accordingly allotted to them; by which meanes his Steward and Cooke, as soone as they heard the roome named, knew presently what to provide. Now among the rest, that which bore the name of *Apollo* was chiefeſt, the ſumme allotted thereunto, being, as witneſſeth *Plutarch*, *Quinquaginta millia drachmarum*, which *Budaus* caſts up to 5000 Crownes, and addes withall, *hu-* Lib. 4.  
*juſmodi multa à Plutarcho referuntur fidem omnino excedentia, ſi ex præſenti ſeculo aſſumentur*: Many ſuch things are reported by *Plutarch*, which if they ſhould bee valued by the ſcantling of our preſent times, would ſeeme altogether incredible. Of a *Sergius Aurata* or *Orata*, who borrowed his name from a fiſh ſo called, becauſe he loved it moſt; the firſt hee was that adjudged the price of the *Lucrine* Oyſters for taſt. Of *Licinius Cræſſus*, who, as witneſſeth *Cicero*, being held a grave and ſtaid man, and moſt eminent among the Citizens of the beſt ranke and note, mourned in blacke for a Lamprey which died in a pond adjoyning to his houſe, as it had beene for his daughter; and thereupon was afterward commonly called *Licinius Murena*. Or laſtly, of *Octavius*, Admirall of the Navy, who finding that the *Scarus* was not to bee had in the Italian Seas, diſperſed an incredible multitude of them, being brought thither in ſhips, betweene *Hoſtia* and *Campania*, *miroque ac novo exemplo piſces in mari, tanquam in terra fruges aliquas ſeminavit*; by a ſtrange and new example ſowed fiſhes in the Sea, as it had beene corne in the field: And the ſame man, *tanquam ſumma in hoc utilitatis publicæ verteretur*, as if herein had conſiſted the well-fare and chiefe happines of the ſtate, for five yeares imployed his utmoſt endeavours, that if among other fiſhes any fiſher-man by chance lighted upon a *Scarus*, hee ſhould againe reſtore him to the Sea ſafe and ſound. Belike this was the ſame *Octavius*, of whom *Seneca* relates this pleaſant ſtory: *Mullum ingentis formæ, (quare autem non pondus abijcio & aliorum gulam irritum? quatuor pondo & ad Selebram fuiſſe aiebant) Tiberius Caſar miſſum ſibi cum in macellum deferri & venire juſſiſſet, amici inquit omnia me fallunt, niſi iſtum mullum aut Apicius emerit aut Publius Octavius. Ultra ſpem illi conjectura proceſſit, licitati ſunt, vicit Octavius & ingentem conſecutus eſt inter ſuos gloriam, quum quinque millibus H.S. emiſſet piſcem quem Caſar vendiderat, ne Apicius quidem emerit. Tiber. Caſ.* being preſented with a goodly mullet of a vaſt quantity (but why doe I not adde his weight, that ſo I may provoke the appetite of others? he was ſaid to weigh foure pound and an halfe) ſent it preſently to the market there to be ſold; and my friends, quoth hee, I am much miſtaken if either *Apicius* or *Publius Octavius* buy him not: It ſell out beyond expectation; they both cheapned it, but *Octavius* carried it away, and thereby got him wonderfull applauſe among his companions, that hee had with five thouſand Sesterces bought a fiſh which the Emperour ſold, and *Apicius* durſt not buy. For mine

*Macrob. Saturn. 3. 15*

Of this *Orata* ſee more in *Val. Max. lib. 9. cap. 1.*

*Idem. 3. 16.*

*Epiſt. 69.*



mine owne part I cannot tell, whether I should more wonder at the base parcimony of *Tiberius*, or the riotous prodigality of *Octavius*, that the one being an Emperour should send a fish which was given him for a present to the market to bee sold; or the other, being but a private man, should buy it at such a rate: Yet it should seeme by the *Satyrists*, this price was not so rare, but others out-vied it.

*Juven. Satyr. 4.*

*... Mullum sex millibus emit,*

*Aequantem sane paribus sestertia libris,*

Hee for a mullet did six thousand pay,

Which equall pounds did with those thousands weigh.

By which proportion it seemes, they equalled a thousand Sesterces to a pound of fish.

#### SECT. 6.

*Of their wonderfull nicenesse in the strangenesse, weight, and newnesse of their fishes, as also of diverse other their strange curiosities about them, and of the vastnesse of their fish-ponds, and great store of fishes in them.*

**A**Nd no marvell since those fishes among them were in greatest request which were brought from remote Seas, their owne being in a manner drawne drie,

*Juven. Satyr. 5.*

*Mullus erat domine quem misit Corsica, vel quem*

*Tauromenetae rupes, quando omne peractum est,*

*Et jam defecit nostrum mare.*

That's th'onely Mullet which from Corsica is sent,  
Or from Sicilian rockes, for all our Sea is spent,  
And altogether failes.

And of the *Lamprey* to like purpose in the same Satyre.

*Virroni murena datur, qua maxima venit*

*Gurgite de Siculo.*

A Lamprey one on *Virro* did bestow,

The greatest that Sicilian gulfes did know.

Of their weight they were so curious and observant, that they had them weighed many times at their very tables in the presence of their guests, many standing by and noting it in their table bookes, as witnesseth *Amianus Marcellinus*: *Poscuntur etiam in convivij aliquoties trutina ut apposti pisces & volucres ponderentur, & glires quorum magnitudo sapius delicata non sine tedio presentium ut antehac inusitata laudatur assidue, maxime cum hac eadem numerantes notarij propè triginta adsistant, cum thecis & pugillaribus.* The ballances are sometimes sent for in the midst of their feasts, that the fishes which are set before them, and the birds, and the reare-mice may be weighed, whose excessive greatnesse not without tediousnesse to some present, as being a thing heretofore unusuall, is daily magnified and extolled, specially when almost thirty *Notaries* standing by, set downe the exact weight in their table bookes. To which custom the Poet alludes;

*Lib. 28.*

*-- Laudas*



--- *Laudas insane trilibrem  
Mullum.*

*Hor. l. 3, Sat. 2.*

A Mullet thou doest praise  
Mad man that three pound weighs.

And as the weight much commended their fish & enhanced their price, so did the newnesse and freshnesse thereof: they being come to such a nicenesse and delicacy at last, that *parum videtur recens mullus nisi qui in convivio manu moreretur*, that mullet seemed not new enough which died not in the guests hand. To this purpose they brought them alive in glasse bottles filled with water, into the roome where they late: *in cubili natant pisces, & sub ipsa mensa capitur, qui statim transferatur in mensam*, out fishes swimme in our chambers, and that very fish is taken up under our board, which is instantly served in to our board. They took a marvellous delight to see their mullets change colour whiles they were expiring, *Mullum expirantem versicolore quadam & numerosa varietate spectari, proceres gula narrant*: The headmen and peeres of *Luxury* affirme that the mullet when he lies a dying shewes himselfe in many and those very various and changeable colours. But *Seneca* hereupon cannot hold but desires leave to leave his matter a while, and to lash those gluttons. *Permitte mihi questione seposita castigare luxuriam*: and then goes on. *Quo pervenire deliciae? & pro putrido jam piscis affertur qui non hodie eductus, hodie occisus est; nescio de re magna tibi credere, ipse oportet mihi credam, huc affertur, coram me animam agat; ad hunc fastum pervenire ventres delicatiorum, ut gustare non possunt piscem nisi quem in ipso convivio natantem, palpitantemque viderint.* To what passe is our daintinesse now come? it is held for a stinking fish which is not that very day drawne out of the water and kild: I cannot trust thee in a matter of so great moment, bring him thither that hee may expire in my presence: to such an height are our belly-gods come, that they cannot taste the fish unlesse they see him in the very feast swimming and panting. And to this end, saith he, *cursum advehitur, & gerulis cum anhelitu & clamore properantibus datur via*, hee is brought in a posting speed, and way is given to the Porters; making haste with panting and out-cryes. His conclusion is, *non tempero mihi quin utar interdum temerarijs verbis, & proprietatis modum excedam; non sunt ad popinam dentibus, & ventre, & ore contenti, oculis quoque gulosi sunt.* I cannot refraine but that sometimes I must use unadvised and improper words, they are not content to play the gluttons with their jawes, and belly, and mouth, but they must doe it with their eyes too. And *Meursius* hereupon inferres, *Qua malum haec deliciae? vix credamus nisi ab ipsis authoribus haberemus, quorum fidem hic negare sit piaculum.* What a mischief, what a nicenesse is this? we should not beleieve it, but that we have it from those authors, whose credit once to question were a kinde of impiety. Yet that *Sammonicus Severus* writes to *Severus* the Emperour touching the serving in of the *Acipenser* or *Sturgeon*, is mee thinkes a degree beyond all that hath beene yet spoken, it therein appearing that indeed they made their belly their God. *Dignatione vestra cum inter sum convivio sacro, animadverto hunc piscem à conatibus ministris à Tibicine introferri.* When your sacred Majesty is pleased to admit me to

*Sen. nat. quaest. 3. 17.*

*Plin. 9. 17.*

*Cap. 12.*

*Cap. 12.*

*Macrob. Sat. 3.*

*16.*

*Philip. 3. 12.*



your feast, I observe that this fish is ever served in with musicke, the wayters that beare him wearing garlands or chaplets on their heades. Whereupon *Macrobius* makes this Comment, *Quasi quadam non delictarum sed numinis pompa*, as it had beene not for delight, but for devotion to some divine power.

Since then they were thus curious in the choice of their fish, wee neede not much marvell at him in *Iuvenal*, who

*Iuven. Sat. 4.*

---- *Circais nata forent, an*

*Lucrinum ad saxum Rutipino ve edita fundo*

*Ostrea, callebat primo deprendere morsu;*

*Et semel aspecti littus dicebat Echini.*

No sooner did he tast an Oyster, but hee knew  
Whether it from *Circes* towne, or *Lucrin* lake they drew,  
Or from *Richborow* deepe, and *Lobsters* also hee,  
What shore them bred can tell, when first he doth them see.

*Lib. 4. epig. 30.*

But rather that of *Martiall* touching the *Lampries* in *Domitian's* fish-ponds at *Baie*.

*Piscator fuge ne nocens recedas,*

*Sacris piscibus he natantur undae,*

*Qui norunt Dominum, manumque lambunt*

*Illam, qua nihil est in orbe majus.*

*Quid quod nomen habent, & ad Magistri*

*Vocem quisque sui venit citatus?*

Angler wouldst thou be guiltlesse? then forbear;  
For they are sacred fishes which swimme here,  
Who know their Sovereigne, and will licke his hand,  
Then which, none's greater in the worlds command:  
Nay more th'have names, and when they called are,  
Doe to their severall owners call repaire.

*Lib. 10. 70.*

Which latter part is confirmed by *Pliny*, *Spectantur & in piscinis Caesaris genera piscium ad nomen venire, quosdamque singulos*. In the Emperours fish-ponds are seene a kinde of fishes which come at the calling of them by their names, and that particular and single ones. And of *Antonia* the wife of *Drusus* he reports, that at *Baulos* she hung jewels as it had beene eare-rings in the gilds of a *Lamprey* which she loved; and that *Hortensius* the Oratour was seene to shed teares for the death of one whom he dearely affected.

*Lib. 9. 55.*

These kinde of fish-ponds for the keeping of *Lampreys*, besides the Emperour, diverse private men had, and that so large, as is almost incredible what is reported of them, were it not written by Authors of good credit. The same *Horrius*, whom wee mentioned before, received for the yearely rents of his buildings raised about his fish ponds, as witnesseth *Varro*, twelve thousand *Sesterces*; All which hee disbursed againe in the feeding of his fishes: his farme hee sold, and specially in regard of his fish ponds, for foure hundred thousand *Sesterces*. And *Cato* (as writeth the same Author) being Guardian to *Lucullus*, sold out of his fish-ponds so much fish as hee received for it forty thousand *Sesterces*. But *Columella* making report hereof out of *Varro*, whether

*De re rustica.*  
3. 17.

*Ibid. cap. 2.*

*Lib. 8. cap. 16.*

upon



upon a mistake or no I know not, makes the summe ten times as much: his words are, *attamen iisdem temporibus quibus hanc memorabat Varro luxuriam maxima laudabatur severitas Catonis, qui nihilominus & ipse tutor Luculli grandi are sestertium quadringentorum millium piscinas pupilli sui venditabat.* In those very times in which Varro mentions this Luxury, the severity of Cato was highly commended; yet hee being guardian to Lucullus, sold his Wards fish-ponds for a great summe of foure hundred thousand Sesterces; the difference is great betweene Varro and Columella, but it should seeme, the one speaks of the fish alone, and the other of the fish-ponds with it. Howsoever, the summe was doubtlesse very great, which argued their great store of fish, and yet their prices being so great withall, it must needs argue that their *Luxurie* was *universal*, and greater then either their prices or store.

## S E C T. 7.

*of their excessive gluttony in fowle as well as in fish, together with their luxurious appurtenances to their solemne feasts, as also that their gluttony rose with their Empire, and againe fell with it.*

**N**OW as their *Luxurie* shewed it selfe chiefly in their fish, so likewise did it in birds, though not happily so much, yet foule enough to discover their insatiable appetites: Gellius to this purpose alleageth a notable passage out of a set speech of Favorinus, an ancient Orator, which hee used in reproach of their luxurious suppers, when he perswaded the *Licinian* Law for the cutting off of superfluous charge that way, which is the more remarkable, because in those times, *Præfecti popinæ atque luxuriæ negant cœnam lautam esse, nisi quum libentissimè edis, tum auferatur, & alia esca melior atq, amplior succenturietur: is nunc flos cœnæ habetur inter istos, quibus sumptus & fastidium pro facetijs procedit: qui negant ullam avem præter ficedulam totam comesse oportere: cæterarum avium atque altilium, nisi tantum apponatur ut à cluniculis inferiori parte saturi fiant, convivium putant inopia sordere: superiorem partem avium atq; altilium qui edunt eos palatum non habere.* The masters of the Art of Cookerie and *Luxurie* deny it to be a rich supper, unlesse that meate which you feed upon with a good stomach be taken off, and more dainty and full dishes be mustered in place thereof. That is now held the flowre of delicacie, when in steed of merriment, costlinesse even to loathing is substituted: they deny that any bird is to be eaten whole, but onely the \* gnat-snapper, and except such a quantity of other birds and fatted fowle be served in, and set on, as a man may glut himselfe onely with the hinder part of them, they hold it but a poore feast: and such as tast the fore-part, they censure as having no palate. The ducke they fedde upon only about the breast and the necke.

*Tota quidem ponatur anas, sed pectore tantum;*

*Et cervice sapit, cætera redde Coco.*

*Mart. 23.*

And so did they onely upon the belly, and fat entralls of the *Scarus*.

*Hic Scarus aquoreis qui venit obesus ab undis,*

O O 2

*Visceribus*

*Idem ibidem*



*Visceribus bonus est, cetera vile sapit.*

The fowle which they specially hunted after and most delighted in, were *Phænicopters*, *Peacockes*, *Thrushes* and *Pigeons*. For the first of these I know not what kinde of bird it was, but *Martial* thus describes it.

Lib. 13. Epig. 71.

*Dat mihi penna rubens nomen, sed lingua gulosis*

*Nostra sapit, Quid si garrula lingua foret?*

Red wings gave me my name, my tongue's a dainty cate

To gluttons: would be more if that my tongue could prate.

Lib. 3. cap. 6.

Their *Peacockes* grew in greatest request in *Varroes* time, *De pavonibus nostra memoria greges habere capti, & venire magno, ex ijs Aufidius supra sexagena millia nummum in anno dicitur capere*: Flockes of *Peacockes* began to bee kept in our time, and to be held at high rates, *Aufidius* is said to receive yearely for these birds sixty thousand *Sesterces*; their bodies being commonly sold for fifty, and their egges for five pence a peece. What reckoning they made of their *Thrushes* in part appears by that of *Martiall*.

Lib. 13. Epig. 92.

*Inter aves turdus, si quid me iudice certum est,*

*Inter quadrupedes mattea prima lepus.*

'Mongst birds the Thrush, 'mongst beasts the Hare,

In my conceit the choicest are.

Lib. 3. cap. 2.

Of *Thrushes* they had marvellous great abundance, and yet were they very deare; both which, wee have testified by *Varro* upon his owne knowledge. In this farme alone, saith he, which is ordained for an *Ornithon*, or the keeping of birds, *Quinque millia scio venisse turdorum denarijs ternis, ut sexaginta millia ea pars reddiderit eo anno villa*: I know to have beene sold five thousand *Thrushes* for three pence a peece, so as that commodity alone brought in that yeare three score thousand *Sesterces*. And no marvell, since the places in which these were kept, were, as writeth the same *Authour*, as large as the whole *manner* house it selfe. Now for *Pigeons*, a paire were commonly sold for two hundred *Sesterces*, if they were faire, for a thousand. And *Lucius Accius* having it seemes some excellent breed, would not sell them under foure hundred pence the paire; and this in *Varro's* age, which was more severe. But afterward in *Columella's* time they were held at foure thousand *Sesterces*: his words are worth the noting, *Pretius earum domini complent arcam, sicut eximius Author & Marcus Varro nobis affirmat, qui prodidit, etiam severioribus suis temporibus paria singula [Columbarum] millibus singulis Sestertiorum solita venire, nam nostri pudet seculi, (si credere volumus,) inveniri qui quaternis millibus nummum binas aves mercantur*. The owners of them fill their chests with the money which they receive for them; as that renowned *Authour Marcus Varro* affirms, who witnesseth that even in his times, which were more severe, a paire of *Pigeons* were usually sold for a thousand *Sesterces*: For, of the age in which we live, I cannot speake without blushing, some being found therein (if it be not a matter beyond beleife) who have laid downe for two of those birds foure thousand *Sesterces*. Yet were they not content with those store-houses at home, but mustred in the provinces abroad whole cohorts of fowlers & hunters to bring them in provision;

Lib. 3. cap. 7.

Lib. 8. cap. 8.



as *Latinus Pacatus* hath elegantly expressed it. *Vt taceam infami sæpè delectu scriptos in provincijs ancupes, ductasque sub signis venatorum cohortes militasse convivjs.* Not to speake of their infamous leavying of fowlers mustered within the Provinces, and whole bands of hunters marching under severall colours; the end of whose warres was, to make worke for their feasts: In which, their curiositie likewise about their very bread was such, that the number of them was not the least, saith *Gellius* in his 15 booke, cap. 19. To whom that of *M. Varro* in his Satyre, *ut è se quid non* might not unfitly be applied, *si quantum opera sumpsiisti ut tuus pistor bonum faceret panem, ejus duodecimam philosophia dedisses, bonus jampridem esses factus, nunc illum qui norunt, volunt emere millibus centum, te qui norit nemo centussi:* If thou hadst bestowed but the twelfth part of that paines in the studie of Philosophie, which thou hast, that thy Baker might make thee good bread, thou thy selfe mightest long since have beene made good; whereas now they that know him, will be content to lay downe for him five hundred pounds, but for thee, such as know thee, scarce one hundred pence.

Now if I should hereunto adde the appurtenances to these feasts, as their infinite variety of sauces, wherof *Seneca*, *inventæ sunt mille conditura quibus aviditas excitaretur*, a thousand kinde of sauces are found out for the stirring up of the appetite; their bathings and annointings before their feasts, their perfumes and sweet odours in diverse kindes at their feasts, *Croco sparsa humus*, the very floore was strowed over with saffron: the changing of their apparrell, as also of the rooffe of the roome where they sate, with some new device in it at the bringing in of every severall course: And lastly, of their damnable practise after their feast ended, not fit to bee named among *Christians*, I should tire both my selfe, and the Reader. And some of these I shall perchance have fitter occasion to speake of, when I come to treat of their luxury in buildings, and in apparell.

And though it bee true in the condition of the state, as in the course of private men,

*Nemo repente fuit turpissimus.*

No man ever arrived to the height of villanie at first dash; yet when their Empire was at the height, their riches & fulnesse, bred such excessive luxury, as is scarcely matchable in all respects in any nation at any time: But doubtlesse as farre beyond all that latter ages have afforded, as was the vaste extent of their dominions. Neare about the second Punike warre they were come to that passe, that *Cato* the Censor openly complained, *non posse salvam esse urbem, in qua piscis pluris quam bos venderet*, that it could not goe well with that Citie, in which a fish was sold for more then an oxe. But in *Tiberius* his time it was come to another passe, when one fish was valued at the price of above tenne oxen, *Tres mullos triginta millibus nummum vanisse graviter conquestus est*, saith *Suetonius* of that Emperour: He greivously complained that three mullets were sold for thirty thousand Sesterces, which is two thousand Sesterces upon a fish beyond any yet spoken of; which I wonder was forgotten by *Pliny* in that place, where hee purposely mentions the excessive prices



prices, of fishes: But as this *Empire* declined, so did their luxury, as we have heard before out of *Macrobius* and *Latinus Pacatus*; by which it appears that *Vices* have their rising, their raining, and their falling, as all other things have: As their fewell increaseth, so doe their flame: but that once failing, they are soone extinguished.

## S E C T. 8.

*That their riot did not only shew it selfe in the delicious choyce of their fare, but in voracity and gurmardizing, in regard of the quantity some of them devoured at a meale.*

**N**either did their excessive *luxurie* shew it selfe only in the delicious choyce of their fare, but there were among them, who likewise strangely exceeded in voracity & gurmardizing, in regard of the quantity and weight thereof. *Maximinus* the Emperour devoured many times in one day *quadragenta libras carnis, ut autem Cordus dicit, etiam sexaginta*: forty pounds of flesh, or as *Cordus* hath it, Sixty. *Clodius Albinus* another Emperour, did eat so much, *quantum ratio humana non patitur*, as humane reason cannot well comprehend it: Nam & *quingentas ficus passarias quas Græci Callistruthias vocant jejunum comedis* *Cordus* dicit, & *centum Purpura Campana*, & *melones Ostienses decem*, & *uvæ Lavicanarum pondo viginti*, & *sicedulas centum*, & *ostrea quadraginta*: In the morning fasting, he dispatched five hundred dried figges, writeth *Cordus*, & an hundred peaches of *Campania*, and ten melones of *Ostia*, and twenty pound weight of grapes of *Lavica*, besides an hundred \*gnat nappers, and forty oysters.

*Capitolina.*

*Idem.*

\* A bird like a Nighthungall, feeding on figs.

*Dij talem terris avertite pestem,*  
God from such monsters us defend.

*Vopiscus in Aureliano.*

But *Phago*, in whom *Aurelian* tooke singular delight for his wonderfull eating, surpassed in my minde both the former, ridding at one meale in the Emperours presence, *aprum integrum, centum panes, vervecem & porcellum*, a whole boare, an hundred loaves, a weaver, & a young pig: and it should seeme, that their serving in of whole bores, was a thing not usuall, even when they sate alone and in private.

*Juven. Satyr. 1.*

--- *Quis feret istas*  
*Luxuria sordes? quanta est gula que sibi totos*  
*Ponit apros, animal propter convivium natum?*

\* This filthy luxury who can endure? how great  
Is that same gut, which would whole boares (a beast  
Ordained for feasts) to bee before him set?

And the other Satyrist to like purpose.

*Horat. lib. 2.  
Sat. 2.*

*Rancidum aprum antiqui laudabant, non quia nasus*  
*Illis nullus erat: sed, credo, hac mente, quod hospes*  
*Tardius adveniens, vitiatum commodius, quam*  
*Integrum edax dominus consumeret.*

Our Ancestours well lik't a rancid boare, not that  
They had no nose, but (as I thinke) if guests came late,

'Twas



'Twas thought much fitter they should eate a tainted one,  
Then the feasts founder should devour one all alone.

*Mark Anthony*, saith *Plutarch*, having but twelve guests provided eight boares, set to fire after one another, that whensoever he came in, sooner or later, one at least might come in prime. Nay *Caranus*, saith *Athenaus*, set before every guest a boare in a severall dish.

Now I have beene long, I confesse, in this point, but their infinite vanity, and extreme madnesse therein hath made me so, the rather, for that this excesse is commonly brought as a reason of the generall decrease of mankind now a dayes, as well in strength and stature, as age and duration: And though it bee true, that we exceed this way too much, wasting that in superfluous and riotous pampering of our bodies, which would be farre better bestowed on such as want necessities, yet it is as true, that they as farre exceeded us this way, as we come short of them in riches and dominion: And yet I doubt, much of that which hath beene spoken, will hardly be beleaved, though I have alleadged their owne Authours, and for the most part in their owne words, thereby to adde the greater weight, and procure the greater credit thereunto. *Nam vetera nunc ferè hoc fatum habent, ut etsi vera, vix videantur, an sui magnitudine, an nostra declinatione*, saith a great *Antiquarie*, speaking of this very thing: These ancient records are for the most part subject to this destiny, that although they bee true, yet they seeme not so, either thorow their owne excesse, or our comming so farre short of them: But I hope I shall prepare a way to an easier beleife of that which is past, by that which is now to follow, touching their *luxurie* in building and apparell, and other prodigall expences every way sutable to their *luxurie* in diet, if not exceeding it.

*Epist. Epist. select. 63.*

### SECT. 9.

*Rare examples of fasting in this latter age, the like whereunto antiquity nowhere affords.*

**A**S these latter times afford no such example of excessive *luxurie* in feeding and feasting: so neither doth antiquity afford us any of the like admirable abstinency from all kinde of food as this latter age hath done; Neither *Pliny* himselfe nor any other of the ancients that I have met with, hath so much as mentioned any thing comparable thereunto in that kinde.

*Paulus Lentulus* a Doctour of Physicke in the province of *Bearne*, a Canton of *Switzerland* hath published a booke, which he intitles, *Historia admiranda, de Appollonia Schreiræ virginis in agro Bernensi inedia*, and dedicated it to our late Sovereigne King *James*, at his first entrance to the Crowne, in which epistle dedicatory he saith, *admirationem ingentem parit quod nostra & patrum memoria, jam aliquoties diversis in locis talia contingerent: priscis sæculis ( quantum quidem ex omnis ævi monumentis colligi potest ) aut ignota planè aut fortassè parum observata, exceptis paucis illis quæ in sacris literis commemorantur, quæ à deo immediate ad certum finem*



(*sicuti ex eisdem sacris literis patet*) plane contra totum naturæ ordinem, vere miraculose edita scimus. In the historicall narration he tells us that himselfe was with the maide hee there writes of, three severall times, and that she was by the command of the Magistrates of *Bearne* brought thither, and having a strict guard set upon her, and all kinde of tryalls put in practise for the discovery of collusion; in conclusion thy found none, but dismissed her fairely: In the first yeare of her fasting, she slept very little, in the second not at all, and so continued for a long time after. The same Authour in the same booke produceth diverse other examples in the same kinde, though not upon his owne experience, yet upon the testimony of witnesses not to be excepted against; as of one *Margaret*, a girle of about ten yeares of age, borne in a village named *Roed*, about two miles from *Spire*, who began to abstaine from all kinde of sustenance *Anno Domini* 1539, and so continued for three yeares, walking in the meane season, and talking, and laughing, and sporting as other children at that age use to doe, yet was she by speciall order from the Bishop of *Spire* delivered into the hands of the Pastor of the Parish, and by him narrowly observed, and afterwards by the command of *Maximilian* King of the *Romans*, committed to the keeping of *Gerardus Biscoldianus* his Physitian, with whom hee joyned a Gentleman of his bed-chamber, and at the end of twelve dayes finding by their relation that there could bee no jugling in the businesse, he gave her leave to returne to her friends, not without great admiration and princely gifts. A third narration hee makes of *Catharine Binder* borne in the *Palatinate*, whom *Iohn Casimir* *Anno Domini* 1585, committed to the search of a Divine, a states-man, and two Doctours of Physicke; shee is said to have fed onely upon aire by the space of nine yeares and more, the discourse whereof *Lentulus* received from *Fabritius*, and therewith the narration of another maide borne in the Dukedome of *Iuliers*, who being about the age of fourteene yeares, was brought to *Cullen*, and is certainly reported to have taken no kinde of meate or drinke by the space of at least three whole yeares. But the strangest I have met with in this kinde is the Historie of *Ene Fleigen*, out of *Dutch* translated into *English*, and printed at *London*, *Anno* 1611, who being borne at *Meurs*, is said to have taken no kinde of sustenance by the space of 14 yeares together, that is from the yeare of her age 22 to 36, and from the yeare of our Lord 1597, to 1611, and this we have confirmed by the testimony of the Magistrate of the towne of *Meurs*, as also by the Minister who made tryall of her in his house thirteene dayes together, by all the meanes he could devise, but could detect no imposture. Over the picture of this maiden set in the front of the *Dutch* copie stand these *Latine* verses.

*Meursa hac quem cernis decies ter sexque peregit  
Annos, bis septem prorsus non vescitur annis  
Nec potat, sic sola sedet, sic pallida vitam  
Ducit, & exigui se oblectat floribus horti.*

Thus rendred in the *English* copie.

This maid of *Meurs* thirty six yeares spent

Fourteene



Fourteene of which she tooke no nourishment,  
Thus pale and wan shee sits, sad and alone,  
A garden's all shee loves to looke upon.

*Franciscus Citesius* a French Physitian likewise witnesseth that one *Catharine Colberghen* lived in *Spire* seaven yeares without meate or drinke: as also that within the towne of *Constans* in *France*, lying upon the borders of *Limosin*, and the river of *Vien*, a Smith by name *John Balam* had a daughter named *Ioane*, borne in the yeare 1588, who for the space of two yeares did neither eate nor drinke; in admiration and for verification of which wonder that famous and eloquent Doctour *Iacobus Viverius* wrote, and published certaine verses too long to bee here inserted. He that desires to see more of these kinde of admirable feastings, let him consult with *Sylvius Consil. adversus famem*, *Laurentius Ioubertus Deca. 1. Paradox. 2.* and *Schenkius* in his *Medicinall observations. lib. 3. observ. 39.* and truly me thinkes such wonderfull workes of God as these, should not passe by us without a marke set upon them, specially considering that the greatest and most notable part of the examples alleaged have beene of the Protestant Religion.

## CHAP. 8.

*Of the Romans excessive luxurie in building.*

## SECT. I.

*Of their excesse in the great variety of their farre fetcht and deare bought marble.*

THE chiefeſt materialls of building, in which the *Romanes* most generally exceeded, was the great variety of their farre fetcht & deare bought *Marble*: of which *Pliny* as being himſelfe an eye-witneſſe ſpeakes ſo feelingly, and yet withall ſo wittily, that he beſt deſerves to be heard: Though I profeſſe to make choiſe of his words, as they lie here and there, and ſute beſt with the preſent purpoſe. 'It now 'remaines (ſaith hee) to write of the nature of ſtones, that is to ſay, the 'principall point of all enormous abuſes, and the very height of waſt- 'full ſuperfluities. For all things elſe which we have handled hereto- 'fore even to this booke, many ſeeme in ſome ſort to have beene made 'for man, but as for *Mountaines*, *Nature* hath framed them for her owne 'ſelfe, partly to ſtrengthen, as it were certaine joynts within the veines '& bowels of the earth, partly to tame the violence of great rivers, and 'to breake the force of ſurging waves and inundation of the Sea. And 'yet notwithstanding for our wanton pleaſures, and nothing elſe, wee 'cut & hew, we loade and carry away thoſe huge hills and inacceſſible 'rockes, which otherwiſe to paſſe onely over, was thought a wonder. 'Our Anceſtours in time paſt, reputed it a miracle, & in a manner pro- 'digious, that firſt *Hanniball*, and afterwards the *Cimbrians* ſurmounted 'the *Alpes*: But now even the ſame mountaines we pierce through with  
'pick-



pick-axe & mattocke, for to get out thereof an hundred sortes of marble; wee cleave the Capes and Promontories, wee lay them open for the sea to let it in; downe we goe with their heades, as if we would lay the whole world even, and make all leuell. The mighty mountaines, set as limits to bound the frontires of diverse countreyes, and to separate one nation from another, those we transport and carry from their native seate: Ships we build of purpose for to fraught with marble: the cliffes & toppes of high hills they carry to and fro amid the waves & billowes of the sea. Now let every man thinke with himselfe what excessive prices of these stones he shall heare anon, and what monstrous peeces and masses he seeth drawne & carried both by land and sea, & then let him consider withall how much more faire & happy a life many a man should have without all this, and how many cannot choose but die for it, whensoever they goe about to doe, or if I should speake more truly, to suffer this enterprise. Also for what use else or pleasure rather, but only that they might lie in beds & chambers of stones, that forsooth are *spotted*, as if they never regarded how the darkenesse of the night bereaveth the one halfe of each mans life of those delights and joyes.

## S E C T. 2.

*Of their excessive sumptuousnesse in their temporary or transient buildings, made only for pastime to last but for a short time.*

Now their buildings were either *private* or *publique*; and the publique again, either meere for *pleasure* or for *use*: such were their places for civill *assemblies*, their *bridges*, their *Aquiducts*, their *draughts* under ground, their *market places* & *high wayes*; & these, though respectively to their severall ends they were very sumptuous, yet because they were for publique use, I will not touch, but will onely insit upon their excessive superfluitie, cast away upon those which were onely for publique pleasure, or the vaine delight of private men. Among those that were destined to none other end, but game and pastime, their *Theaters* and *Amphitheaters* first present themselves to our view, and among these, the renowned *Theater* of *Scaurus*. This *Scaurus*, saith *Pliny*, when hee was *Edile*, caused a wonderfull peece of worke to be made, and exceeding all that ever have beene known wrought by mans hand, not onely those that have beene erected for a moneth, or such a thing, but even those that have beene destined for perpetuity, and a *Theater* it was: The stage had three lofts one above another, wherein were 360 columnes of marble; the base or nethermost part of the stage was all of *Marble*, the middle of *glasse* (an excessive superfluity, never heard of before or after) as for the uppermost, the boards, planks & floores were gilded; the columnes beneath were 40 foot high wanting twaine: and betweene these columnes there stood of statues of images in brasse to the number of 3000. The *Theater* it selfe was able to receive 80000 persons to sit well and at ease. As touching the other furniture of this

*Theater*



Theater of *Scavrus* in rich hangings which were cloath of gold, painted tables the most exquisite that could bee found, Players apparrell, and other stuffe meet to adorne the stage, there was such abundance thereof, that being carried backe to his house of pleasure at *Tusculum* the turplage thereof, (over and above the daintiest part whereof hee had daily use at *Rome*) his servants and slaves there, upon indignation for this wast and monstrous superfluitie of their Master, set the said countrey house on fire, and burnt as much as came to an hundred millions of Sesterces. Yet was this magnificent peece of building, by the testimony of the same *Pliny*. but *Temporarium Theatrum*, a Theater set up but for a short time: And in another place, *vix uno mense futurum in usu*, scarce to indure for a moneth. Lib. 36. c. 2.

Such a kinde of worke was *Caligula* his bridge, *novum & inauditum* Sueton. c. 12. *spectaculi genus*, a new and unheard of kinde of shew: It reached from *Palatium* to *Basilica* three miles and a quarter: He built it upon ships in a few dayes, and in emulation of *Xerxes*, over this hee marched with the Senate and the Souldierie in a triumphant manner, and in the view of the people, upon this he feasted and passed the night in dalliance and gaming: but like *Ionas* his gourd, it was suddenly up, and suddenly downe, *Immensum opus perpendenti, sed cui laudem vanitas detrahit; nam quo sine structum nisi ut destrueretur?* a marveilous great worke indeede, but such as the vanity thereof deprived it of commendation, for to what end was it raised but to be demolished: thus sported he, saith *Seneca*, with the power of the Empire, and all in imitation *furiosi & externi, & infelicitate superbi regis*, of a forraine, frantique, and unluckie proud King. Of like nature were those buildings set up by the command of *Caracalla*, (whom we may not unfitly or unjustly call another *Caligula*) *Whicunque hyematurus erat aut etiam putabatur hyematurus, cogebantur amphitheatra & circos struere, & ea ipsa mox diruenda*, wheresoever hee wintered, or but intended to winter, they were constrained to erect Amphitheaters & Cirques for publique games, & those within a while be taken downe againe: So as upon the matter they were put to that excessive charge only for the imaginary use of one man. Lipsius. De brevitate vite. cap. 18. Dio.

## S E C T. 3.

Of their infinite expence in their permanent Amphitheaters, and the appurtenances belonging thereunto, namely their Curtaines and Arena.

**B**Ut I passe by these transient buildings, and come to their permanent, among which the Amphitheater begun by *Vespasian*, but finished and dedicated by *Titus*, was one of the most famous, *Cujus summitatem agrè visio humana conscendit*, the height whereof was such, that the eye of man could hardly reach it. It was reared saith *Cassiodore*, *divitiarum profuso flumine*, with rivers of treasure powred out, it contained only upon the steps or degrees, sufficient and easie seates for eighty seven thousand, so as the vacant places besides might well containe



taine ten or twenty thousand more. *Martiall* preferres it before all the rare great workes of *Rome*.

*Omnis Casareo cedat labor Amphitheatro,  
Vnum præ cunctis fama loquatur opus.*

To *Cæsars* Amphitheater all other workes must vaile,  
To found this one above them all Fames trump shall never faile,  
And in another place hee bestowes upon it the title of Venerable.

*Hic ubi conspicui venerabilis Amphitheatri  
Erigitur moles, stagna Neronis erant.*

In that place where sometimes stood cruell *Nero's* ponds,  
That venerable peece th' Amphitheater stands.

Now as the masse of treasure was infinite which they cast away in the raising of these buildings, only to make the people sport, so was it incredible what they spent in the furnishing of them, and setting forth their games therein.

*Inspice ludorum sumptus Auguste tuorum,  
Empta tibi magno, talia multa leges.*

*Ovid.*

*Instit. lib. 6.*

*Sermone. 81.*

*Suetonius. c. 43.*

*Quid dicendum est de ijs qui populari levitate ducti, vel magnis urbibus specturas opes exhibendis muneribus impendunt?* saith *Lactantius*: What shall we say of them who being led with popular applause, spend in exhibiting sword fights, treasure enough for the building or maintaining of great Cities? And *Ambrose* to like purpose, *Magistratus in Theatris, mimis, athletis, gladiatoribus, aliisque huiusmodi generibus hominum totum patrimonium suum largitur & prodigit, ut unius hora favorem vulgi acquirat.* The Magistrate upon Theatricall games, jeasters, wrasters, sword-players, and such kinde of men, lavishes out his whole patrimony, and that onely to purchase the applause of the people for an houre: And surely wee may well conceive and beleve as much, whether we consider their frequency, or their appurtenances: for the former of which, *Augustus* alone is said to have set forth publique games in his owne name for himselfe, foure and twenty severall times: And for other Magistrates who either were absent or wanted meanes to goe thorow with it, three and twenty. Nay *Titus* at the dedication of his Amphitheater held them for an hundred dayes together. Now for the appurtenances I may say,

--- *Materiam superabat opus.*

*Plin. 3. c. 3.*

*Idem ibidem.*

*Dis. Cassius in Nerone.*

The workmanship did farre the stufte exceed,  
They were beyond the strangeness of their buildings, their whole furniture was somtimes of silver, as that of *Julius Cæsar*, and *C. Antonius*; somtimes of gold, thus *Nero* for the ostentation of his greatnesse to *Tiridates* King of *Armenia* covered over not the stage only, but the whole Theater with gold: All the instruments then used and furniture thereof were likewise gilded, and the vaile or curtaine which hung over them to keepe them from the heate of the Sunne was all of purple, imbroadened with starres of gold, *ex quo & dies ille aureus appellatus*, from whence that was ever after called, the golden day. To these kinde of curtains which were doubtlesse of very great charge, being coloured & shadowing so spacious a place, doth *Lucretius* allude,

*Et*



*Et vulgo faciunt id lutea rufaque vela,  
Et ferrugina cum magnis intenta theatris  
Per malos vulgata trabesque tremantia pendent :  
Namque ibi concessum Caveai subter & omnem  
Scenai speciem, patrum, matrumque, Deorumque  
Inficiunt, coguntque suo fluitare colore.*

So doe those curtaines yellow, russet, red,  
When o're the Theaters streacht out and spred,  
On masts and beames they trembling hang: for then  
The scaffolds underneath, and all the Scene  
Of Gods, of Fathers, and of Matrons grave,  
They with their colours dye, and cause to wave.

Hereunto may bee added the *Arena*, the place below in which their games were exhibited, so called, for that it was strowed over with sand for the drinking in of the bloud which was spilt upon it, and officers they had purposely for this businesse, who in the Lawes and Writings of the Christian Doctours are tearmed *Arenarij*, Sanders, who as they first strowed it over, so betweene whiles during the same sitting, they renewed it againe, as appeares by those verses of *Martial*, where hee speakes of a Lyon suddenly intraged who slew two of those Sanders.

*Nam duo de tenera juvenilia corpora turba,  
Sanguineam rastris quæ renovabat humum :  
Sævus & infelix furiali dente peremit,  
Martia non vidit majas Arena nefas.*

Two youthfull bodies of that company,  
Which did with rakes the bloudie ground renew,  
With furious tooth the savage Lyon slew,  
A fouler deede the sand did never see.

This place *Nero* in steed of sand caused to be strowed over with dust of gold, himselfe being to try a match of Chariot driving therein: and so did *Cajus Caligula*, *Edidit & Circenses quosdam præcipuos minio & Chrysocolle constrato Circo*, he set forth certaine notable games in the *Circus*, being strowed over with vermilion and dust of gold.

*Plin. 33.1.*

*Suetonius c. 28.*

#### SECT. 4.

*Of their incredible expence in the hiring, and arming, and dieting of their sword players, in the hunting, bringing home, feeding, and keeping of their wild beasts, in other admirable shewes to the astonishment of the beholders, in refreshing the spectators with pretious and pleasant perfumes, and the like, and lastly in casting their largesse among the people, neither was this the practise of the Emperors only, but of private men.*

**B**Ut the greatest expence of all was the multitude of Fencers who were all hired for great prices (and great reason, their lives being exposed to evident hazard) besides the arming & dieting of them before they entred; and if they exhibited beasts, it is almost past credit, the relations that are made by *Historians* touching their number, the Emperour *Probus* commanded to bee let loose at once, a thousand

*Vopiscus in Probo.*



Ostriches, a thousand staggess, a thousand wilde boares, and a thousand fallow deere, besides wilde goates, wilde sheepe, and other beasts, all which he gave over to the mercy or rather the rage of the people, every one to catch what he could, the *Circus* being set all over with tall and mighty trees, which by the Souldiers were taken up by the rootes as they grew in the woodes and there planted with greene turfe about them, and fastned with beames and yrons. The next day hee let in to the same place *centum jubatos leones*, one hundred maned or crested Lyons, which with roaring filled the ayre as it had beene with thunder, one hundred Leopards of *Lybia*, one hundred of *Syria*, one hundred Lyonesses, and three hundred beares. Now if wee should cast up the expence he was at for the hunting, for the bringing home, for the feeding and keeping of all these, it is not for any ordinary reach to comprehend: yet stood he not alone in this kind. *Gordianus* exhibited in one day an hundred wilde beasts of *Lybia*, and in another, one thousand beares, as *Capitolinus* in his life witnesseth.

And they strived (as it should seeme) who should outvie one another in rarity of shewes, and riotousnesse of expence, even *Titus* himselfe, who in their stories is named, *Delicia generis humani*, the delight or delicacy of mankind, marvellously exceeded this way. Hee set forth the whole tragedie of *Orpheus*, so that creeping rockes and running woods were exhibited in the *Arena*, as *Martial* hath well expressed it.

*Quicquid in Orpheo Rhodope spectasse theatro  
Dicitur, exhibuit Caesar Arena tibi.*

*Repserunt scopuli, mirandaque sylvæ cœcurrit,  
Quale fuisse nemus creditur Hesperidum.*

What *Rhodope* in *Orpheus* Theater did see,  
Th' Amphitheater that exhibits unto thee  
O *Caesar*: Rockes do creepe, and woods do move apace,  
The Orchard such they say of *Atlas* daughters was.

Nay there were that together with Land-beasts brought in Sea-Monsters,  
as the Sea-calfe and the Sea-horse, which *Calpurnius* at the games of *Carinus* testifies that himselfe beheld,

*Nec solum nobis sylvestria cernere monstra  
Contigit, Equosque ego cum certantibus urfis  
Spectavi vitulas, & equorum nomine dignum  
Sed deforme pecus.*

*Hippopotamus.*

Nor onely did I see wood-Monsters there,  
But Sea-calves also tugging with the beare,  
And that mis-shapen ugly beast withall,  
Which we not without cause the Sea-horse call.

*D. C. in Nerone.*

And that which was more strange, they brought in the Sea itselfe, and therein shippes, representing the forme of a Sea-fight. But *Heliogabalus* went beyond all conceit: *Fertur in Euripis vino plenis naves Circenses exhibuisse*, they be the words of *Lampridius*, he is said to have exhibited shippes in the *Circus*, sayling and contending in wine. It was in *Horatius* a great folly and vanity to water his plane trees with wine, but for shippes



shippes to sayle and contend in wine was a most monstrous superlative madnesse.

Now amid all these fights, it was ordinary to refresh the spectators with pleasant *perfumes* from gummes, or sweete water, or oynments, or balsamum, or saffron mixed with wine, or somewhat in that kinde, which they conveyed in close pipes through the whole *Amphitheater*; and the fight ended, they commonly cast a *largesse* among the people, wrapping up the names of those things in little pellets, which they intended to give, and every one as he could catch them, brought them to the *Masters* of the games, who delivered them the thing it selfe specified in their pellet. Such gifts *Titus* cast abroad by the space of an hundred dayes (as witnesseth *Dion*) for so long his games lasted, and many of them were of good value, as appeares by the testimony of the same *Author*, not onely meate, and drinke, and appareil, but vessels of silver and gold, horses, cattell, slaves, and the like, but it is wonderfull what *Nero* did in this kinde, to the fore-named hee added curious pictures, pearles, and pretious stone, yea *naves, insulas, agros, ships, houses, farmes*: *O res vix Suetonio fidsimo testi credendas*, things hardly to bee credited, though delivered by *Suetonius* a most faithfull Historian.

*Apuleius.  
Spartan.  
Adrian.  
Seneca Ep. 90*

*Suet. c. 18.  
Lysim.*

*In Carino.*

Neither was this the practise of *Emperours* onely, but even of private men. *Cicero* testifies of *Milo*, that in these kinde of games hee wasted three patrimonies; and *Vopiscus* with some indignation relates the like of *Messalla*, *Legat hunc locum Iunius Messalla, quem ego liberè culpae audeo; ille enim patrimonium suum Scenicis dedit, heredibus abnegavit*: Let *Junius Messalla* read this place, whom I dare freely accuse, for that hee hath cast away his patrimony upon stage-players, and defrauded his heires thereof; and then reckoning many particulars of his wastfull riot that way, at length he thus concludes, *Et hac quidem idcirco in literas misi, ut futuros editores pudor tangeret, ne patrimonium suum, proscriptis legitimis heredibus, mimis & balatronibus deputerent*: These things have I therefore committed to writing, that such as hereafter set forth these kinde of games, might blush to conferre their patrimonies vpon jesters and base raskals, excluding their lawfull heires.

#### SECT. 5.

*Of their superfluous expence, as in the number and largenesse, so likewise in the beauty and ornament of Bathes, which were likewise of little other use then for pleasure.*

**B**Ut leaving their *Theaters* & *Amphitheaters* which were onely for pleasure, let us take a view of their *Bathes*, which were likewise of little other use, at least-wise as they used them; as appeares by that of *Artemidorus*, *Balneum nihil aliud suo ævo fuisse quam transitum ad canam*, that a bath in his time was nothing else but a passage to supper, so as they which often tooke repast, washed as often, it being noted of *Commodus* the Emperor, that hee washed seaven or eight times in a day.



And among the *Christians*, *Sisinnius* a Bishop was censured as intemperate for washing twice in a day. Many there have beene, saith *Plutarch* in his booke of the precepts of health, who have brought themselves to this passe, that they could neither eat nor drinke unlesse they had first bathed or had sweat in a stough, among whom *Tiberius* the Emperour was one, as they did testifie who had the cure of him when hee lay sicke: and in the same booke he bringeth in *Zeuxippus* giving precepts of diet, perswading that men would not thinke it strange to come now and then to the table without having beene at the bath or hot-house before: so common a thing it was in those dayes at *Rome* to make use of their baths before they came to their meales. Yet a wonder it is to consider, to what an infinite height these kinde of buildings for *Bathing* amounted, as well in regard of their number and largenesse, as their beauty and ornament. *Agrippa*, as witnesseth *Pliny*, during his *Edulship*, built for publique and free use one hundred and leaventy, and the same *Author* there addes, that at *Rome* in his time their number was infinite: and for the largenesse, some of them, saith *Olympiodorus*, were ingens, and *Cassiodorus*, mirabili magnitudine, of an huge and wonderfull bignesse: *Ammianus* is more particular, *Lavacra in modum Provinciarum extracta*, Bathes built in the manner of Provinces; the *Antoninian*, or rather *Dioclesian* Bathes alone, were so capacious, as they contained for the use of washing, *Sellas mille sexcentas, easque e marmore polito factas* one thousand six hundred severall seats, and those all of polished marble.

Neither was the ornament & beauty of these bathing places unsutable to their number and largenesse; which *Seneca* in his eighty sixt *Epistle* hath most elegantly exprested, and withall bitterly censured, where speaking of the meanness of the Bath which *Scipio Africanus* used, while he lived in banishment, (where *Seneca* wrote that *Epistle*,) he thus goes on: *At nunc quis est qui sic lavari sustineat: pauper sibi videtur ac sordidus, nisi parietes magnis & pretiosis orbibus praefulserint, nisi Alexandrina marmora Numidicis crustis distincta sint, nisi illis undique operosa & in pictura modum variata circumlittio prae texatur, nisi vitro condatur Camera, nisi Thasian lapis quoniam rarum in aliquo spectaculo templo, piscinas nostras circumdiderit, nisi aquam argentea epistomis fuderint, & admodum plebeas fistulas loquor. Quid cum ad Balnea libertinorum pervenero? quantum statuarum? quantum Columnarum & nihil sustentium, sed in ornamentum positarum & impense causi: eo deliciarum venimus ut nisi gemmas calcare volumus.* But who is there now, who would be content to wash as he did: he seemes to himselfe poore and base, whose wals doe not shine with great and pretious circles, unlesse betweene the marble of *Alexandria*, bee inlaid the shavings of that of *Numidia*, unlesse they have a border round about it with diverse colours in manner of pictures, unlesse their arched rooſe be covered over with glasse, unlesse the *Thasian* stone, heretofore a rare sight in some Temple, compasse our ponds; unlesse silver cockes powre us forth water; and as yet have I spoken of the ordinary and common pipes: how much beyond all this are the Bathes of freed men: how many statues, how many pillars have you there, for none other use, but onely for ornament and expence: wee are now come to that delicacie,

that



that we can tread upon nothing but jewels. By which lively description a man would thinke, he rather spake of the pallaces of some great Princes, then of their common *Bathing* roomes, ordained for none other use, then the washing off of the swet and filth of their bodies. Yet with *Seneca* in some part of his description *Statius* accords.

*Nil ibi plebeium, nunquam Temesæa notabis  
Æra, sed argento fœlix propellitur unda,  
Argentoque cadit, labrisque nitentibus instat,  
Delicias mirata suas.*

*In balnea E-  
trusca.*

There's nothing vulgar, there's no *Temesæan* brasse,  
But happy waters there through silver conduits passe,  
From silver fall, and into glistering cisternes runne,  
( Admiring their delights ) with expedition.

Thereby signifying that not onely the pipes, thorow which the water ranne, and the cockes and conduites, out of which it ranne, but the cisternes too, into which it fell were all of pure silver. And touching the glasse, hee touches that too.

*Effulgent Camera, vario fastigia vitro,  
In species animosque nitent.*

The arched roofes doe shine and glister gloriously,  
Of diverse glasse compos'd, both to the minde and eye.

*Pliny* goes farther, and tels us, that not onely the sides of the cisternes, in which they bathed were of silver, but the seats and footing or the bottom, so as they could hardly stand for sliding upon it, *ut eadem materia & probis serviat & cibus*, so as the same matter, saith he, is made to serve both at our tables and for base unworthy offices. Nay as *Rosinus* in his chapter *de thermis* affirms, they used to annoint the very wals of their Bathes with rich ointments, and that even such Bathes as were but for the use of servants. But in truth the most considerable thing in their expences about their Bathes was ( as I conceive ) the exceeding great charge which they were at in the heating of the water, especially they being so large that one of them contained at least tenne times as much in compasse as the Kings Bath in *Bathe*; and so much water together must needs require an infinite deale of fuell to warme it, considering withall that in the latter times when the excesse of bathings grew to the height ( as witnesseth *Plutarch* in the eight booke and ninth chapter of his *Symposiackes* ) their bathes were so hot as they could hardly endure their bodies in them: hee saith that while they were in them they did draw in aire that was mingled as it were with fire & water, whereas in ancient times men could sleepe, and eate, and drinke in their bathes without over heating of their bodies.

*Lil. 33. 12.*

*Anti. Rom.*



## SECT. 6.

Of the endlesse masses of treasure which they poured out in the erecting & adorning of Temples, for the worship of those images which they forged themselves, or at leastwise knew well enough were no Gods.

**B**Efore wee enter into their private houses, it shall not be amisse in passing from their Bathes by the way, to cast a glance upon their Temples and Statues. Had their temples beene consecrated to the honour and service of the true God, I should have highly commended their great expence in the building and beautifying of them, as a worke of piety and devotion. But being dedicated to Idolls and Devils, & such as themselves, at leastwise the wiser sort among them, either laughed at, or beleevved not: the excessive charge which that way they were at, was not only excessive vanity and folly, but most prophane and impious both superstition and superfluity. The number of their Temples onely in the citie of Rome, was foure hundred twenty foure, the greatest part of which was no doubt very magnificent, shining with gold, and ier, and marble, as appeares by that of Rutilius.

*Confunduntque vagos delubra micantia visus,  
Ipsos crediderim sic habitare Deos.*

And glistering temples wandring eyes confound,  
So dwell the Gods I thinke on heavenly ground.

And these chiefly, as I conceive doth Claudian intend, speaking of Rome.

*--- Quæ luce metalli,  
Æmula vicinis fastigia conserit astris.*

Who with her mettals light doth shine;  
And with the neighbour starres her tops confine.

But most elegantly and fully hath Arnobius expressed it: *Sint ergo hæc licet ex molibus marmoreis structa, laquearibus aut remideant aureis, splendent hic gemma, & sydereos evomant variata intermissione fulgores, terra sunt hæc omnia & ex fœce vilioris materia concreta:* Though they be built with piles of marble, and their vaures shine with gold, though they glister with pretious stones, which dart forth & sparkle abroad beames like the starres in a various distance, yet all these things are but earth, made of the dregges of the basest matter.

Amongst them all, that of the Capitoll was most eminent and stately, it tooke its name, as witnesseth Arnobius; a Capite Toli, from the head of a man so named, which, at the laying of the foundation was digged up: It was foure times ruined, and three times againe reedified: It was first built by the Tarquines, Secondly by Sylla, but dedicated by Lucius Catulus; in which Augustus bestowed upon the seat of Iupiter, *Sedecem millia pondo auri & quingenties Sestertium in gemmis*, sixteene thousand weight of gold, and five hundred times an hundred thousand Sesterces in jewels. Thirdly by Vespasian, Fourthly & lastly, by Domitian. The height whereof was such, that Silius brings in Iupiter, thus prophcing of Domitians rayfing it.

*Aurea*



*Aurea Tarpeia ponet Capitolia rupe,  
Et junget nostro templorum culmina caelo.*

He on Tarpeian rocke shall place the golden Capitole,  
And shall advance his Temples top as high as heavenly role.

With whom *Tertullian* fully agrees in sense, and almost in words: *Nam In Apologetico. etsi à Numa concepta religio est, nondum tamen aut simulacbris aut templis res divina apud Romanos constabat, & nulla Capitolia caelo certantia, sed temeraria de cespite altaria:* Though religion was first brought in by *Numa*, yet then had the *Romanes* neither images nor temples for divine service, no *Capitoll* contending with heaven for height, but altars were set up of the turfe that came next to hand. And no doubt but the length and breadth were every way answerable to the height; the excessive charge that *Domitian* was at in the building hereof, *Martiall* after his flattering manner hath wittily described, telling him, that thereby he had so farre obliged *Iupiter* and all the Gods, that if they should empty their coffers and make sale of all they had, they could never make him sufficient recompence, but would be forced to turne *Banke-rupts*.

*Quantum jam superis Caesar caeloque dedisti,  
Si repetas, & si Creditor esse velis,  
Grandis in Aethero licet auctio fiat Olympo,  
Coganturque Dei vendere quicquid habent,  
Conturbabit Atlas, & non erit uncia tota  
Decidat tecum qua pater ipse deum.  
Pro Capitolini quid enim sibi solvere templis,  
Quid pro Tarpeia frondis honore potest? &c.  
Expectes & sustineas Auguste necesse est,  
Nam tibi quod solvat non habet Arca Iovis.*

If *Caesar*, what on Gods and heaven thou hast bestow'd,  
Thou wouldst as Creditour call in, and all that's ow'd;  
Though in the Etheriall skies portsale of all were made,  
And all the Gods were forc't to sell what ere they had,  
Atlas would bankrupt prove, and to the prince of heaven  
Not one ounce would remaine to make all reckonings even.  
For for the Capitals great temples how can he,  
Or for Tarpeian oakes and laurels satisfie? &c.  
Thou must, o *Caesar*, needes a while forbear and stay,  
For why, *Ioves* coffers yet have not wherewith to pay.

By which it appeares what account they made of the Gods, to whom they dedicated these Temples: Nay *Domitian* himselfe the founder of the *Capitoll*, is so bold with them, as if indeed they had beene his debtors, or at least-wise his companions, to stile himselfe in his edicts. *Dominus & Deus noster sic fieri jubet*, our Lord and God so commands, unde institutum posthac ut nec scripto quidem nec sermone cujusquam appellaretur aliter: And from thenceforth was it ordained, that no man should give him other title either in writing or speech. Now for the riches and ornament of the *Capitoll*, wee may in part give a guesse at it by this, that there was spent only upon the gilding of it *supra duodecem millia talentorum*, above twelve thousand tallents: it was all gilded over, not



the inner rooffe only, but the utter covering which was of brasfe or copper, but the doores were laid over with thicke plates of gold, which remained till *Honorius* his raigne: and then in a dearth of coyne, *Stilicho* mandasse perhibetur, (saith *Zozimus*,) *ut fores in Capitolio Romano quæ auro magni ponderis erant obductæ, laminis ijs spoliarentur: Cum autem qui hoc facere jussi erant, id agerent, in parte fori scriptum reppererant, [infelici Regi servantur:] Quod eventus docuit: nam Stilicho paulo post infeliciter periit.* *Stilicho* is said to have given command, that the doores of the Capitoll, which were laid over with massie gold, should bee robbed of those plates, and when they who had it in charge put it in execution, they found ingraven upon a part of the doore these words, [They are reserved for an unfortunate King] which the event proved to bee true, for *Stilicho* within a while after perished unfortunately.

Next to the Capitoll was the *Pantheon*; the Temple of Honour, of Fortune, of the City, strange Idolls, and that of Peace inferiour to none. It was built by *Vespasian*, three hundred foote in length it was, and in breadth two hundred; so as *Herodian* deservedly calls it, *Maximum & pulcherrimum omnium in urbe operum*, the greatest and fairest of all the workes in the City: Whereunto he adds, *ditissimum, ornamentis auri & argenti excultum*, the most sumptuous in ornaments of gold & silver: of which *Iosephus* thus writes, *Omnia in hoc templum collata & disposita sunt, ob quæ homines videndi cupiditate antea per totum orbem vagabantur*, Upon this temple were bestowed all the rarities which men before travelled thorow the world to see. And *Pliny*, *Ex omnibus quæ retuli clarissima quæque in urbe, jam sunt dicata à Vespasiano Principe in templo Pacis*, of all the choice peeces that I have spoken of, the most excellent are laid up and dedicated to *Vespasian* the Emperour in the Temple of Peace: thus they made Idolls to themselves, which the simplest of them could not but discern were no Gods, and then without measure or reason, powred out infinite masses of treasure in the serving and worshipping of them.

## S E C T. 7.

Of their wonderfull vanity in erecting infinite numbers of statues, & those very changeable, and that to themselves.

**Y**Et in this was some pretence of Religion, but in their Statues they worshipped themselves, vainely imagining thereby to eternize their names. *Quidam eternitati se commendari posse per statuas estimantes, eas ardentè affectant, atque apud curant inbracteari*, saith *Ammianus Marcellinus*, some hoping to recommend themselves to eternitie by statues, infinitely affect them, causing them to bee over-laid with gold. *Cassiodorus*, l. 7. This itching humour of theirs, *penè parem urbi populum dedit quàm natura procreavit*: in time begat almost as many inhabitants to the Citie as nature brought forth, meaning that the number of their statues, did in a manner equall their Citizens: And no marvell, they being *sine numero*, without number, in so much as they filled every corner, pestered their streetes,



streetes, and straitned their wayes, which gave occasion to that *Edict* of *Claudius*, whereby private men were inhibited the erecting of statues to themselves, but by leave first obtained from the *Senate*, such onely excepted as had done some *publique service*. *Dio. lib. Vltimo.*

For the price of the stuffe whereof they were made, the most common and basest of them were of *Marble*, the rest of *Ivorie*, and *Silver*, & *Gold*, and those solide and massie, *Statuas sibi in Capitolio non nisi aureas argenteasque poni permisit ac ponderis certi*, they bee the words of *Suetonius* touching *Domitian*, hee forbad any statues to be erected to him in the *Capitoll*, save onely of gold and silver, and those of a certaine weight: which weight perchance those verses of *Statius* expresse, *Cap. 13.*

*Da Capitulinis aeternum sedibus aurum,  
Quo miteant sacri centeno pondere vultus.*

Grant to the *Capitoll* eternall gold, wherein

Those sacred faces of one hundred weight may shine.

But that of *Commodus* farre exceeded this weight, *Statuam mille librarum auream habuit*, hee had a Statue erected to him of a thousand pound weight. Now as they were at this great charge in the making and erecting of their Statues: So were they likewise in the guarding of them. They were kept with no lesse caution, then they were set up with care and cost: And to this purpose maintained they an Officer of great honour who had the title of *Comes Romanus* given him. This man with his souldiers walked thorow the streetes of the Citie in the night to see good order: but chiefly to provide that no wrong should be offered to the Statues; thus prodigally carefull they were of their owne shadowes, and as prodigally carelesse of the lives of others: so as I cannot easily determine whether their cruelty were greater in the one, or their folly in the other. *Dion. in compendio.*  
*Cassiodorus. l. 7.*

### SECT. 8.

Their prodigall sumptuousnesse in their private buildings, in regard of their largenesse & height of their houses, as also in regard of their marble pillars, walls, roofes, beames, and pavement full of art and cost.

**N**OW for their dwelling houses and private buildings. *Claudian* speaking of *Rome*, thus sets them out in generall.

*Qua nil in terris complectitur altius aether;  
Cujus nec spatium visus, nec corda decorem,  
Nec laudem vox ulla capit.*

On earth nought higher do the Heavens embrace:  
Her largenesse sight, her beauty hearts, her praise  
Tongue comprehends not.---

It was the vaunt of *Augustus*, *marmoream se relinquere quam lateritiam accepisset*; that he left the Citie of marble having found it of bricke: but *S. Hieromes* complaint, *Vivimus quasi altero die morituri, & adificamus quasi semper in hoc seculo victuri*, we so feed as if we were to die to morrow, & so build as if we were here to live for ever. The number of their houses belonging *Epist. ad Galat. dentium.*



Lib. 4. cap. 6.

Plin. 18. 2.

36. 15.

Senec. de Benef.  
7. 10.

Lib. 4. Epig. 49.

Juven. Sat. 14.

Epist. 122.

belonging to one of their Senatours was such, that as *Blondus* in his booke *de Roma triumphante* shewes, *Cicero* alone had eighteen great houses in the Countrey, and by his description of one of them, it was as faire and large as any of the Kings. The largenesse of their houses was strange, and such as a man would wonder what use they could have of it: The words of *Valerius* are to this purpose very pertinent, where speaking of *Quintius Cincinnatus*, to whom the Dictatorship was offered, though hee plowed but foure acres of land, with some indignation hee addes, *anguste se habitare nunc putat, cujus domus tantum patet quantum Cincinnati rura patuerant*; hee thinkes hee is straitned in his dwelling, whose house is no larger then were all *Cincinnatus* his grounds. Some of *Neroes* slaves had Kitchings that tooke up above two acres of ground, and the Lands of those who layd the ground of their Empire were of lesse extent then the Cellars of some that came after: so that by this proportion their houses came almost to the greatnesse of Cities; *domos atque villas cognoveris in urbium modum exadificatas*, they bee the words of *Salust*, wee may understand their houses and farmes to bee built in the manner of Cities. Nay they went beyond them: *adificata privata laxitatem urbium magnarum videntia*, private mens houses exceeded the largenesse of great Cities. And of these sometimes they joyned two or three together, as *Catiline* in his Oration to his Souldiers upbraides his enemies; and in this sense it seemes is *Martiall* to be understood.

*Et docti Seneca ter numeranda domus.*

And learned *Seneca's* thrice to be numbred house.

Neither was the height of their houses disproportionable to the largenesse.

*Adificant auro sedesque ad Sydera mittunt.*

They build with gold and raise their seats unto the starres.

There were of them who built to the height of their chiefeſt Temples that of *Hercules* and *Fortune*, nay exceeded the *Capitoll* it selfe.

*Adificator erat Centronius, & modo curvo  
Littore Cajeta summa nunc Tyberis arce,  
Nunc Prænestinis in montibus alta parabat  
Culmina villarum, Gracis longeque petitis  
Marmoribus, vincens Fortuna atque Herculis adem;  
Ut spado vincebat Capitolia nostra Posides.*

*Centronius* was a builder, sometimes on  
Crooked *Cajetas* shore, sometimes upon  
*Tybur's* high tops raising his palaces,  
And on *Præneste* hils fetching from *Greece*  
And farre way his marbles, to controll  
(As th'Eunuch *Posid* did our *Capitoll*)  
The Church of *Fortune* and of *Hercules*.

Yet to this height they farther added somewhat, by planting gardens & orchards and groves upon their house toppes: therein like *Antipodes* running a contrary course to nature, as *Seneca* truly and justly taxes them.

*Non vivunt contra naturam qui pomaria in summis turribus serunt, quorum*



*sylvæ in tectis domorum ac fastigijs nutant, inde ortis radicibus quo improba  
cacumina egissent?* Doe they not live contrary to the rules of Nature,  
who make themselves Orchards upon their highest towers, whose  
woods shake upon the tops of their houses, their rootes there springing  
up where the top should have reached?

Neither was the *riches & ornament* unsutable either to the largenesse  
or height of their building. Thither they called to their great expence  
the most skilfull *Architects* from *Greece* and *Asia*, and all the parts of  
the knowne world, *Quibus ingenium & audacia fuit, etiam quæ natura de* Tacit. Annal.  
15. 10.  
*negavisset, per artem tentare*, whose wit and daring was such, that by art  
they attempted to effect that, which Nature seemed to deny. *Lucullus*  
neare unto a house of pleasure which he built by the sea side, not farre  
from *Naples* caused mountaines to be cut through, only to let in the sea  
into his house for places to keepe his fish in, and roomes hee built also  
in the sea it selfe to that purpose; in so much as *Tubero* a *Stoicke* Philo-  
sopher having seene those workes, said that *Lucullus* was a *Roman Xerxes*,  
for so said he, *Xerxes* in old time caused the mountaine *Athos* to be cut in  
sunder, and a channell to be digged there to passe his ships through. A-  
mong the rest of their ornaments, their infinite number of marveilous  
high pillars, & those of diverse sorts of the choicest kinds of marble was  
not the least. The height of some of them was 38 foote, and to their  
height was their beauty & greatnesse every way answerable. *Pueros re-* Plin. 36. 2.  
Senec. ep. 115.  
*periti in litore calculi leves & aliquid habentes varietatis delectant, nos ingen-*  
*tium macula columnarum sive ex Egyptijs arenis, sive ex Africa solitudi-*  
*nibus advecta porticum aliquam vel capacem populi cœnationem ferunt.* Chil-  
dren are delighted with pebble stones or shells of diverse colours taken  
up from the shore, and wee with diverse spots of huge marble pillars,  
drawne hither from the sands of *Egypt*, & the deserts of *Africa*, for the  
supporting of a gallery or some spacious dining roome. Their number  
was likewise very great,

*Pendent innumeris fastigia nixa columnis.*

Whose rooffe doth rest on pillars numberlesse.

*Statius in Epi-  
thalamia Stelle.*

Sometimes an hundred of them stood together,

*At tua centenis incumbunt tecta columnis.*

*Martial. 5. 13.*

Thy rooffe upon an hundred pillars stayes.

Sometimes as many more; as in the house built by *Gordianus* in the *Pre-* Capitolinus in  
Gordiano. 3.  
*nestine* way, *ducentas columnas uno peristylo habens*, having in one entry or  
gallery two hundred pillars, distinguished by fifties from diverse coun-  
tries, and all of an equall height. And if wee desire to know the price  
of some of these, *Crassus* tells us, *decem columnas centum millibus num-* Valerius.  
*mum emi*, I bought ten pillars for one hundred thousand Sesterces. And  
as their pillars were of solide marble, so their walls were artificially  
crusted over with peeces of diverse colours. *Miramur parietes tenui mar-* Senec. Ep. 126.  
*more inductos cum sciamus quale sit quod absconditur; oculis nostris imponi-*  
*mus*: Wee stand wondring at the walls laid over with thinne crusts of  
marble, though wee know well enough what lyes under them, wee are  
content to cosen our owne eyes. To this *Lucan* alludes,

*Nec summis crustata domus, sectisque nitebat  
Marmoribus.*

Nor



Nor was the house with crusts of marble lin'd,  
Nor with hewen stones of pretious marble shin'd.

Seneca Contra-  
vers. 2. 1.

And *Fabianus Papyrius*, *In hos igitur exitus varius ille secator lapis, ut tenui fronte parietem tegat*: To this purpose is that diversely coloured stone sawed in diverse peeces, that with a thinne surface it may cover the wall. The first inventor or setter up of this device was *Mansurra*, as witnesseth *Pliny* out of *Cornelius Nepos*.

Lib. 26. c. 6.

But their beames exceeded these walls being all guilded over.

Statius in Ti-  
burtino Manly  
Vapisa.

*Auratasne trabes an muros undique postes  
Mirer?*

But whereat should I wonder most,  
The golden beames or yvorie post:

Propertius.

*Non tenarijs domus est mihi fulva columnis,  
Nec Camera auratas inter eburna trabes.*

Nor is my house on *Spartan* pillars plac't,  
Nor yvorie roofe with guilded beames is grac't.

Lucanus.

And they were either laid over with thicke guilding or plates of gold.

*--- Crassumque trabes absconderat aurum.*

Thicke gold did hide the beames.

As were likewise their roofes.

Statius.

*--- Crassa laquearia fulva metallo.*

Thicke mettals lin'd the roofes.

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This their best *Authours* every where testifie and censure. *Quo pertinent hac atria columnata? quo varia ista colorationes? quo aurata lacunaria?* to what use are their entries set with rowes of pillars of diverse colours? to what end are their roofes guilded? they bee the words of *Musonius* in *Stobaeus*. The roofe of the *Capitol*, saith *Pliny*, was not guilded till the razing of *Carthage*, *Quae nunc & in privatis domibus auro teguntur*, which now a dayes even in private mens houses are covered with gold, Nay he goes farther and tells us, that this practise passed from the roofes and beames, to their chambers and walls, *Qui & ipsi jam tanquam vasa inaurantur*, which are now guilded as well as our drinking vessels. With whom *S. Hierome* accords, *Auro parietes, auro laquearia, auro fulgent capita columnarum*, with gold their wals, with gold their roofes, with gold the heads of their pillars shine. And herein they had diverse shapes artificially exprest, as appeares by *Statius*, and pretious stones here and there glistering among.

Ep. ad Gauden-  
cium.

In Tiburtino.

*Vidi artes veterumque manus varijsque metalla  
Viva modis, labor est auri memorare figuras,  
Aut ebur, aut dignas digitis contingere gemmas.*

Their ancient workes their living mettals I  
Of sundry sorts did see, a labour 'twere  
To tell the shapes of gold, the yvory,  
The pretious stones on fingers fit to weare.

But that which I thinke was more costly then gold, was their admirable variety and change of roofes, with drawing one face, and exhibiting another at their pleasure, *Versatilia Cœnationum laquearia ita con-  
mentant, ut subinde alia facies, atq; alia succedat, & toties tecta quoties fercula  
mutentur.*

Senec. ep. 90.



*mutentur.* They so fram'd the moveable roofes of their dining roomes that one face succedes another, which they vary as often as they serve in a new course. And it should seeme by *Rutilius* that in these they sometime represented groves with birds singing in them.

*Quid loquar inclusas inter laquearia sylvas?*

*Vernula qua vario carmine ludit avis.*

They pleasant groves within their roofes doe shut,  
Where birds doe chant and vary many a note.

And from these sometimes they cast downe flowers in such abundance that they buried men under them, *Oppressit in triclinijs versatilibus parasitos suos violis & floribus, sic ut animam aliqui efflaverint, cum eripi ad summam non possent*, saith *Lampridius* of *Heliogabalus*; He so over-loaded his jesters in his dining roomes that had changeable roofes, with violets and others flowers, that some of them died upon the place, being brought to that passe, as at last they could not be rescued. Nay so curious they were, that the very floore which they trode upon must answer the rooffe, *Impenditur cura ut lacunaribus pavimentorum respondeat* Senec. epist. 115. nitor, a speciall care must be had, that the shining of the floore must be answerable to the rooffe. And in another place, *domus etiam qua calcatur* De Tranq. c. 1. pretiosa, divitijs per omnes angulos dissipatis: pretious things are spread there even where men tread, riches being scattered through every corner of the house. And this excessive curiosity *Statius* glances at.

*Dum vagor aspectu vultusque per omnia duco,*

*Calcabam nec opinus opes: Nam splendor ab alto*

*Defluus, & nitidum referentes aëra testa*

*Monstravere solum, varias ubi picta per artes*

*Gaudet humus, suberantque novis Asarota figuris.*

Whilst to and fro my wandring eyes survaied

All things, unwares on riches did I tread,

Downe from above came light, the rooffe, the aire

Reflecting on the soyle, shewed what lay there,

The artificiall pavement seem'd to smile,

And figures new were pictur'd on the tile.

And so doth *Martial*,

*Calcatusque tuo sub pede lucet Onix.*

Under thy feete the Onix stone doth shine.

*Lib. 5 epig. 15.*

#### SECT. 9.

The profuse expences of Domitian and Nero in their buildings, as also of Caligula in his madde workes.

**N**OW as the greatest part of these was ordinary even in private mens houses, so we may well conceive that the palaces of the Emperours farre exceeded them. I will instance onely in two, those of *Domitian* and *Nero*. Touching the former, *Plutarch* treating of the sumptuous furniture of the *Capitoll*, thus writes. *Quod si quis hunc Capitoliū magnificum instructum miretur, idem si Domitiani in aula u-*  
nam



nam porticum vel basilicam, vel balneum, vel pellicum dietam videret, exclamet cum Epicharmo.

Non liberalis aut benignus tu clues,  
Profusione gaudes.

Not bountifull nor liberall  
Art thou, but plainly prodigall.

If any wonder at this magnificent structure of the Capitoll, the same man if in Domitians palace he should behold but one gallery, or hall, or bath, or parlour for his Concubines, he would presently cry out with Epicharmus, &c. where hee makes all the glory of the Capitoll, which wee have in part opened before, to bee but as a trifle or toy, in comparison of Domitians owne house.

Cap. 31.

Argente rabiat  
Cœnatione Salem,  
Iuven. Sat. 7.

See Tacitus of  
this house,  
Annal. 15. c. 10.

The other was that of Nero, which himselfe named *domum auream*, a golden house; and Suetonius in his life thus describes it. *Vestibulum ejus fuit in quo Colossus centum viginti pedum staret ipsius effigie, tanta laxitas ut porticus triplices milliarias haberet. Item stagnum maris instar, circumseptum adificijs ad urbium speciem. Rura insuper arvis atque vineis & pascuis sylvisque varia cum multitudine omnis generis peculorum ac ferarum, in ceteris partibus cuncta auro lita distincta gemmis unguumq; conchis erant. Cœnationes laqueata tabulis eburneis versatilibus ut flores, & fistulatis ut unguenta desuper spargerentur, præcipua Cœnationum rotunda quæ perpetuo diebus ac noctibus vici mundi circumageretur: Ejusmodi domum cum absolutam dedicaret, hæcenus comprobavit, ut se diceret quasi hominem tandem habitare capisse.* In the porch was set a Colossus shaped like himselfe of one hundred and twenty foot high, the spaciousnesse of the house was such that it had in it three galleries, each of them a mile long, a standing poole like a sea, beset with buildings in the manner of a Citie; fields, in which were arable grounds, pastures, vineyards, and woods, with a various multitude of tame and wilde beasts of all kindes. In the other parts thereof, all things were covered with gold, and distinguished with pretious stones or mother of pearle. The supping roomes were roofed with yvorie planks, that were moveable for the casting downe of flowers, and had pipes in them for the sprinkling of oyntments. The roofof the principall supping roome was round, which like the heaven perpetually day & night wheeled about. This house when he had thus finished and dedicated, hee so farre forth approved of it, that hee said, *hee began to dwell like a man.*

Sueton. c. 37.

Contracta pisces  
aquora sentium  
jactum altum  
molibus; Horat.

I had thought nothing could be added to this extreame madnesse of Nero & Domitian, which made me resolve here to conclude this chapter; but I know not whether that Caligula, though perchance in somewhat a different kinde exceede them both. *Fabricavit & de Cedris liburnicas gemmatis puppibus, versicoloribus velis, magna thermarum, & porticum, & tricliniorum laxitate, magnaq; etiam vitium & pomiferarum arborum varietate: quibus discumbens de die inter choros ac Symphonias littora Campaniæ peragraret. In extructionibus Prætoriorum atque villarum omni ratione posthabita, nihil tam efficere concupiscebat quam quod posse effici negaretur, & jacta itaque moles infesto ac profundo mari, excisa rupes durissimi silicis, & campi montibus aggere equati, & complanata fossuris montium juga,*



*juga, incredibili quidem celeritate, cum mora culpa capite lueretur.* He built of Cedar, barges or galliboats, their sterns being set with pearle and pretious stone, carrying sayles of diverse colours, having in them bathes, galleries, and parlours of great largenesse, with great variety of vines and trees bearing fruite, lying along in these amid his musicke of voyces and instruments, he was carryed up & downe upon the coast of *Campania*. In the building of his Countrey or mannour houses, setting aside all reason, hee desired nothing so much to be done, as that which was denyed could be done: so as that he would lay huge mighty piles in the deepe sea, to stop the course of it, he would cut thorow rockes of the hardest flint, equall the Champian to the mountaines, and levell the toppes of high hills, and all this he did with speed incredible, the least delay being presently punished with death.

## S E C T. 10.

*That the Romanes luxurious excesse in their household-stuffe, and the ornaments of their houses, was sutable to that of their buildings.*

**W**EE may adde as an appendix to their luxury in buildings, that in their household-stuffe, and the ornaments of their houses; their excesse in their tables, and dishes, and cups I have already touched, as being appurtenances of their luxury in diet; passing by these then we may take a survey of the rest. And first of their beds: These were either *Triclinaries* or *Cubiculares*, such as they used for diet, or lodging, in their supping roomes, or their chambers. These by degrees came to be of silver, then were they gilded, & lastly of pure masie gold: which *Carvilius Pollio* first brought in use: And *Suetonius* reports of *Iulius Caesar*, in *aureo lecto veste purpurea decubuisse*, that hee laid him downe in a bed of gold with a purple covering. And *Gellius* of more ancient times out of *Favorinus*; *Stratus auro, argento, purpurâ, amplior aliquot hominibus quam Dys immortalibus adornatur*: a bed for some men is furnished more magnificently with gold, & silver, & purple; then for the Gods immortall. These they likewise perfumed with rich and pretious odours, which the *Epigrammatist* deservedly laughs at.

*Quid thorus à Nilo? quid Syndone tectus olenti?*

*Mart. 2. 16.*

*Ostendit stultas quid nisi morbus opes?*

What meanes thy bed from Nile, and quilt perfumed so?

What doth thy sicknesse but thy foolish riches show?

Next their beds wee may set their *Chariots*, which were in a manner running beds, as their beds were a kind of standing chariots. These *Hellogabalus* had not only of gold, but set with pearle and pretious stone.

And such a one belike was that whereof *Martiall* speaks,

*Aurea quod fundi pretio carruca paratur.*

*Martial. 3. 62.*

That for a mannours price thou bought'st a golden coach.

So as that which the Poet fained of the *Chariot* of the *Sunne*, might indeed be verified of theirs.

*Aureus axis erat, temo aureus, aurea summa*

*Ovid. Met. 2.*

Qq 2

*Curvaturâ*



*Curvatura rota, radiorum argenteus oras,*  
The axel-tree was gold, the beame, the wheele,  
The spokes of silver were.---

Their harnesses belonging to these was likewise very costly, and the Caparisons of their horses & mules imbroydered with gold & silver. Of these Nero when he journeyed had never lesse then a thousand; his mules being shod with silver, and his muleters richly apparelled: but Poppaea his wife therein exceeded him, causing the choycest of her travelling beasts to be shod with gold: Yet Helio-gabalus went a straine farther, and put it to a baser use; as he made water in Myrrinis & Onichinis; in Myrrin vessels and of the Onix stone, so made hee his stoole-pans of gold: Which Pliny out of Messala likewise reports of Anthony, *in contumeliam naturæ vilitatem auro fecit, opus proscriptione dignum*, to the reproach of nature he used gold to the basest offices, a worke even worthy proscription. And the same doth Marcellus upbraid Bassa with:

*Ventris onus misero nec te pudeat excipis auro,*  
Bassa.

Thy bellies load thou dost exonerate  
O Bassa, in gold, yet shamest not thereat.

Their caldrons, their seething-pots, their grid-irons, and frying-pans were usually of silver, as witnesseth Vlpian, and Pliny, *vasa coquinaria ex argento fieri queritur*; Calvus the Oratour complaines, that our very Kitchen vessels are all of plate. The same Pliny affirms, that the price of a candlesticke was the salarie or stipend of a Tribune, which was fifty thousand Sesterces: Nay a little hatchet or axe, if we may credit Marcellus, was sold for foure hundred thousand.

*Cum fieret tristis solvendus auctio nummis,*  
*Hæc quadringentis millibus emptæ fuit.*

When sale was made that debts might be defraide;  
Foure hundred thousand for this was well paid.

Now for ornament of their houses, they bought them pictures of excessive prices: *Cum tabula eorum singula oppidorum veniens opibus*; some single peeces being valued at the riches of a whole towne: the counterfeit taken from a table made by Pausias, wherein was represented his Mistrisse Glycera with a chaplet of flowres in her hand, curiously plaited and twisted, Lucius Lucullus bought of Dionysius a Painter of Athens, and it cost him two talents of silver. Cydias in a table represented the Argonautes, for which Hortensius the Oratour was content to pay one hundred forty foure thousand Sesterces. And what difference is there herein betweene us and children, saith Seneca, who valuing counterfeit rings, and jewels, and bracelets at high prices? *nisi quod nos circa tabulas & statuas insanimus charius inepti*, save that wee dote about statues and pictures, playing the fooles at a dearer rate.

But as they were luxurious in the price, so were they likewise in the worke it selfe, which many times was lascivious and beastly.

*Quæ manus obscenas depinxit prima tabellas,*  
*Et posuit castâ turpia visa domo,*

*Ille*



*Illa puellarum ingenuos corrumpit ocellos  
Nequitiaque sua noluit esse rudes.*

The hand that first lascivious pictures drew,  
And filthy sights in houses chaste did shew,  
He maids chaste eyes did first corrupt, and he  
Would have them train'd up in their lechery.

Thus did Tyberius adorne his chambers: *Cubicula plurifariam disposita tabellis ac sigillis lascivissimarum picturarum ac figurarum adornavit.* So did *Hor. Speculato cubiculo scorta dicitur habuisse disposita, &c.* They had likewise for ornament the shells of Tortoises artificially wrought, & in *Seneca de bene. ficij. 7. 9.* gentibus emptas, bought at wonderfull high rates. But I leave their houses, together with the stuffe and ornament thereof, and come to their apparrell & ornament of their bodies, in which they exceeded as much or more then in their houses.

## CHAP. 8.

*Of the Romanes excessive Luxury in their dressing and apparell.*

## SECT. 1.

*How effeminate they were in regard of their bodies, specially about their haire.*

**T**Heir effeminate softnesse and nicenesse in regard of their bodies, *Seneca* hath well both observed and censured: *Adhuc quicquid est boni moris extinguimus levitate & politura corporum, muliebres munditias antecessimus, colores meretricios matronis quidem non induendos viri sumimus, tenero & molli ingressu suspendimus gradum, non ambulamus, sed repimus:* Whatsoever is yet left of good fashion we extinguish it by the decking and trimming of our bodies, we have exceeded the neatnesse of women, even wee men weare light and whorish colours, not becomming matrons, we fashion our gait to a wanton & mincing pace, we doe not walke but creepe. And of the same hee grievously complains in the proeme to the first booke of his Controversies: *Capillum frangere, & ad muliebres munditias vocem extenuare, mollitie corporum certare cum feminis, & immundis se excolere munditijs nostrorum adolescentium specimen est:* It is now held the accomplished gallantry of our youth to friske their haire like women, to speak with an affected limalnes of voice, and in tendernes of body to match them, & to bedeck themselves with most undecent trimming. But their extreame curiosity in plaiting and folding their haire, hee in another place most lively describes, and as sharply, but justly reproves: *Quomodo irascuntur, si tonsor paulo negligentior fuit tanquam virum tonderet? quomodo excandescunt si quid ex juba sua decisum est? si quid extra ordinem jacuit, nisi omnia in annulos suos reciderunt? Quis est istorum qui non malit Remp. turbari, quam comam? Qui non sollicitior sit de capitis sui decore, quam de salute? qui non comptior esse malit, quam honestior?* How doe they chafe if the barbour be never so little negligent, as if hee were



were trimming a man? How doe they take on if any thing be lopped off of their feakes or fore-tops? if any thing lye out of order, if every thing fall not even into their rings or curles, which of these would not rather choose that the state whereof he is a member should be in combustion then his haire should bee displatted? who is not much more sollicitous of the grace of his head then of his health? who maketh not more account to bee fine then honest? Even *Iulius Caesar* himselfe was this way too too nice, *Circa corporis curam morosior, ut non solum tonderetur diligenter ac raderetur, sed velleretur etiam, ut quidam expronaverunt.* He was too studious about the care of his body, so as he was not onely curiously cut, but shaven, nay had his haire plucked off with pincers, which some upbraided him with. No marveile then if *Nero* exceeded this way: *Circa cultum habitumque adeo pudendus*, so shamefull was he in the dressing of himselfe, that he alwayes wore his haire after the Greeke fashion plaited behind. These plaitings they likewise besmeared with oyntments and perfumes:

*Iuven. Sat. 4.*

*Et matutino sudans Crispinus amomo,  
Quantum vix redolent duo funera.*

And *Crispin* sweating with his oyntment and perfume,  
Two funerals scarce smell so much I dare presume.

And sometimes they dyed their haire.

*Mart. l. 3. ep. 43.*

*Mentiris juvenem tinctis Lentine capillis,  
Tam subito corvus qui modo cygnus eras.  
Non omnes fallis, scit te Proserpina canum,  
Personam capiti detrahet illa tuo.*

And againe,

*Mart. l. 1. ep. 99.*

*Cana est barba tibi, nigra est coma, tingere barbam  
Non potes, hæc causa est, sed potes Ole comam.*

Neither was the use of perruques unknowne in those times as may appeare by this of the Epigrammatist.

*Mart. lib. 10.  
epig. 71.*

*Calvo turpius est nihil comato.*

Then bushie baldnesse nothing's more deform'd.

And for the face they used so much flibber-fauce, such dawbing and painting, that a man could not well tell,

*Iuven. Sat. 6.*

*---Facies dicatur an ulcus.*

May it a face or else a botch be call'd?

*Cap. 12.*

*Suetonius* reports it of *Otho*, that hee shaved every day, and rubbed his face over with moistned bread, *idque instituisse à prima lanugine, ne barbatus unquam esset*; and that this hee practised from the time of his first appearance of the haire on his chinne, that he might never have a beard. Neither were these things only practised by them, but Schooles they had to teach them, and open shoppes to sell what they had in this kinde.



## S E C T. 2.

of the pressing, plaiting, store, die, and price of their garments, as also of their rings and jewels of inestimable value.

**N**OW as they were thus effeminate and curious about their Bodies, so were they likewise about the apparelling of them. Their garments were artificially pressed, *ponderibus ac mille tormentis splendere cogentibus*, with waights and a thousand rackings and tortures to make them shine the brighter.

*Sic tua suppositis perlucet prae lacernis.*

So doe thy presses shine with garments under-laid.

And as they were thus artificially pressed, so were they most curiously plaited, as appeares by this, that *Hortensius* having one day with much ado composed himselfe to the looking-glasse, he commenced a suit against his fellow in office, for that meeting him by chance in a narrow way, hee had disordered the plaits of his Robe, & *capitale putavit quod in humero suo locum ruga mutasset*, he held it a capitall matter that a fold upon his shoulder was displaced. And therefore *Tertullian* alluding hereunto accompts it among the commodities of his cloake, that it needed no Artificer, *qui pridie rugas ab exordio formet*, who the day before he wore it, should set in due forme & order the plaits thereof: & a while after, *etiam cum reponitur nulli cippo in crastinum demandatur*: when it is laid aside, it is not committed to the stocks till the morrow. Of these they had such variety and store, that *Nero* was never seene twice in the same garment; & when a *Prætor* intending to set forth the most sumptuous & magnificent shewes he could devise, came to *Lucullus* to borrow of him some store of short cloakes; his answer was, that he would take a time to see if he had so many as the *Prætor* desired; and the next day sending to know what number would serve the turne, it being told him an hundred, *ducentas accipere jussit*, he bid them take two hundred. But *Horace* speaketh of a farre greater number, no lesse then five thousand.

---- *Chlamydes Lucullus ut aiunt*

*Si posset centum scena prebere, rogatus,*

*Qui possum tot: ait? tamen & quaram, & quot habeo*

*Mittam, Post paulò scribit sibi millia quinque*

*Esse domi chlamydum, partem vel tolleret omnes,*

*Lucullus* asked once, if he could lend

Unto the stage one hundred cloakes, replied

How can I man, so many? yet Ile send

As many as I have when I have tried,

Soon after writes, five thousand cloaks I have.

Take all, or part as many as you crave,

*Sic micat innumeris arcula synthesis,*

*Atque unam vestire tribum tua Candida possint*

*Apula non uno quæ grege terra tulit.*

The chest with supper garments infinite,

Shines in like manner, and thy fleeces white



From more then one flocke in Apulia shorne  
By one whole tribe suffice well to be worne.

When they went to the publique Bathes, they had of these so many brought after them as might well suffice a dozen men; At their publique feasts they changed often only for ostentation to shew their variety, at least so often as severall courses were served in.

Marcellinus  
lib. 28.

*Vndecies una surrexti Zoile cæna,  
Et mutata tibi est Synthesis undecies.*

Marshall, lib. 5.  
epig. 81.

Eleven times at one supper thou  
O Zoilus didst arise.

As many times thou didst I throw  
Thy mantle change likewise,

Neither was the price unsutable to their store, they dared to lay downe for a cloake ten thousand Sesterces :

Epig. l. 4. ca. 61.

*Millibus decem dixti  
Emptas lacernas munus esse Pompilla.  
Pompilla gave thee, thou didst boast,  
A cloake that might ten thousand cost.*

And in another Epigram,

*Emit lacernas millibus decem Bassus.*

l. 10.

Ten thousand Bassus for a cloake did pay.

Now that which principally hoised up the price of the garments to this immoderate hight, was the rich dye which they borrowed from shel-fish, *Quibus eadem mater luxuria paria pene etiam margaritis pretia fecit*, which our Luxury, saith Pliny, hath brought to prizes almost equall to those of pearles. A pound of violet purple in the time of Augustus, as witnesseth Cornelius Nepos, who lived and wrote during his raigne, was sold for an hundred pence, in steede whereof the Tyrian double dye grew in use, which could not be bought for a thousand.

Lib. 9. c. 35.

Lib. 9. c. 39.

Their lightnesse farther appeared in the light apparell which they wore, This is the making of that fine Say, whereof silke cloath is made, (saith Pliny) which men also are not abashed to put on and use, because in summer-time they would goe light and thin. And so farre doe men draw backe now a dayes from carrying a good corset and armour on their backs, that they thinke their ordinary apparell doth over-loade them. And these transparent garments the Satyrist thus deservedly inveighs against.

Lib. 11 c. 23.

---Sed quid

*Non facient alij cum tu multitia sumas  
Cretice, & hanc vestem populo mirante perores  
In Proculas & Pollineas? Est macha Labulla,  
Damnetur si vis, etiam Carfinea: talem  
Non sumet damnata togam. Sed Iulius ardet,  
Æstuo, Nudus agas, minus est insania turpis.  
En habitum quo te leges ac jura ferentem  
Vulneribus crudis populus modo victor, & illud  
Montanum positis audiret vulgus aratri.  
Quid non proclames in corpore iudicis ista*



*Si videas? quæro an deceant multitudo testem?*

*Acer & indomitus, libertatisque magister*

*Cretice pelluces?*

What will not others doe, since *Creticus* doth use  
Light garments, and therein *Polineas* doth accuse  
And *Proculus*, while as the vulgar sort therefore  
Both game and wonder makes. *Labulla* plays the whore  
Condemne her if thou wilt, condemn *Carfinia* too,  
Yet will she not condemn'd weare such a gowne I trow.  
But *Iuly* scaldeth, and I fry. Plead naked then,  
Lesse shame'tis to be mad. Behold the weed wherein  
The conquering people yet fresh bleeding from the warre,  
And hardie mountainer leaving both plough and share,  
May heare thee talke of law and right, didst thou but see  
A Iudge in such attire, what out-cryes would there bee?  
Would lawne a witnesse fit? Thou *Creticus* so sad,  
So fierce, so free, art in transparent garments clad.

Hereunto they added rings and jewels of inestimable value. At the battle of *Canna* the *Carthaginians* gathered frõ the fingers of the slaughtered *Romanes* who died in that battle three *modij*, which by *Hannibal* were sent to *Carthage* as a token of the greatnes of his victory. *Nonnius* the Senatour, being proscribed by *Anthony*, betooke himselfe to flight, and of all his goods carried with him onely one ring, wherein was set an opall *Quem certum est, sestertijs viginti millibus aestimatum*, which it is certaine was valued at twenty thousand Sesterces, Rings they wore upon every finger. *Plin. 33. 1.*

*Per cuius digitos currit levis annulus omnes,*

*Martial. 5. 63.*

On whose each finger was a gold ring set.

Nay for every joynt they had a ring, and that set with a pretious stone, *exornamus annulis digitos, & in omni articulo gemma desponitur*, we garnish our fingers with rings, & upon every joynt shines a pretious stone, saith *Seneca*, & *Pliny*; some will have the little finger loaden with three rings; nay now adayes, the middle finger onely excepted, all the rest are charged with them, *atque etiam privatim articuli minoribus alijs*, yea and every joynt by themselves must have some lesser rings & gemmalls to fit them. *Senec. Nat. Quæst. l. 7. 31.*  
*Charinus* wore upon every finger six, neither would he even in the night disburden himselfe of them. 33.  
1.

*Senos Charinus omnibus digitis gerit*

*Mart. lib. 11.*

*Nec nocte ponit annulos:*

*epig. 40.*

And as if all this had beene too little, they wore upon one joynt many pretious stones.

*Sardonichas, Smaragdos, Adamantas, Faspidus uno*

*Martial. 5. 11.*

*Versat in articulo Stella Severe meus.*

*Sardonyx, Smaragd, Iasper, Diamond,*

My *Stella* weares on one joynt of his hand.

*Parum scilicet fuerit in gulas condi maria, nisi manibus, auribus, capite, totoq; corpore à fœminis juxta virisq; gestarentur:* forsooth it was too little that the seas were made for our gluttony, unlesse we also wore them upon our



Livy. 9. c. 12. §.

our hands, in our eares, upon our heads, & over all our body, faith Pliny, speaking of the great abundance of pearle and purple, that was worne as well by men as women. To this luxury of theirs in the use of rings may not unfity be added, that the rings which they wore in summer, in winter they layd aside, and instead of them used others, distinguishing them into summer and winter rings. *Luxuria* (saith *Probus*) *intenerat alios annulos aestivos alios vero hyemales.* And *Juvenal.* Sat. 1.

--- Cum verna Canopi

*Crispinus Tyrias humero revocante lacernas,  
Ventilet aestivum digitis sudantibus aurum,  
Nec sufferre queat majoris pondera gemma.*

--- When an Egyptian slave

*Crispin,* a Tyrian cloake shall on his shoulders have,  
And summer gold-ring on his sweating fingers weare,  
Nor can endure the weight of greater gemme to beare.

## S E C T. 3.

The great excesse and immodesty of their women in the same kinde.

San de Benef. 7.

9<sup>a</sup>

**N**OW if their men were herein thus effoeminate, wee may well conceive their women exceeded more: *Video sericas vestes, si res vestes vocanda sunt, in quibus nihil est quo defendi aut corpus, aut denique pudor possit. Quibus sumptis, mulier parum liquido nudam se non esse jurabit. Hac ingenti summa ab ignotis etiam ad commercium gentibus accersuntur, ut Matrona nostra, ne adulteris quidem, plus sui in cubiculo quam in publico ostendunt.* I see their silken clothes, if they may be called clothes, where-with neither their bodies nor shame are covered; which a woman wearing, cannot safely sweare that shee is not naked: Yet are these at huge prizes, fet from Nations with whom we have no traffique, that our women may expose no lesse to the publique view, when they the come abroad, then they doe to their Paramours in the bed. This immodesty of the women is thus also taxed by *Horace.*

*Cois tibi pane videre est  
Vt nudam.*

In her lawne shee doth appeare  
Almost as if shee naked were  
And touched by *Martial,*

Eib. 8. epig. 62.

Ovid.

*Egregium lucet sic per bombycina corpus.*

Now besides this, they were so loaden with costly ornaments, that one Poet tells us.

*Pars minima est ipsa puella sui.*

The least part of her selfe a maiden is.

And another,

*Matrona incedit census induta Nepotum.*

Propert. l. 3.

Eleg. 11.

The Matron jets attir'd in all her heires estate.

Mansuet. l. 5.

*Perque caput ducti lapides, per colla manusque,  
Et pedibus niveis fulserunt aurea vincula.*

The



The head, the necke, the hands were deckt with pretious stone,  
And chaines of gold did shine their snowie feete upon.

To this excessive pride and folly in apparrell among the women of the Gentiles doth S. Cyprian allude, dehorting the christian women from it. *Non inferantur auribus vulnera, nec brachia includat aut colla, de armillis & monilibus pretiosa catena, sint à compedibus aureis pedes liberi, crines nullo colore fucati, oculi conspiciendo Deo digni.* *De habitu virginum.*

I my selfe have seene, saith Pliny, Lollia Paulina, late wife and after widow to Caius Caligula the Emperour, when shee was dressed and set out, not in stately wise, nor of purpose for some great solemnity, but onely when shee was to goe to a wedding supper, or rather to a feast when the assurance was made, & great persons they were not, that made the said feast; I have seene her, I say, so beset and bedeckt all over with emeralds and pearles ranged in rowes one by another round about the tyre of her head, her cawle, her borders, her perruke of haire, her bungrace and chaplet at her eares pendant, about her necke a carcanet, upon her wrists in bracelets, and upon her fingers in rings, that shee glistered and shone againe as she went. The value of these ornaments she esteemed & rated at foure hundred hundred thousand Sesterces, and offered openly to prove it out of hand, by her books of accounts & reckonings. Their ropes of pearle were so rich, that S. Hierome tells us, *uno filo villarum insunt pretia*, upon one rope hang the prices of diverse Lordships. And Tertullian, *uno lino decies Sestertium inseritur*, upon one twine were threaded up tenne hundred thousand Sesterces. And againe, *salus & insulas tenera cervix fert*, the tender necke carries woods and Ilands upon it; nay, one pearle which Iulius Caesar bought for Servilia the mother of Brutus, *Sexagies Sestertio mercatus est*, cost him sixtie hundred thousand Sesterces: But specially they exceeded in the jewels they wore in their eares. *Quare uxor tua locupletis domus censum auribus gerit*, saith Seneca? why doth thy wife weare in her eares the revenewes of a rich familie? And in another place, *Video uniones, non singulos singulis auribus comparatos: jam enim exercitata aures oneri ferendo sunt. Iunguntur inter se & insuper alij binis supponuntur. Non satis muliebris insania viros subjecerat, nisi bina ac terna patrimonia auribus singulis pependissent.* I see their pearles not fitted single to their eares, which are now inured to the bearing of weight; they are coupled together, and others are added to the two first, the madnesse of our women had not sufficiently brought men into subjection, did they not hang two or three patrimonies at each eare. And with him Pliny accords, *Binos ac ternos auribus suspendere, fæminarum gloria est*, to hang these by couples or more in each eare, is the pride of our women. And their luxury (saith hee) hath found out a name for this, calling it *Crotalia*, as if they gloried in the sound and striking of the pearles each against another. Nay he goes farther *affectantq; jam & pauperes, licetorem fæmina in publico unionem esse dictantes*: It is come to that passe, that even the poorer sort affect the same fashion; their common saying being, that a pearle is the womans serjeant to waite upon her when shee shewes her selfe abroad. But their extreme folly herein, hath Tertullian after his African manner wittily expressed, *Graciles au-* *De habitu mulierum, cap. 9.*



*rium cutes Kalendarium expendunt*, the tender libbers of their eares consume their Kalender, that is, saith the learned *Iunius* in his notes on that passage, *universum domus censum qui praescribitur in Kalendario*: the whole revenew or expence of their house, which was set down in their Kalender, or rentrole, or count booke: Yet had this beene more tolerable, had they not worne them upon their feete too. *Pliny* can hardly speake of this with patience; Let our women, (saith hee) have their pearle and pretious stones upon every finger, about their necks, in their eares, upon their chaplets and tresses, *etiamne pedibus induitur*: must they needes weare them upon their feete? And in another place, but not without some indignation too, *Quin & pedibus nec crepidarum tantum obstragulis, sed totis soculis addunt: neque enim gestare jam margaritas nisi calcent, ac per uniones etiam ambulent satis est*: Nay they garnish their feete with them, and not only the higher, but the lower part of their slippers, so as now it is not held sufficient to weare pearle, unlesse wee tread and walke upon it. And the same hath *Tertullian* likewise observed, *in peronibus uniones emergere de luto cupiunt*, the pearle in their shooes labours to keepe it selfe out of the mire. But *Lampridius* tells us of *Heliogabalus*, that he wore jewels curiously engraven on his feete, which (saith hee) moved laughter to all men, *quasi possent sculptura nobilium artificum videri in gemmis quae pedibus adhererent*, as if the gravings of famous Artificers could be discerned in jewels that were set on his feete.

Moreover, their women did not blush to have it knowne, that usually they painted not their faces onely, but their very eye-browes:

*Scitis & inducta Candorem querere cera,  
Sanguine quae vero non rubet, arte rubet.  
Arte supercilij consinia nuda repletis,  
Parvaeque sinceras velat aluta genas:  
Nec pudor est oculos tenui signare favilla,  
Vel prope te nato livide Cydne croco.*

They frised and curled their haire with hot irons:

*Cum graciles essent, tamen & lanuginis instar,  
Heu mala vexata quanta tulere coma!  
Quam se prae buerant ferro patienter & igni!  
Ut fieret torto nexilis orbe sinus.  
Clamabam scelus est, istos scelus urere crines,  
Sponte decent, capiti ferrea parce tuo.*

They likewise dyed their haire:

*Faemina canitiem germanis inficit herbis,  
Et melior vero quaritur arte color.*

They also wore haire which they bought, instead of their owne:

*Furat capillos esse quos emit suos  
Fabulla, nunquid illa Paule pejerat?  
Fabulla sweares her haire (which at a rate  
shee bought) is hers, is shee forsworne in that?*

And this without any shame they openly bought:

*Faemina procedit densissima crinibus emptis,  
Proque suis alios efficit are suos;*

*Lib. 33. 3.*

*Lib. 9. 31.*

*De habitu muliebri. 7. cap.*

*Ovid, de Rem. Amor.*

*Ovid, de Rem. Amor.*



*Nec pudor est emisse palam---*

Besides, they used artificiall teeth in defect of naturall :

*Thus habet nigros, niveos Lecania dentes,*

*Quæ ratio est? emptos hæc habet, illa suos.*

*Mart. 5. 42.*

And againe to Lelia :

*Dentibus atque comis (nec te pudet) uteris emptis*

*Quid facies? oculus Lelia non emitur.*

Lastly, they had infinite little boxes filled with loathsome trash of sundry kinds of colours and compositions for the hiding of their deformities, the very sight and smell whereof was able to turne a mans stomacke.

*Pyxidas invenies, & rerum mille colores,*

*Non semel hinc stomacho nausea facta meo.*

*Cicero de Medicis fac.*

#### SECT. 4.

More of the excessive nicenes of their women, as also of Caligula his monstrous phantasticallnesse in his apparell, together with their extreame vanity in the multitude of their servants and slaves waiting on them.

**B**esides all this excesse in apparell and dressing themselves, their nicenesse was such, that if but an haire were amisse, they called a counsell about them, for the reforming of it,

*---Tanquam summa discrimen agatur*

*Aut anime.---*

*Juvenal.*

As if their credit or their life in question were.

Nay, if but *tenuis radiolus*, the least beame pierced thorow any little hole of their fanne, or a fly chanced to sit upon it, *queruntur quod non sint apud Cymmerios nata*, saith *Ammianus Marcellinus*, they presently complaine, that they were not borne among the Cymmerians. Their looking glasses were in height and breadth answerable to their bodies, ingraven in their borders with gold and silver, and embossed with precious stone: *Et pluris unum ex his fœmine constitit quam antiquarum dos fuit, illa que publicè dabatur Imperatorum pauperum filiabus*: Some one of these hath stood a woman more then was the dowry of the Ancients, yea that which by publique allowance was given the daughters of the poorer Emperours. And within a while after, *jam libertinorum virgunculis unum speculum non sufficit illa dos quam dedit Populus Romanus filie Scipionis*: Now adayes that dowry, which the people of Rome gave with *Scipio* his daughter, will not suffice to buy a glasse for the daughter of a manumissed slave. Now that dowry was *undecem millia aris*, eleven thousand asses: what then shall we thinke of the daughters of their freeborne Citizens, of their Knights, of their Senators? Surely these, as they were superiour in meanes and ranke, so were they likewise in expence.

*Lib. 2.*

*Sen. Nat. Quæst. 1.*

I will conclude this discourse of apparell with *Caligula* his monstrous phantasticallnesse therein, described by *Suetonius*, *Vestitu neq patrio neq civili, ac ne virili quidem aut denique humano semper usus est*. Hee used not the apparell of his countrey, nor that which was civill or manlike, and

R r

Sometimes



De benef. l. 2.  
12.

Lib. 28.

Lib. 14.

Lib. 1. Satyr. 3.

Lib. 6.

De Ben. 7. 7. 10

Lib. 14.

Ep. ad Furiam.

Sueton. c. 47.

Martial. l. 8.  
epig. 13.

De Tranq. c. 1.

sometimes not so much as humane. for at times would he imitate *Deorum insignia*, the ensignes of the Gods : And at other times againe, would he come abroad and sit in judgment, in *socco muliebri* in womens slippers; wherein *Suetonius* seemes to allude to that story, which is by *Seneca* reported more at large. *Cæsar* (saith he) gave to *Pompeius Pænus* his life, if he give it who takes it not away : But being acquitted & giving thanks, he reached forth his left foote for him to kisse: Now they who go about to excuse him herein as being not done out of insolency, *aiunt, socculū auratum imo aureum margaritis distinctū ostendere eum voluisse*, say for him that it was but to make shew of his gilded, nay goldē slipper set with pearle.

To their excesse in apparell and dressing, may not unfitly bee added the extreame vanity in the multitude of their servants and slaves waiting on them. *Ammianus* speakes of fifty attending, when they went to the publique Bath : And in another place he calls them *familiarum agmina*, troopes of household servants : and *Pliny*, *mancipiorum legiones*, legions of slaves, which as a traine they drew after thē. *Horace* tels us, that *Tigellius* had often two hundred that followed him at heeles. But *Athenæus* much exceedes him, *decem imò viginti mille, & plures quoque servos habent, non questus causâ ut ille Græcorum ditissimus Nicias, sed plerique in publico comitantes* : They have ten, nay twenty thousand servants and more, not so much to make a gaine of them, as did *Nicias*, the richest of the Grecians, but the greatest part to waite on them when they went abroad. And *me* thinks, *Seneca* againe outvies *Athenæus*, *Familia bellicosæ nationibus maior*, a family more populous then some warlike Nations. Neither were the women in this excesse inferiour to the men, but rather went beyond thē. *Marcellinus* describes the order of ranging their servants when they went abroad, as it had beene an army marching in the field: And *S. Hierome* calls one part of them, *an army, noli ad publicum subinde procedere & spadonum exercitu præeunte viduarum circumferri libertate* : Do not walke abroad with an army of Eunuches marching before you after the manner of licentious widowes: insomuch as they were driven to have their *Nomenclators*, controllers or remembrancers to tell them the names of their servants & people about them, so many they were. Many of these they bought at a deare rate, & clad richly: They usually payd for a slave six thousand Sesterces : And *Julius Cæsar* layd downe such incredible prices for some of them, that himselfe was ashamed thereof: *Sic ut rationibus vetaret inferri*, so as he gave special charge it should not be brought into his account. But their leasters were commonly the dearest :

*Morio dictus erat viginti millibus emi,*

*Redde mihi nummos Gargiliane : sapit.*

A foole I bought for twenty thousand price :

Restore it backe, *Gargilian*, he is wise-

And for the rich apparrelling of them at times, wee have a memorable place in *Seneca*, *diligentius quàm intra privatum larem vestita & auro culta mancipia, agmen servorum nitentium*; their slaves are more carefully apparellled and decked with gold when they appeare in publique, then within doores, and the troopes of their Servants shining and glittering.

SECT. 5.



## S E C T. 5.

Of the prodigall, or rather prodigious gifts of their Emperours, and the extreme unchristineſſe of private men.

May happily ſeeme to ſome to have beene tedious in dwelling too long upon the *exceſſive Luxury* of this people : but ſurely their extreme folly and madneſſe therein have made me ſo: And if not the rarity, yet the variety of the matter hath beene ſuch, as I preſume it cannot quickly cloy the appetite of an attentive Reader. And though much hath beene ſaid, yet much more might be added, ſpecially touching their *prodigall*, or rather *Prodigious gifts*, which their great Patron *Luſius Lypſius* thus cenſures. *Si quis Midas fuiſſe fingatur qui omnia tacta faciat aurea, defecerit in aurare quantum iſti ſunt largiti*: If we could faine a *Midas* that could turne all hee touched into gold, ſurely he would bee weary to make the gold they gave. And againe, *Vbi eſtis qui novum orbem & novas in eo divitias reperiftis? huc ite, oſtendent & effundent eas Duumviri iſti unâ largitione*: where are you that ſpeake of a new world, and the great treaſure that is there to be found? Come hither and behold two *Duumviri* (meaning *Anthony* and *Octavius*) that will emptie it all at one gift: And would you know to what great good purpoſe all theſe profuſe largitions were? the ſame *Auſhour* ſhall tell you, though ſomewhat againſt his will, *ut ad imperium veniant, imperium penè ipſum donant*: They in a manner give away the *Empire*, that they may come unto it. *Quid? donant? perdunt certè, & quomodo tot iſti pecuniarum cumuli ſine aperta perniciè Provinciarum Civiumque colligi potuerè?* What ſaid I, they give away? nay they rob and ſpoyle the *Empire*, in as much as ſo great maſſes of treaſure could not poſſibly be gathered without the evident ruine as well of the Citizens as of the Provincials. *Caligula* in leſſe then a yeare ſcattered and conſumed thoſe infinite heapes of gold and ſilver which *Tiberius* his Predeceſſour had layd-up, *vicies ac ſepties millies ſeſtertium*, ſeven and twenty hundred millions of *Sesterces*. Of *Vitellius*, *Joſephus* yeelds this teſtimony, *Octo menſes ac dies quinque potitus imperio, jugulatur in media urbe, quam ſi vivere diutius contigiffet, ejus luxuriæ ſatis eſſe imperium non potuiſſet*; having raigned eight moneths & five dayes he was ſlaine in the miſt of the City, whoſe luxurie, ſhould he have lived longer, the *Empire* could not have ſatisfied: And leſt wee ſhould thinke *Joſephus* paſſionate herein, as being a *Jew* and oppreſſed by the *Romanes*; againſt the teſtimony of *Tacitus* himſelfe a *Romane* and partiall for his Countrey wee cannot except: let us then heare his evidence touching the ſame *Vitellius*: *Iſe abundè ratus ſi præſentibus frueretur, nec in longum conſultans novies millies ſeſtertium pauciſſimis menſibus interviſſe creditur*, he holding it fully ſufficient if he enjoyed the preſent, and not caring for the future, within the compaſſe of a few moneths, is ſaid to have ſet going nine hundred millions of *Sesterces*; which ſumme *Buæus* caſting up, thus pronounces of it, *hanc ego ſummam non minorem* *Lib. 4.* *ducenties vices quinquies centenſ millibus eſſe dico*, I affirme that this ſumme



is no lesse then twenty five hundred thousand Crownes. And for Nero, *ro, divitiarum ac pecunie fructum non alium putabat quam profusionem*, hee thought there was no other end of money and riches but to cast them away. Those hee held base fellowes, who tooke any account of their expences, but gallant and noble spirits, if they wasted and lavished it out. He in nothing so much commended and admired his Uncle *Cajus*, as for that in so short a space hee brought going the infinite masses of treasures which *Tiberius* had hoarded up, *Quare nec largiendi nec absumendi modum tenuit*, so as he never ended giving and wasting:

*Juven. l. 2 sat. 6*

---*Velut exhausta redivivus pullulet arca*

*Nummus.*

As if when nought did in the chest remaine,  
Moneyes would grow there and revive againe.

*In Draonis Compendio.*

When once he had given so unreasonable a summe, that his mother *Agrippina* thought it fit to restraine his boundlesse prodigality, she caused the whole summe to be laid before him on a table as hee was to passe by, that so the sight of it might worke in him a sense of his folly; but he suspecting it belike to be his mothers device, commands presently so much more to be added thereunto, and withall was heard to say aloud, *Nesciebam me tam exiguum dedisse*, I knew not that I gave so little. To *Teridates* (which scarce seemes credible to *Suetonius* himselfe) during his abode in *Italy* by the space of nine moneths, he allowed daily *octingenta nummum millia*, eight hundred thousand Sesterces: And besides at his parting for a farewell, bestowed on him *Sestertium millies*, no lesse then an hundred millions; the rest of his prodigall gifts were not disproportionall thereunto, so that in the whole, *bis & vicies millies sestertium donationibus Nero effuderat*, hee cast away in prodigall needlesse gifts two and twenty hundred millions of Sesterces. *Menecrates* a fidler, and *Specillus* a fencer, *triumphalium virorum patrimonij adibusque donavit*, he rewarded with the patrimonies, and houses of Triumphers: Nay *Luxurie tam effrenata fuit*, saith *Orosius*, so luxuriously wastefull he was, beyond all reason and measure, *ut piscaretur retibus aureis que purpureis funibus extraherentur*, that he would not fish but with nets of gold drawne with purple coloured cords. Neither was his gaming unanswerable to his giving, *Quadrigenis in punctum sestertijs aleam ludit*, he adventured foure hundred thousand Sesterces upon every pick of the dice.

*Tacit. Hist. lib. 1. c. 6.*

*Suetonius c. 30.*

*Suetonius*

*Lib. 36. 15.*

But yet all this might perchance seeme more rollerable in their Emperours, had not their private men according to the proportion of their meanes gone beyond them in these mad monstrous prodigalities. *Sylla* (as *Plutarch* in his life reports it) would sometimes give a whole countrey, or province, or the whole revenues, or certaine cities to a pleasant jester, or a minstrell, or a wicked slave made free, or to a woman whom he affected for her beauty, *Pyramides regum miramur*, saith *Pliny*, *cum P. Claudius quem Milo occidit, Sestertium centies & quadragies octies domo empti habitaverit, quod non secus ac regum insaniam miror*. Do we wonder at the *Pyramides* of the *Aegyptian* Kings, since *Clodius* whom *Milo* slew, dwelt in an house which cost one hundred forty eight hundred thousand Sesterces, which truly I as much admire as the madnesse of those Kings.



Kings. And going on, touches *Milo* himselfe upon the same veine : *Itaque & ipsum Milonem sestertium septingenties aris alieni debuisse, inter prodigia animi humani duca* : And *Milo* himselfe to have beene indebted seaven hundred hundred thousand Sesterces, I cannot but ranke it among the prodigies of humane wit. *Curio* the sonne ranne in debt, as witnesses *Valerius*, *Sestertium sex centies*, six hundred hundred thousand Sesterces,

Lib. 9. 1.

--- *Decies centena dedisses*  
*Huic parco paucis contento, quinque diebus*  
*Nil erit in loculis.*

Hor. 1. 1. Sat. 3.

Ten hundred thousand were you pleas'd to give  
 Vnto the sparing man, so well content  
 With little, yet might he but dayes live,  
 In five daies all would be consum'd and spent,

Saith *Horace* of *Tigellius*. And *Martiall* of *Cinna*;

*Bis quartum decies non toto tabuit anno,*  
*Dic mihi non hoc est Cinna perire cito*

Lib. 9. Ep. 84.

An hundred thousand eighteene times  
 Lesse then one yeare did spend :  
 Tell mee, O *Cinna*, is not this  
 To come soone to an end ?

And of *Matho*,

*Centenis ludis Matho millibus, Ole quid ad te ?*  
*Non tu propterea, sed Matho pauper erit.*

Lib. 7. epigr. 3.

For hundred thousands *Matho* playes,  
 Oles, what's that to thee ?  
 Not thou by meanes thereof I trow  
 But *Matho* poore shall bee.

## CHAP. 10.

Of the Romanes extreame arrogancie and confidence in admiring and commending themselves together with their grosse and base flattery, specially to their Emperours : and lastly their impudent, nay impious vain-glory and boasting of their owne Nation & City, together with a brieve view of their ingratitude towards their best deserving Citizens.

## SECT. 1.

Of their extreame arrogancie in admiring and commending, and even deifying themselves, as also in hunting after applause from others.

Thus have we seene the Covetousnesse & Cruelty, but specially the prodigious Luxurie of this Nation (so renowned in History for their Vertues, as if they had beene the onely patternes and Masters of morality) in part displayed : Neither were these three vices the onely ones which they were generally and notoriously subject unto, I might instance in many more, but will onely touch by the way their extreame

Rr 3

arrogancie



arrogancie and confidence admiring and commending themselves & their owne personall abilities, their grosse and base flattery to others, specially their Emperours both living and dead; and lastly their impudent, nay impious *vain-glory* and boasting of their owne Nation and City. For the first of those, so farre they were from *humility*, that their greatest *Moralists*, no not the *Stoicks* themselves any where in their writings remember it as a vertue, it being indeed the proper vertue of *Christian Religion*. Nay so farre they were from ranging it among the *Vertues* that they held it a *Vice*.

*Faciunt animos humiles formidine Divum.*

To feare the gods doth much abase the minde.

How greedily they hunted after applause in part appears by the recitation of there owne writings, specially of their poems, and that not in private only among their freinds, but in publique to the people; whereunto the epigrammatist alludes,

*Quem recitas meus est o Fidentine libellus,  
Sed male dum recitas incipit esse tuus.*

And so doth the Satyrist,

*Semper ego auditor tantum, numquamne reponam,  
Vexatus toties ranci Theſeide Codri?*

To these recitations they invited men by setting up tickets, thereby to make knowne the time the place and the persons. And to this purpose if their owne houses were to little, they hyred fayrer and larger, nay they hyred some to applaud them with loud voyces and clapping of hands, soe to set others on worke to doe the like, or thereby to make the musick more full, and these they bestowed in places most commodious to that end; which *Iuvenall* hath well expressed.

*Scit dare liberos extrema in parte sedentes  
Ordinis, & magnas comitum disponere voces.*

*Lib. 3. ep. 14.*

The usuall acclamation of these men was, *καλῶς σοφῶς*; for which good service they were sometimes rewarded with dinners or suppers which *Martiall* often points at. And in this respect doth *Pliny* the younger in his epistles wittily call them *Sophocles* and *laudicanos*.

No marvell then that whereas wee finde the pen-men of holy Scripture publishing to the world, and registering to posterity their owne infirmities, those men on the other side vaunt every where of their worth and sufficiencie. Not so much but old *Ennius* bragges of himselfe, that being yet alive he was growne so famous that hee needed no mourning for him after his death.

*Nemo me lacrymis decoret, neque funera fletu  
Faxit, cur? voluto vivus per ora virum.*

*Martial*, if he have nothing else to brag of, will stand upon his singular gift in trifling.

*Ad Ausum. 6. 1*

*Ille ego sum nulli nugarum laude secundus.*

In praise for toyes I second am to none.

*Ovid* thus boldly concludes his *Metamorphosis*

*Iamque opus exegi quod nec Iovis ira, nec ignis,  
Nec poterit ferrum, nec edax abolere vetustas.*

Now



Now have I finished the worke, which nor Joves ire,  
Nor sword abolish shall, nor ravening time, nor fire.

And in another place :

*Mantua Virgilium laudat, Verona Catullum,  
Peligna gentis gloria dicar ego.*

Let *Mantua Virgil* praise, *Catull* *Veron*,  
*Pelignae* glory let me be tearm'd alone.

And *Horace* is no way behind him,

*Exegi monumentum aere perennius,  
Regalique situ Pyramidum altius,  
Quod non imber edax, non Aquilo impotens  
Possit diruere, aut innumerabilis  
Annorum series & fuga temporum.*

*Sarm. l. 3. od. 30*

A monument then brasse more lasting, I,  
Then Princely Pyramids in sight more high,  
Have finished, which neither fretting showres,  
Nor blustering windes, nor flight of yeares and houres,  
Though numberlesse can raze.

And though it be true that they divined aright, yet doubtlesse, such  
arrogant confidence, or rather confident arrogancie touching the  
fruits of their owne braines, would better have founded out of other  
mens mouths, and more modesty (the very grace and crowne of other  
vertues and gifts) have much better befeemed them. What a *vaine-  
glorious* unfavory verse was that of *Tullies* owne making, touching the  
good government of the state during his *Consulship*?

*O fortunatam natam me Consule Romam!*

O happy Rome and fortunate

Through me, and through my Consulate!

But their Emperours went farther; *Dioclesian* calling himselfe the  
brother of the Sunne and Moone, and in salutations, not admitting any  
to farther familiarity then to the kissing of his toe. Nay *Augustus*, so  
much magnified by them, made a supper, in which *Suetonius* witnes-  
seth, *Deorum Dearumque habitu discubuisse convivas & ipsum pro Apolline* *Cap. 70.*  
*ornatum*, that his guests sate downe in the habite of Gods and God-  
desses, and himselfe attired like *Apollo*: But this was but a play, though  
such as *Augustus* himselfe blushed to heare of. *Domitian* (as before  
hath beene touched) went to it in good earnest, sending out his writtes  
with this forme, *Dominus & Deus noster sic fieri jubet*, Our Lord and  
God so commands it to bee: *unde institutum posthac ut ne scripto qui-* *Sueton. cap. 13.*  
*dem ac sermone cujusquam appellaretur aliter*, from thence-forth it was  
ordained, that he should neither by the writing nor speech of any man  
bee otherwise named: Yet these were but words, *Caligula* proceeded  
to deedes.

--- *Divumque sibi poscebat honores,*

Assuming and challenging to himselfe, not the name onely but the ho-  
nours due to the Gods: Hee therefore persecuted the *Iewes*, because  
they refused to worship him as a God; as witnesseth *Iesephus* in his book  
*de legatione ad Caium*. Hee caused the statues of the Gods, among  
which



which was that of *Iupiter Olympicus* to be brought out of *Greece*, and raking off their heads, commanded his owne to bee set on instead thereof, and standing betweene *Castor* and *Pollux*, exhibited himselfe to be worshipped of such as resorted thither, *Templum etiam numini suo proprium & Sacerdotes & excogitatissimas hostias instituit*, he farther erected a Temple, and instituted both Priests, & most exquisite sacrifices to the service of himselfe. In his Temple stood his image of gold taken to life, which every day was clad with the same attire as was himselfe, his sacrifices were Phænicopters, Peacocks, Bustards, Turkeyes, Pheasants, and all these were daily offered, and at nights in case the Moone shined out full and bright, hee invited her to imbracements and to lie with him, but the day hee would spend in private conference with *Iupiter Capitolinus*, sometimes whispering and laying his eare close to him, and sometimes againe talking aloud as if hee had beene chiding: Nay being angry with heaven, because his enterludes were hindred by claps of thunder, and his banqueting by flashes of lightning, *ad pugnam provocavit Iovem*, hee challenged *Iupiter* to fight with him, & *quidem sine intermissione Homericum illum exclamans versum*, and without ceasing roared out that verse of *Homer*.

Seneca de Ira.  
lib. I. cap. 16.

Ζεύ πάτερ ἢ τις σέο δλωτέρῃς ἄλλος,

None is, *ō Iupiter*, more mischievous then thou.

Instead of which verse of *Homer*, some copies have this *Hemistichium*.

ἢ μὲν ἀνείρ ἢ ἐγώ σέ.

Dispatch thou mee  
Or I will thee.

Whereupon *Seneca* inferres (as well he might) *Quanta dementia fuit? putavit aut sibi noceri ne à Iove quidem posse; aut se nocere etiam Iovi posse*: what extreame madnesse was that, to thinke that either *Iupiter* could not hurt him, or that himselfe could hurt *Iupiter*? Good God? who would imagine that pride and selfe-love should so farre intoxicate and infatuate a man (captivated to sinne and sensuality) as to make him utterly to forget himselfe to bee a man, and command others to worship him as a God, or which is more, above God! But surely herein I must confesse, they be somewhat the more to be pittied, and the rather to bee pardoned, for that the Gods whom they worshipped, had not onely beene men, but like themselves, too notoriously wicked: And withall I am perswaded, the grosse flattery of their subjects, but specially the *Poets*, drew them on to the acting of that, which perchance of themselves they were inclinable enough unto.



## S E C T. 2.

*Of their grosse flattery, specially toward their Emperours both living and dead.*

**H**OW notably doth *Martiall* play the Parasite with *Domitian*, telling him, that if the Gods should sell all they had, they would not be able to satisfie their debt to him, but would be forced to turne banke-rupts.

*Grandis in Ætherio licet auctio fiat Olympo,  
Coganturque Dei vendere quicquid habent  
Conturbabit Atlas, &c.*

These verses of *Martial* are upon another occasion, formerly alleaged and englished.

And againe,

*Expectes & sustineas Auguste necesse est,  
Nam tibi quod reddat, non habet arca Iovis.*

But this in *Martiall* a professed flatterer, is more tollerable then in *Virgill* and *Lucan*, who carry the name of grave and sad Poets, yet the one divides the Empire betweene *Iupiter* and *Augustus*.

*Divisum imperium cum Iove Caesar habet.*

'Twixt *Iove* and *Caesar* th' Empire shared is.

Nay more then so he calls him his God, promising to erect altars and offer sacrifice unto him,

*O Melebae deus nobis hac otia fecit,  
Namque erit ille mihi semper deus, illius aram  
Sæpe tener nostris ab ovilibus imbuet agnus.*

In *Tytyro*.

And againe in another Ecloge,

*Ipsa sonant arbusta deus, deus ille Menalca  
Sis bonus ô felixque tuis, en quatuor aras  
Ecce duas tibi Daphni, dunque altaria Phæbo.*

In *Daph.*

The other professes, that all the outrages committed in their civil wars, were nothing displeasing unto them, but rather acceptable and advantageous in regard they helpt to prepare a way for *Nero's* comming to the Empire.

*Hic Caesar Perusina fames mutinaque labores,  
Accedant fati, aut si quid durius istis:  
Multum Roma tamen debet civilibus armis  
Quod tibi res acta est.*

Lib. 1.

Adde *Caesar* to these fates, *Modena* broyles,  
*Perusin* famine, or else harder toyles:  
Yet *Rome* to civill armes thou art in debt,  
Since all this worketh to thy benefit.

*Quod si non aliam venturo fata Neroni  
Invenere viam,  
Iam nihil ô Superi querimur, scelera ista nefasque  
Hac mercede placent.*

Ibid.

If other way the fates could not invent  
For *Nero's* comming, then we rest content,

This



This villanie ô Gods, this foule offence  
Mislikes us not with so great recompence.

And when *Domitian* challenged to himselfe *divine worship*, how ready were they to sooth him in it? *Magisteria Sacerdotij ditissimus quisque ambitione & licitatione maxima vicibus comparabat*, Every one as he was richest by great sutes and bribes, got him a turne in the Magistracie of the Priest-hood; nay, *quidam eum Latialem Iovem consalutarunt*, there wanted not some among them, who saluted him by the name of *Iupiter Latialis*. But this I must acknowledge, as it was foulest in the highest degree, so was it unusuall: For though (as noteth *Prosper*) in their petitions to their Princes, they usuallly stiled them, *Numini vestro, Perennitati vestre*, to your divine power, to your eternity: *Qua vanitas non veritas tradidit, atque execrabilia sunt*, which vanity not verity hath found out, and are indeed abominable: Nay the *Emperours* themselves in their *Rescripts*, shamed not to write, *Perennitas nostra, aternitas nostra, numen nostrum &c.* And we sometimes reade, *Oracula Augusti for Edicta*; Yet *Deorum honor Principi non antè habetur, quàm agere inter homines desierat*, saith *Tacitus*, wee doe not commonly give the honour of the Gods to our Princes as long as they live; thereby implying that assoone as they were deceased they did it. Though *Valerius Maximus* in his prologue prefixed to his booke of *memorable speeches and deedes*, doubts not to invoke *Tiberius* then living, as a power divine, and withall to justifie himselfe therein, in as much as the most ancient Oratours alwayes began with the invocation of *Iupiter*, and the most excellent Poets of some deitie, which they worshipped; nay, that himselfe had more reason so to do, in as much as their Gods stood but in opinion, his, in sensible effects. And at last concludes *Deos reliquos accepimus, Casares dedimus*, other Gods we have received, the *Cesars* we have made. *Augustus* likewise while hee was yet living, was worshipped as a God, not at *Rome* perchance & *Italy* (for that he refused) yet abroad in the *Provinces*: Whereupon temples were erected unto him, and a *Colledge of Priests* both men and women; and coynes were stamped with rayes or beames about his head: whence the *Poet*,

*Præsentī tibi maturos largimur honores.*

To thee while thou dost live

Honours divine wee give.

Now the Ceremonie of the *Apotheosis* or deifying their *Emperours*, (as appeares in *Herodian* and others) was briefly thus. After the *Princes* death, the body being sumptuously and honourably interred, they framed an image of waxe, resembling in all respects the party deceased, but palish and wanne as a sicke man; and so being laid at the entry of the palace in an yvorie bed, covered with cloth of gold, the Senate and Ladies assisting in mourning attire; the Physitians daily resorted to him to touch his pulse, and consider in Colledge of his disease, doctorally at their departure, resolving that hee grew in worse and worse tearmes and hardly could escape it. At the end of seaven dayes (during which time, saith *Xiphilinus*, there stood a page with a fanne of peacocks feathers to keepe off the flies from the face, as if hee had beene



but asleepe) they opened and found by their learning, (the *crisis* belike being badde) that the patient was departed. Whereupon some of the Senate appointed for that purpose, and principall Gentlemen taking up the bed upon their shoulders, carried it thorow *Via sacra* into the *Forum*, where a company of young Gentlemen of greatest birth standing on the one side, and maides on the other, sung hymnes and sonnets the one to the other in commendation of the dead Prince, entuned in a solemne and mournfull note, with all kinde of other musicke and melody, as indeede the whole ceremony was a mixt action of mourning and mirth, as appeares by *Seneca* at the consecration of *Claudius*: who thus flouts at it. *Et erat omnium formosissimum (funus Claudij) & impensâ curâ plenam, ut scires Deum efferrî, tibicinum, Cornicinum, omnisque generis ancatorum tanta turba, tantus Conventus, ut etiam Claudius audire possit.* It was the goodliest shew and the fullest of sollicitous curiosity, that you might know a God was to be buried; so great was the rabble of trumpeters, cornetters and other Musicians, that even *Claudius* himselfe might have heard them. After this, they carried the herse out of the Citie into *Campus Martius*, where a square tower was built of timber, large at the bottome, and of competent height to receive wood & faggots sufficiently, outwardly bedeckt & hung with cloath of gold, imagerie worke, and curious pictures. Upon that tower stood a second turret in figure and furniture like to the first, but somewhat lesse, with windowes and doores standing open, wherein the herse was placed, & all kinde of spiceries and odours, which the whole world could yeeld heaped therein: And so a third and fourth turret, and so forth, growing lesse and lesse towards the top: The whole building representing the forme of a lanthorne or watch-tower, which giveth light in the night. Thus all being placed in order, the Gentlemen first rode about it, marching in a certaine measure: then followed others in open coaches with roabes of honour, and upon their faces vizards of the good Princes, and honourable personages of ancient times. All these Ceremonies thus being performed; the Prince which succeeded taketh a torch, and first putteth to the fire himselfe, and after him all the rest of the company, and by and by as the fire was kindled out of the toppe of the highest turret, an Eagle was let flye to carry up his soule into heaven, and so hee was afterward reputed, and by the *Romanes* adored among the rest of the *Gods*. Marry before the consecration it was usuall, that some Gentlemen at least, should bestow an oath to prove their Deitie, *Nec defuit vir Prætorius qui se effigiem cremati euntem in caelum vidisse jurasset*, saith *Suetonius* of *Augustus*: Neither was there wanting one who had beene *Prætor* (*Dion* names him *Numerius Atticus*) to sweare, that hee saw his *Effigies* mounting into heaven. The like was testified of *Drusilla*, sister and wife to *Caius*, by one *Livius Geminius* a Senatour, of which *Dion* thus writes. One *Livius Geminius* a Senatour swore that hee saw *Drusilla* ascending up into heaven, and conversing with the *Gods*, wishing to himselfe and his children utter destruction if he spake an untruth, calling to witnesse both sundry other *Gods*, and specially the *Goddesse* her selfe of whom he spake. For which oath he received

*In ludo de morte Claudij.*

*Pharus.*

*Cap. 102.*

*Lib. 79.*



Annot. in Tac.  
l. hist. 3. c. 1.

received a million of Sesterces, which makes 7812<sup>l</sup> 10<sup>s</sup> Sterling. What a deale of *fopperie* and *impiety* was here mixed together? Yet this lesson (as *Sr Henry Savill* from whom I have borrowed the greatest part of this last narration conjectures) they may seeme to have learned of *Proculus Iulius*, who tooke an oath not much otherwise for *Romulus deities*, whom the Senate murdered and made a God; from whence this race of the *Romane Gods* may seeme to have taken beginning. And I doubt not, but many of the wiser sort of the *Romans* themselves secretly laughed at this follie, sure I am that *Lucan* durst openly scoffe at it.

Lib. 7.

--- *Cladis tamen huius habemus*  
*Vindictam, quantum terris dare numina fas est,*  
*Bella pares Superis facient civilia divos,*  
*Fulminibus manes, radiisque ornabit & astris.*  
*Inque Deum templis jurabit Roma per umbras.*  
 Yet of this slaughter such revenge we have  
 As heavenly powers may give, or earth can crave:  
 Gods like to those above these civill warres  
 Shall make, and Rome with lightning, beames, and starres  
 Shall then adorne, and in the temples where  
 The Gods doe dwell, shall by their shadowes swear.

It is true, that in our time after the death of the late *Charles* in *France*, his image was laid in a rich bed, in triumphant attire, with the crowne upon his head, and the collar of the order about his neck, and forty dayes at ordinary houres, dinner and supper was served in with all accustomed ceremonies, as sewing, water, grace, carving, say-taking, &c. all the Cardinals, Prelates, Lords, Gentlemen, & Officers attending in far greater solemnity, then if he had beene alive. Now this I confesse, was a peece of *flattery* more then needed, but not comparable to that of the *Romans*, in making their Emperours Gods, which they might well have conceived, was neither in the power of the one to give, nor of the other to receive. Yet was not this honour conferred upon the Emperours alone; *Tully*, as wise as he would be held, would needes have his daughter *deified*, and the same did *Adrian* by *Antinous* his minion, which no doubt might as well be justified, as *Caligula's* making his horse a Priest, or the same *Adrians* erecting monuments to his dead dogs.

Diso. Caßl. 39.  
pag. 397. &c.

*Caligula equum suum, Incitatum nomine, ad cœnam adhibuit, hordenum in auro apposuit, poculis aureis vinum ei propinavit, consulem se cum facturum esse pollicetur, in sacerdotio collegam sibi adscrivit & sacerdotem fecit.*

### SECT. 3.

*Of their impudent, nay impious vain glory, and boasting of their own nation and citie.*

**Y**Et their *inordinate preposterous Zeale* in extolling every where their *Empire* and *City* beyond measure, and modesty, & truth, seemes to have exceeded this toward their Emperours, & from hence I beleeve hath chiefly growne in the world so great an admiration



tion of them in many things beyond all succeeding ages, and their Deserts. But certaine it is, that never any people under the Sunne, more daringly challenged to themselves the toppe of all perfection. *Nulla unquam Respub. nec major nec sanctior, nec bonis exemplis ditior fuit*, saith *Lib. x.* *Livy*, Never was there any Common-wealth more ample or holy, or rich in good examples. *Gentium in toto orbe prestantissima una & in omni virtute hand dubie Romana extitit*, saith *Pliny*. The *Romane* Nation hath beene doubtlesse of all others in all kinde of vertue the most excellent. *Nulla gens est quæ non aut ita subacta sit, ut vix exstet, aut ita domita, ut quiescat; aut ita pacata, ut victoria nostra imperioque letatur*, saith *Tully*: There is no Nation which either is not so utterly vanquished, as it is extinguished, or so mastered, as it is quieted; or so pacified, that it rejoyceth in our victory and Empire; and *Claudian*,

*Hæc est exiguis quæ finibus orta tetendit  
In geminos axes, parvâque à sede profecta  
Disperfit cum sole manus.*

Small were her confines when shee first begun,  
Now stretcheth to both poles; small her first seat,  
Yet now her hands she spreadeth with the Sunne.

This seemed not enough unto *Cæcilius*, against whom *Arnobius* writes, for he saith, that the *Romanes* did, *Imperium suum ultra solis vias propagare*: They enlarged their dominion beyond the course of the Sun. And *Ovid*, he commeth not a steppe behinde them in this their exaggerated amplification. For he saith, that if God should looke downe from heaven upon the earth, he could see nothing their without the power of the *Romanes*.

*Iupiter, arce sua, totum cum spectet in orbem,  
Nil, nisi Romanum, quod tueatur, habet.*

*Fastor.*

And againe;

*Gentibus est alijs tellus data limite certo,  
Romana spatium est urbis & orbis idem.*

*2. Fastor.*

Yea, and (as *Egesippus* recorded) there were many that thought the *Roman Empire* so great, and so largely diffused over the face of the whole earth, that they called *orbem terrarum, orbem Romanorum*, The globe of the earth, the globe of the *Romanes*, the whole world, the *Romane* world. Hyperbolicall speeches, which though *Lypsius* put off with an *animose magis quam superbe dicta*, as arguing rather magnanimitie then ostentation; yet *Dionysius Halicarnassæus* somewhat more warily limits them thus: *Romana urbs imperat toti terræ quæ quidem inaccessa non sit*, the Citie of Rome commands the whole earth, where it is not inaccessible: But *Lypsius* himselfe more truly, *Quicquid opportunum aut dignum vinci videbatur, vicit*, it overcame whatsoever it could well overcome, or thought worthy the overcoming. And *Macrobius* (though himselfe a *Romane*) ingenuously acknowledgeth, *Gangem transnare, aut Caucasum transcendere, Romani nominis fama non voluit*. The fame of the *Romanes* as great as it was, yet was never so great as to be able to swimme over the river *Ganges*, or climbe over the mountaine *Caucasus*, so that even their fame came short of their swelling amplifications used by their Oratours and Poets, but their dominion came much shorter, as is expressely affirmed by the

*De Somn. Scip.  
2. 10.*



Ibid.

So doth *Lipsius*  
de mag. Rom.  
lib. 1. cap. 3.

same Author, *Totius terræ quæ ad cælum puncti locum obtinet minima quædam particula à nostri generis hominibus possidetur.* Though the whole Earth compared with the Heavens bee no bigger then a Center in the midst of a Circle, yet scarce the least parcell of this little earth, did ever come into the hands of the *Romanes*: And *Ortelius* no babe in Cosmography, as is well knowne, doubts not to preferre the present *Spanish* Empire before the ancient *Romane* for largenesse of territory, and greatnesse of dominion.

Yet how could a man well devise to say more then *Propertius* hath said of that Citie.

*Omnia Romanæ cedant miracula terræ,*

*Natura hic posuit quicquid ubique fuit.*

All miracles to Rome must yeeld, for here

Nature hath treasur'd all what's every-where.

Except *Martiall* perchance out-vie him.

Lib. 12. 8.

*Terrarum Dea gentiumque, Roma,*

*Cui par est nihil, & nihil secundum.*

Of Lands and Nations Goddesse, Rome, and Queene,

To whom nought peere, nought second yet had beene.

Libro de aqua-  
ductibus.

De hone. disc.  
lib. 1. 6. ult.

Cap. 1. &amp; 3.

Which *Frontinus* seemes to borrow from him, but with some addition of his owne, *Roma urbs indiges terrarumque Dea, cui par est nihil, & nihil secundum.* Now saith *Crinitus*, alleaging those words of *Frontinus*, *Eos dicimus fere indigites, qui nullius rei egeant, id enim est tantum Deorum*, wee usually call those *indigites*, which want nothing, for that is proper to the Gods. *Hubertus Golzius* in his treasure of *Antiquity*, hath effigiated two peeces of coyne, the one with a Greeke Inscription *ΡΟΜΑΘΕΑ*, the other with this in *Latine*, *ROMA DEA*, the meaning of both being that Rome was a Goddesse, neither was this figuratively, but properly understood, she having advanced her selfe into the number of the Gods, as witnesseth *Dion* in *Augustus*; nay erected Temples, and addressed sacrifices to her selfe, as testifie *Victor* and *Onuphrius* in their descriptions of Rome, which *Prudentius* a Christian Poet both glances at, and deservedly derides,

Lib. 1. cons.  
Symmachium.

--- Colitur nam sanguine & ipsa

*More Deæ, nomenque loci seu numen habetur,*

*Atque Urbis Venerisque pari se culmine tollunt*

*Templa, simul geminis adolentur thura deabus.*

Shee Goddesse-like is worshipped with bloud,

A places name is hollowed for a God:

As high as *Venus* Cities Church doth rise,

And joynt to both they incense sacrifice.

And *Lucan*, as to a Goddesse directs his prayer solemnely unto her,

Lib. 1.

---summiq; ò nummis instar

*Roma fave cæptis.*

---And thou as greatest power divine,

Favour, O Rome this enterprife of mine.

Her Temple was situate upon mount *Palatine*, as appeares by that of *Claudian*, bringing in the Provinces as suppliants to visit the Goddesse.

*Conueniunt*



*Conveniunt ad tecta Dea, quæ candida lucent  
Monte palatino.*

Lib. 2.

They meete at th' Goddesse Temple which doth shine  
So white and glorious on mount Palatine.

But this was in truth such a mad drunkenesse with pride & selfe-love, that *Lysius* himselfe cannot hold from crying out, *O insaniam adificijs & inanimato corpori non vitam solum attribuere, sed numen!* O strange madnesse, to ascribe unto houses and stones and a dead body, not life onely, but a deity! And being now a Goddesse, shee might well take to her selfe that of old *Babylon*, a type of her pride, *I sit as a Queene, and am no widow, and shall see no sorrow*, and challenge to her selfe eternity as most blasphemously shee did, as is to bee seene in the coyne of the Emperour *Probus*, in which we have *Rome* set forth sitting in her Temple in a victorious triumphant manner, having on the one side this inscription, *Conserv. urbis sue*, and on the other, *Roma æterna*, and so is it expressly named both by <sup>a</sup> *Symmachus*, and <sup>b</sup> *Ammianus Marcellinus*. And *Suetonius* testifies in the life of *Nero* (cap. 11.) that of all their severall kindes of playes, *pro æternitate imperij susceptos appellari maximos voluit*, those which were exhibited for the eternity of the Empire should bee had in greatest state, in which persons of all orders and sexes played their parts. This eternity which *Iupiter* himselfe in the Poet made both to prophesie and to promise,

De Magistr.  
Rom. 3.6.

Isay 47. 8.  
Revel. 18. 7.

Hubertus Col.  
2. in verum An.  
119. c. 4.

a Apud Aurb.  
p. 30.  
b Lib. 13. c. 6.  
c 16. 6.

*His ego nec metas rerum, nec tempora pono,  
Imperium sine fine dedi.*

Virgil.

Whereby *S. Hierome*, not without good reason expounds these words in the *Revelation*, *I saw a woman sit upon a scarlet coloured beast, full of names of blasphemy*, and so doth *Prosper Aquitanicus*, *æterna cum dicitur quæ temporalis est, utique nomen est blasphemia*, in that she is called eternall, being transitory; it is doubtlesse a name of blasphemy.

Ep. ad Algastum  
qm. 11.  
In dividio tem-  
poris. c. 7.

#### SECT. 4.

*Of the monstrous ingratitude of the Romanes toward their best deserving Citizens.*

**I**T cannot but seeme very strange, that this people should be so wonderfully zealous of the renowne of their nation, and glory of their Citie, and yet withall so injurious, and ingratefull toward their best patriots, and most deserving Citizens, in which kinde might easily be produced a great number of instances out of *Livie*, *Plutarch*, *Dion*, *Appian*, *Valerius*, and others; but I will content my selfe with a few, as I finde them gathered to my hand by *Valerius Maximus*, in his fifth booke and third Chapter, though himselfe a *Romane*, descended from the *Valerian* and *Fabian*, two very noble families, and exceeding tender of the honour and reputation of his Countrey. To let passe then the great ingratitude of *Sextilius* toward *C. Cesar* the Oratour, as also that of *Pompey* the Great, toward *Cn. Carbo*, it is most certaine, that *Popilius* shewed himselfe most prodigiously ingratefull toward *Marcus Cicero*, who had deserved



deserved exceeding well, not onely of the state in generall, but of him in particular, by defending his life in a very doubtfull case, with no lesse care then eloquence, & sending him home to his house in safety, when himselfe in a manner despaired thereof; yet this man, even this very man, after all this, being no way wronged by *Cicero*, either in word or deed, sues to *Antony* of his owne accord, that he might be employed in the prosecution and murder of *Cicero* then proscribed; and having obtained a commission or warrant for the acting of this detestable execution, even dancing for joy, he gets him in post haste to *Caeseta*, and there instantly commands a man not only of eminent ranke and high desert, but the authour of his breathing, and even meriting in private veneration at his hands, to yeeld his throate to the stroake of his sword, and forthwith securely and in cold blood, chops off, not onely the right hand of the *Romane* peace, but the head of the *Romane* eloquence, and with that burden as with rich spoyle, triumphantly returns into that Citie, which by it had beene preserved more then once, neither in the carriage thereof did the villaine call to minde that hee then bore in his armes, that head which not long before had pleaded and prevailed for the safety of his. But truely these lines are too weake to paint out, and in lively colours to set forth this monster, and sufficiently to expresse and bewaile this lamentable death of *Cicero*, we should need the tongue or pen of *Cicero* himselfe, there being none other left in the world of abilitie to performe it.

But this was the act but of a private man. I now come to those in which the State, that is the Citie, or at leastwise the Senate were engaged. The Senate then it was which being by *Romulus* advanced to the highest pitch of honour, tore him in peeces in open Court, not doubting or fearing to imbrew their hands in the blood of their founder, and so to bereave him of life, who first breathed an immortall spirit of life into the *Romane* Empire, neither can the greatest pietie or most reverent respect of posteritie towards antiquitie, by any meanes either dissemble, or excuse so foule a peece of impiety.

Likewise *Furius Camillus* being the chiefeft meanes both for the happy increase & sure defence of the *Roman* power, could not in that Citie maintaine his owne safety, the safety whereof himselfe had well settled, and much advanced the felicity, for being impeached and indited by *L. Apuleius* Tribune of the people, as having secretly imbeazled a part of the *Veientan* spoyle, he was by an hard & cruell sentence adjudged to banishment, and that truly, at that very time, when being robbed of a sonne of excellent hope, he was rather to be cherished with comfort, then oppressed with new miseries; yet *Rome* altogether unmindefull of the deserts of so great a man, to the funerals of the son added the condemning of the father: but you will perchance say that the Tribune found wanting fiftene thousand *ara* or *asses*, for so much was laid to his charge: Certes a poore & unworthy summe, that for it, *Rome* should be content to bereave her selfe of so worthy a Captaine & Patron.

With *Camillus* may well be coupled *Scipio Africanus* the elder, who did not onely restore the Common-wealth sorely bruised and torne by the



the armes of the *Punicke* warre, but brought in a manner the Queene of *Africa* upon her knees, and even to deaths doore; whose most renowned acts, the people of *Rome* rewarded, by forcing him to inhabite a base obscure village standing upon a forlorne lake; neither did hee die altogether silent, as being insensible of the bitternesse of this banishment, but at his parting gave order that upon his sepulcher should bee ingraven this memorandum.

*Ingrata patria, nec ossa quidem mea habes.*

Ungratefull Countrey, thou art not owner  
Of so much as my bones.

And what I pray you could be either more unworthy then that want, or more just then that complaint? or then that revenge more moderate? he denied his ashes to that Citie, which by his wisdom and valour he had preserved from being turned into ashes.

Now that greivous accident which in the same kinde befell his brother might happily, being compared with his, in some sort seeme a kinde of comfort; who having vanquished *Antiochus*, & thereby annexed *Asia* to the *Romane* Empire, and thereupon preparing for a glorious triumph, under a pretence of robbing the common treasury, he was accused and cast into prison.

*Africanus* the younger, was to these in vertue nothing inferiour, nor in his end lesse unhappy: for having utterly razed two Cities, *Numantia* and *Carthage*, which threatned ruine to the *Romane* Empire, this notwithstanding, he found one at home ready to robbe him of his life, but in the court of justice none to revenge his death.

Who knowes not that *Scipio Nasica* deserved as much by the gowne, as did either of the *Africani* by armes? who rescued the Commonwealth out of the jawes of *Tiberius Gracchus*; yet his vertues too being most unjustly undervalued and disesteemed by his fellow-citizens, under pretence of an embassage, hee retired to *Pergamus*, and there spent the residue of his life, his ingratefull Countrey not so much as finding him wanting, or desiring his returne.

I am still upon the same name, neither have I yet done with the *Cornelian* familie. For *P. Lentulus*, a famous man, and most dearly loving his Countrey, when in mount *Aventine* he had frustrated the wicked attempts of *C. Gracchus*, and in a valiant and pious fight, having first received many dangerous wounds, put the traytours armie to flight: of this victorie hee bare away his reward, that hee was not suffered to die in that Citie, the lawes, and peace, and liberty whereof he had by this meanes settled, in as much as being thereunto forced by envy and slander, he obtained from the Senate an employment abroad, & in his farewell Oration, praying the immortall Gods, that he might never returne againe to so ingratefull a people, hee got him into *Sicilie*, and resolutely setting up his rest there, he made himselfe partaker of his vow. *Quinque igitur Cornelij totidem sunt notissima ingrata patrie exempla*; so as no lesse then five of the *Cornelian* familie alone, may well serve as so many notorious examples of a most ingratefull nation.



## S E C T. 5.

*Of two rare examples of this latter age, such as cannot bee paralleled either among the Romans, or any other of the Ancients; the one of incomparable gratitude in the L. Cromwell, the other of admirable friendship betweene Barbadicus and Tarvisanus, two Gentlemen of Venice: whereunto is added another of rare gratitude taken out of Thuanus.*

**T**Hat the base ingratitude of the *Romans* towards their best Citizens may yet appeare the more odious, I will here set besides it, the unparallel'd example of gratitude in the *L. Cromwell*, toward *Francis Frescobald*, a *Florentine Merchant*, as I finde it reported by *Mr. Foxe* out of the history of *Bandello an Italian*.

Note that this  
cloath-shearer  
was his father  
in law.

Not many yeares past, saith the Authour, there was in *Florence* a Merchant, whose name was *Francis*, descended from the Noble and ancient family of the *Frescobalds*: This Gentleman was naturally indued with a noble and liberall minde, unto whom also, through prosperous successe, and fortunate lucke in his affaires and doings, much abundance of riches increased, so that hee grew in great wealth, having his coffers replenished with many heapes of much treasure; Hee according to the custome of Merchants used his trade into many Countreys, but chiefly into *England*, where long time he lived, sojourning in *London*, keeping house to his great commendation and praise. It happened that *Francis Frescobald* being in *Florence*, there appeared before him a poore young man asking his almes for Gods sake; *Frescobald* as he earnestly beheld this ragged stripling, who was not so disguised in his tatter'd attire, but that his countenance gave signification of much towardnes and vertue in him, with conformity of manners agreeing to the same, being moved with pittie, demanded of what Countrey hee was, and where he was borne. I am (sir quoth he) of *England*, and my name is *Thomas Cromwell*, my father is a poore man, and by his occupation a cloath-shearer. I am strayed from my Countrey and am now come into *Italy* with the campe of *Frenchmen* that were overthrowne at *Gatylion*, where I was the Page to a footman, carrying after him his pike & burganet. *Frescobald* partly considering the present state of this young man, & parti for the love he bare to the *English* nation, of whom hee had received in times past sundry pleasures, received him into his house, and with such curtesie entertained his guest, as at his departure when he was minded to returne to his Countrey, he provided such necessaries as he any way needed. He gave him both horse and new apparell, & 16 duckates of gold in his purse, to bring him into his Country. *Cromwell* rendring his hartly thanks tooke leave of his host & returned into *England*. This *Cromwell* was a man of noble courage and heroicall spirit, given to enterprise great matters, very liberall, & a grave Counsellor, &c. But to our purpose. At what time *Cromwell* was so highly favoured of his Prince, and advanced to such dignity as is aforelaid, *Francis Frescobald* (as it many times happeneth unto Merchants) was by many misfor-



mistfortunes and great losses cast backe & become very poore. For according to conscience and equity, hee paid whatsoever was due to any other from himselfe, but such debts as were owing unto him, he could by no meanes obtaine : yet calling farther to remembrance, that in *England* by certaine Merchants, there was due to him the summe of 15000 Duckats, he so purposed with himselfe, that if he could recover that money, he would well content himselfe, and no longer deale in the trade of Merchants, but quietly passe over the rest of his dayes. All things prepared for his journey, he setting forward towards *England*, at last arrived at *London*, having utterly forgotten what courtesie hee had long before shewed to *Cromwell*, which is the property alwayes of a good nature, for a man to forget what benefits he hath shewed to other, but to keepe in minde continually what he hath received of other. *Frescobald* thus being now arrived at *London*, and there travelling earnestly about his businesse, it chanced him by the way to meete with this Noble-man as he was riding toward the Courte, Whom as soone as the Lord *Cromwell* had espyed, and had earnestly beheld, hee bethought with himselfe that hee should bee the man of *Florence*, at whose hands in time past, hee had received so gentle entertainment, and thereupon suddenly alighting (to the great admiration of those that were with him) in his armes hee gently embraced the stranger, and with a broken voyce scarce able to restraine teares, hee demanded if hee were not *Francis Frescobald* the *Florentine* : yea sir (hee answered) and your humble servant, my servant (quoth *Cromwell*) : no, as you have not beene my servant in times past, so will I not now account you otherwise then my great and especiall friend, assuring you that I have just reason to be forrie, that you knowing what I am (or at the least what I should bee) will not let me understand of your arriving in this land, which knowne unto me, truly I should have paid part of that debt which I confesse to owe you : but thanks bee to God I have yet time. Well sir in conclusion you are hartily welcome. But having now waighty affaires in my Princes cause, you must hold me excused, that I can no longer tarrie with you. Therefore at this time I take my leave, desiring you with the faithfull minde of a friend, that you forget not to come this day at my house to dinner, and then remounting on his horse hee passed to the court. *Frescobald* greatly marvelled with himselfe who the Lord should bee, at last after some pause his remembrance better called home, he knew him to be the same whom long before (as you have heard) hee had releived in *Florence*, and thereat not a little joyed, especially considering how that by his meanes he should the better recover his debts. The houre of dinner drawing neare, he repaired to the house of this honourable Counsellour, where walking a while in his base Court, he attended his comming. The Lord shortly returned from the Court, and no sooner dismounted, but hee againe imbraced this Gentleman, with so friendly a countenance, that both the Lord Admirall and all the noblemen of the Court being then in his company did not a little marvell thereat. Which thing when the Lord *Cromwell* perceived, he turned towards them, & holding *Frescobald* fast by the hand :



doe ye not marvell my Lords ( quoth hee ) that I seeme so glad of this man, this is he, by whose meanes I have atcheived the degree of this my present calling : & because ye shall not be ignorant of his curtesie when I greatly needed, I shall tell it you: & so there declared unto them every thing in order according as before hath beene recited unto you. His tale finished holding him still by the hand, hee entred his house, and comming into the chamber, where his dinner was prepared he sate him downe to the table, placing his best welcommed guest next unto him. The dinner ended and the Lords departed, he would know what occasion had brought *Frescobald* to London. *Francis* in few words opened his cause, truly telling, that from great wealth he was fallen into poverty, and that his onely portion to maintaine the rest of his life was 15 thousand Duckates which were owing him in *England*, and two thousand in *Spaine*. Whereunto the Lord *Cromwell* answering againe, said, touching the things Mr *Frescobald* that be already past, although it cannot now bee undone by mans power, nor by policie called againe, which hath hapned unto you by the unstable condition and mutability of this world, altering to and fro: yet is not your sorrow so peculiar to your selfe alone, but that by the bond of mutuall love, I must also bewaile with you this your state and condition: which state and condition of yours, though it may worke in you matter of just heavinesse, yet notwithstanding to the intent you may receive in this your heavy distresse some consolatiō for your old courtesie shewed unto me in times past, the like courtesie now requireth of me againe, that I likewise, should repay some portion of that debt, wherein I stand bound unto you, according as the part of a thankfull man bindeth me to doe, in requiting your benefites on my part heretofore received. And this further I avouch in the word of a true freind, that during this life and state of mine, I will never faile to doe for you, wherein my authority may prevaile, to supply your lacke & necessity. And so let these few words suffice to give you knowledge of my friendly meaning, but let me delay the time no longer. Then taking him by the hand he led him into his chamber, whence, after that every man by his commandment was departed, he locked fast the doore; Then opening a coffer, full heaped with treasure he first tooke out sixteene duckats, and delivering them to *Frescobald*, he said. Loe here, my friend, is your money which you lent me at my departure from *Florence*, and here other tenne which you bestowed in my apparell, with tenne more you bisburfed for the horse I rid away on. But considering you are a merchāt, it seemeth to me not honest to returne your money without some consideration, for the long detaining of it. Take you therefore these 4 bags, and in every of them is 400 duckates, these you shall receive and injoy from the hands of your assured friend. *Frescobald* although from great wealth hee was brought to a low ebbe and (almost) an utter decay, yet expressing the vertue of a modest minde, after gentle thanks given to the Lord *Cromwell*, for exceeding kindenes shewed, curteously would have refused that which was offered, had not the other enforced him against his will to receive it. This done hee caused

*Frescobald*



*Frescobald* to give him a note of the names of all his debtors, and the summe that from every one of the was owing him, this schedule he delivered to one of his servants, unto whom hee gave charge diligently to search out such men, whose names were therein contained, if they were within any part of the Realme, and then straitly to charge them to make payment within fifteene dayes, of those summes, or els to abide the hazard of his displeasure. The servant so well performed his masters commandment, that in very short time they made payment of the whole summe: and if it had liked *Frescobald* so to have demanded, they should have answered to the uttermost such commodity, as the use of his money in so many yeares would have given him profite: but hee contented with his principall would demand no further. By which meanes hee got both hartly love and great estimation, and the more for that hee was so deare to the Lord *Cromwell* and so highly esteemed of him. And during all this time *Frescobald* continually lodged in the house of the Lord *Cromwell*, who ever gave him such entertainment as he had right well deserved, and oftentimes moved him to abide in *England*, offering him the loane of 60000 Duckates, for the space of foure yeares if he would continue and make his banke in *London*. But *Frescobald* who desired to returne into his countrey, and there quietly to continue the rest of his life, with the great favour of the Lord *Cromwell*, after many thanks for his high and noble entertainment, departed towards his desired home, where richly arriving, he gave himselfe quietly to live; but this wealth hee small time enjoyed, for in the first yeare of his returne hee dyed.

To this rare example of *Cromwell* may be added another of another *English* man related by *Thuanus*, though his name hee express not, the story he thus sets downe. *Praxedes* an old commander in the warrs with 300 choise *Spanish* souldiers held the towne of *Crodune*, which when hee obstinately defended, *Aumontius* a man to be equalled with the ancient *Heroes*, who straitly beseiged the place gave charge that to none of the garrison should bee given any quarter, and if any were taken prisoner he should bee convented before him to receive judgment; but it fell out that the towne being now taken, and the greatest part of the garrison, together with *Praxedes* himselfe, being put to the sword, a certaine *Englishman* hunting up and downe the towne for booty, by chance fell upon a *Spaniard* by whose meanes himselfe had bin formerly saved in the *Netherlands*, contrary to the like severe edict of the Generall; and embracing the man he said, Bee of good courage, I will make it appeare that the good turne which thou didst mee, was not in vaine bestowed; for I will first loose my life which I owe unto thee, then I will suffer thy life to be taken from thee: whereupon being accused by somewho bore him no good will, that he had concealed a *Spaniard* whom he had taken, and being commaunded by *Aumontius* to bring forth his prisoner, hee boldly answered, that he had promised him his life, and being charged for breaking the Generals edict, If nothing saith hee of the severity of that edict may bee remitted, I am ready to suffer for him, conditionally that his life may be safe, and that he know it bee saved by my meanes; Which



Which when all that were present wondered at, *Aumontius* demanded the reason how it came to pass, that an *English-man* should so much affect a *Spaniard*, as to bee ready to lay downe his life for him; the *Englishman* told him the truth of the whole busines how it had passed: which when *Aumontius* had well understood, he was therewith much mooved, and admiring the *Divine* providence which had offered so fayre an occasion to a generous spirited man, of shewing his gratitude to one who had so well deserved of him, hee sent both away highly commended and loaden with gifts.

To these transcendent examples of gratitude; I will adde such another of faithfull and constant freindship, as I thinke no former histories either of the *Grecians* or *Romans* can afford, betweene *Barbadicus* and *Tarvisanus* two gentlemen of *Venice* fully and lively expressed in this ensuing inscription, as I finde it in a copie printed at *Venice*, and allowed by publique authority, anno 1627.

*Nicolai Barbadici, & Marci Tarvisani philophilia.*

*Regina Adria, orbis miraculum, intemerata virgo, propria virtute gravida, tandem peperit, at quidnam? miraculum seipsa majus:*

*Monstra vitio carentia.*

*Barbadicum, & Tarvisanum, gemellos, quorum duo corpora una animat anima. Pylades & Orestes transeant inter fabulas, & quicquid Græcia mendax audet in historia: commorientes deliria sunt Poetarum somniantium: at isti unanimis, digni quos operi intentus suo Deus respiciat: magna ingeniorum disparitas:*

*Major genitorum paritas:*

*Non major unus, nec melior alter: ijdem & non ijdem, ipsi nec ipsi sunt, Pereuntem Barbadicum servat Tarvisanus: Perditum Tarvisanum redimit Barbadicus,*

*Auri hic, sanguinis ille prodigus.*

*De uno Tarvisano sollicitus Barbadicus, conjugis, liberorum, nepotum, postponit curam: uni Barbadico ut placeat Tarvisanus, veneri aleaq; (delicijs suis) valedicit: vitam dedit huic ille: animam hic illi: utrique debetur cælum, philomachiam istam vidit Adria, stupet orbis, admirabitur posteritas.*

*Cum duo certarent, victor uterque fuit.*

#### SECT. 6.

*The same example more particularly described by meanes of another writing concerning that busines which since the printing of the former is come to my hands.*

**T**His latter example of the *Venetians* held so strange that first *Giacomo Scaglia* one of the principall citizens published a narration thereof in *Italian* anno 1627, and since *Alexander de Gattis* a Churchman of that citty hath out of *Italian* translated it into latine, and printed it the yeere following in *venice*, as was likewise the former; the title whereof, thus runs. *De monstrosa amicitia respectu perfectionis quæ inter Nicolaum Bardadicum & Marcum Trivisanum venetæ filios, nobilitatis gloria dignissimos intercedit, brevis ac verissima narratio cum procuratore*



tione generali, atque irrevocabili facta a primo in personam secundi: additum est etiam testamentum unius & testamentum & Codicillus alterius: quae omnia ab ipsismet viventibus fuere publicata. And because most men are curious to inquire into relations of this kind, and the bookes I doubt are hard to be gotten either in *Italian* or *Latine*, I have hereunto annexed the latter part of the Epistle to the reader, together with the *Historicall argument* and the inscription of *de Gattis* added in the end of the *latine* Copie, though I must confesse that (in my judgement) it came farre short of that which I have already set downe upon the same subject.

### AD CURIOSOS AC IVDICIOSO præditos Lectores.

**N**ostis solum temporibus (taceant qui dicunt mundum semper in pejorare) habemus rarum, & singulare, non fabulis aut figmentis celebratum, amicitiae perfectissimae exemplum, in illustrissimis Dominis Nicolao Barbado, & Marco Trivisano Patriciis Venetis nobilissimis. Exemplum, non ad exemplum praeceptorum amicorum, siue veri sint siue fabulosi) at exemplum sine exemplo, quodque aliorum tanto magis antecellit, quantum a prima adolescentiae tempore quo familiariter, ac domesticè simul versari coeperunt, omnes cogitationes & omnes illarum actiones aliter non sunt appellandae, quam reciproca verè atque incomparabilis amicitiae opera, quae pro singulari exemplo futura sit ceteris, qui sunt, quique post alij erunt in annis. Quanquam vero ab initio oculis invidiae animoque perverso huiusmodi operationes perperam visæ & in deteriore partem acceptae fuerunt, tandem tamen ipsarum lux ita clara, ac splendida facta est, ut ipsam & invidentia, & malevolentia confusa penitus obtorpuerit. Atque ita egregiè hoc clarissimum Amicitiae exemplum triumphat, ut laudes semper & encomia hinc inde exaudiantur. Additis titulis supra communem usum illustribus nuperis & mirabilibus poematum heroicarum inventionibus, quae ad horum gloriam singularem Heroum adhuc viventium, composita sunt a celebrioribus scriptorum recentium calamis, existimantium se posse immortalitatem acquirere, si gloriam celebrent horum, nunquam satis celebratorum amicorum; imo non solum homines singulares, sed Universitates integræ nobilium totius Italiae Academiarum publico decreto sanxerunt, ut suo nomine scribantur & exaltentur tanti casus prerogativa, atque ut in eorum vitæ libris tam illustris memoria aternitati commendata perseveret. Verbi Dei concionatores maxime celebres, in sacris suis sermonibus ponunt ante oculos tanquam spectaculum perfecti amoris, mutuaeque inter homines dilectionis, ac tanquam imaginem supremi amoris & summae Dei charitatis hanc perfectam & sacrosanctam amicitiam. Principes etiam remotiores ad quos fama tantæ Unionis pervenit, sicut illam cum admiratione audire, ita summis laudibus eundem extollunt. Historici nostri temporis ac futuri, certè inter huius ætatis memoriâ digniora clarissimum hoc exemplum, ad solam & veram amicitiae ideam collocabunt. Quos inter Illustrissimus & Excellentissimus D. Nicolaus Contarenius Senator praestantissimus, ob summam ejus prudentiam & doctrinam ab hoc sapientissimo Senatu electus ad historias gloriosissimæ suæ reip. scribendas,



das, publicè professus fuit ac pollicitus est, se inter heroicas actiones huius sæculi digniores relaturum, hoc tanquam civilis virtutis exemplum, omnium quæ unquam vîsa fuerunt nobilissimum. Itaque patria hæc fœlicissima ibit per Barbados & Trivisanos gloria onustior, quam per Horatios, Mutios, Brutos, & alios cives generosos, Roma vetus, quorum tamen memoria adhuc viget, & in æternum vivebit. Quod, si fabula à Poetis & Oratoribus inventa, Patrocli & Achillis, Thesei & Perithoi, Pyladis & Orestis, Nysi & Euriali, Titi & Gysippi, & aliorum ejusdem generis, tantam adferunt admirationem, tantamque voluptatem legentibus; quanto majorem, vera narratio certæ atque incomparabilis horum Venetorum Heroum amicitia, circumstantijs, & conditionibus mirabilibus associata, ferre debet? Sed ut perspicuè videatur præcipuum hujus actionis fundamentum, omnibus linguis, omnibus calamis, hominum omni exceptione majorum tantoperè celebrata, curiosè perlegite vos omnes, qui amorem & admirationem actionum laudandarum profiteamini, perlegite, inquam, brevem hanc narrationem; quæ paucis comprehensam veritatem & probationem infallibilem, poteritis perspicere Heroicæ hujus ac immortalis amicitia, quæ nititur incorruptibili, perpetua, & immutabili virtuti. Vivite fœlices, ac memoris sapius repetite, mortem omnibus ex natura æqualem, oblivione apud posteros, vel gloria distingui; & postquam diu nobis vivere non licet, saltem aliquid relinquendum, quo nos vixisse testemur.

Tacitus.  
Plinius Secundus.

#### Argumentum Historicum.

Contraxere jam inde ab adolescentia suavissimam simul amicitiam illustrissimi Domini, Nicolaus Barbadicus & Marcus Trivisanus, Patricij Veneti, atque tum ob propria virtutis meritum, tum etiam ob familiarum splendorem, tum denique ob dignitates & officia egregiè à juventute exercita in Republica spectabiles. Solida hæc cordataque Amicitia omni tempore mutuis officijs culta eò pervenit, ut Trivisanus, propter redundantes in rebus necessarijs expensas, in itineribus, atque in ijs voluptatibus quæ hodiè propria sunt libera ac magnanima juventutis, præter quandam in aleis adversam fortunam, & alios humana vitæ casus, incidisset in admodum dissimilem a suis Natalibus, ac generosis cogitationibus conditionem, ære forsitan alieno superante fortunas suas, & ab omnibus, atque adeo ab ipsismet etiam fratribus derelictus esset, ab unico fidei amico Barbadico, Nobili viro ditissimo ( præter quoddam mutuum quatuor millium ducatorum antea gratis concessum ) in domum deinde propriam fuerit introductus, remissoque debito, quod cum illo habebat, atque solutis duobus alteris millibus, quæ in magnam summam cum alijs contraxerat, tandem extraordinaria, generali & irrevocabili Procuratore, bonorum omnium suorum, immobilium & stabilium Præfectum & Administratorem constituerit, ut de ijs ad arbitrium suum disponderet. Neque his rebus Barbadicus satiat, ut amicos commoditatibus, si fortè sibi obire contigisset, & optimæ administrationi suarum facultatum, ac beneficio filiorum provideret, in suo Testamento disponit, ut, licet conjugem, & fratrem habeat, Trivisanus solus Commissarius suorum omnium bonorum remaneat; atque ad illum pertineat filias in matrimonium collocare, neque ullo unquam tempore cogi possit ad reddendam rationem administrationis, seu alterius rei peculiaris, quæ ad hanc pertineat hereditatem. Eidem præterea donationem quandam legat, quæ ampliorem non potest sustinere suarum



suarum facultatum amplitudo: & multo maiorem legaverat; sed coactus fuit modum donationi facere, ne in filiorum præjudicium vires patrimonij excederent. Ad quæ munera concedenda Barbadicus istè fuit provocatus, eo quod viderit Trivisanum, simulatque domum suam ingressus est, modestia animi singulari factum parcum alieni, si profusior ac sui prodigentior antea fuerat; cum eodem momento temporis alearum lusum omnino dimiserit, & alia quælibet solatia juvenilia: quin ad consuetudinem hominum eruditorum ac sapientum, atque ad meliores & graviores legendos Authores convertens animum, eidem ostendit, magnanimæ ejus liberalitati, animo sincero, integris moribus & candida fide, se responsurum: quam fidem sæpenumero ante, ac post hujusmodi beneficia, Barbadicus est expertus in dilecto, atque constantissimo Amico: Cum unus ipse, ut Barbadici vitam atque honorem tueretur (quorum utrumque idem Barbadicus acceptum se referre Trivisano palam fatetur) in illius magnis angustiis, gravioribus periculis tum manifestis, tum occultis, litibus injustis, persecutionibus iniquis, calumnijs falso impositis, ac diabolicis, toti urbi cognitis (quæ ipsi etiam Trivisano communes sunt factæ: quod sæpius solet accidere, cum semper voluerit veri, & unici amici innocentiam sustentare, neque quod toti urbi notissimum est, pessimam ipsius fortunam deserere) non solum interrupit sibi cursum ad præcipua munera majoresque sue patriæ gradus, ad quos stupentibus omnibus felicissimè ferebatur; sed etiam illos perdiderit, atque amiserit, contraxerit etiam cum pluribus, quorum aliqui prius eidem fuerant sodales, graves & periculosissimas inimicitias solâ tantum ratione ejusdem Amici, quod omnibus manifestissimum est, spreverit honorem illum extrinsecum, qui ab opinione gentium stultarum, & ratione carentium dependet, ac tandem vitam etiam propriam sæpius periculis manifestissimis exposuerit, quemadmodum in quacunque proposita occasione nunc etiam exponeret: cum multos annos vixerit, hodieque vivat Trivisanus, ob hanc Barbadici incomparabilem grati animi significationem lautè, splendide, & singulari auctoritate, misericors in afflictos, humanissimus in amicos, ac præcipuè Mæcenæ maximus virtute præditorum: honorificè etiam ab Amici filiabus habeatur, non aliter, ac si illarum Pater esset: atque ab ipsa illius conjuge lato vultu acceptus, & loco fratris veritus honoretur; tum quod ejus merita in maritum cognoscat; tum propter optimum ejusdem naturæ genium, tum etiam ob non obvias ejus alias qualitates, quæ ipsum amore dignum & omnibus admirabilem reddunt.

Taceant, fileant Oratores Omnes,

Poëte omnes:

Quis immensum compiecitur?

Quis infinitum definiet?

Quis infandum fabitur?

Animi duo in uno spirant pectore!

Animus unus in duplici corde divit!

Apinae sunt & tricae:

At rape, clepe, harpaga inimicitia.

Sunt etiam Gemini in cælo,

Sunt etiam Gemini in terra:

Illi ignes & sydera:

Hi amores honestissimi.

Tt

Duc



*Duo inter astra sunt majora lumina Sol & Luna,  
At sunt etiam in terris duo lucidissimi Soles  
Veneti firmamenti.*

*Tanta miracula ac talem metamorphosin facit,  
Non Nicolai Barbadici, & Marci Trivisani,  
Sed Nicolai Trivisani, & Marci Barbadici  
Concordia & amicitia individua.*

*Nam si corda sint promiscua,  
Quid nomina non communicabit?*

*Ego interim*

*Alexander de Gattis*

*Altissimas Pyramides, ac sumptuosissima Mausolea,  
Erigam struamque  
In memoriam Amicitia hujusmodi sempiternam.*

### SECT. 7.

*Of rare examples of conjugal piety and affection in some Christian women of  
latter ages, beyond any of the ancient Romans.*

*Lib. 2. de Christi  
fam.*

**T**O these examples of constant freindship, may not improperly be annexed two or three others of rare affection in some Christian women toward their husbands, not to be matched with any examples in the like kinde among the ancient Romans. I will first beginne with that of *Clara Cervenda* the wife of *Bernard Valdaura*, reported by *Ludovicus Vives* whom himselfe knew and was well acquainted with; This excellent woman, being of the citty of *Brugesse* in the *Netherlands*, a virgin young and faire, married with *Valdaura*, being then about the age of 40 yeares; and the first night of their marriage found his legs to be swathed with linnen roles, and from thence perceived that shee had gotten an unsound and sickly husband; yet for all that she thought nothing the worse of him, neither did she loath him whom as yet she scarce began to love. Not long after *Valdaura* falls into a greivous sicknes, insomuch as all the Physitians utterly despaired of his life; yet shee with her mother attended about his bed with so great care and diligence, that neither of them changed their cloths by the space of six whole weeks, save only to shift their linnen; Neither did they sleep any night above an houre or two and that in their apparell, passing many nights without any sleep at all; the ground of his disease was that which we call here the French pox, no lesse dangerous then infectious; the Physitians perswaded her, not to touch him, or come so neere him; her friends likewise counselled her the same; and besides some women of her owne rank told her, that in Christian piety her husband was not with such anxiety to be troubled, (so they called it,) being now about to pay his debt to the destinies, and a great part of death being already receaved into his body; that shee should rather take care for his soule, then trouble herselfe about his body except it were to thinke of his funeralls: with these speeches shee was nothing discouraged; indeed shee provided those things which were fit



fit for his soule, but in the meane time shee was likewise most carefull of his medicines, and broths, and for the changing of his linnen, hee being much troubled with a flux & filthy matter issuing out of his soares: in-  
 so much that she ran up & downe all day, supporting her weake body by the strength of her affection, not able to endure so great labour had shee not bene in such manner supported. Thus did *Valdaura* escape a most dangerous sicknes; the Physitians swearing that his wife by meere force had rescued him out of the jawes of death. Others more merrily then christianly, said, that God had decreed to kill *Valdaura*, but that his wife was obstinately resolved not to let him depart out of her hands.  
 After this, a hott humor falling frō his head, the inner part of his nostrills began to be fretted & eaten with it; the Physitians for this prescribed a powder, with which the ulcer was to bee sprinkled by a gentle blowing of it thorough a quill, and when none could be found who refused not that office, all men abhorring so foule a worke, his wife undertooke it and did it, pimples arising and dispersing themselves in his cheeks and chin, when as noe barber conveniently could or would shave away his haire, his wife with a paire of sisers handsomely did it every eight day. After this againe hee fell into another tedious sicknes, which held him seven yeares together, she all this while with unwearied diligence provided him meat, though shee had two servant maids, and a daughter of sufficient age & stature, she alone dressed his foule ulcers, & handled his loathsome legs, every where issuing forth corrupt matter. Every day shee applyed new tents and pulstels to them, and bound them up with swathing cloaths, that a man might well thinke shee rather hadled muske, then a thing of so intollerable a favour, and besides shee swore, that his breath which none could endure by the space of ten paces, was most sweet, and shee was, saith *Vives*, angry with mee in good earnest, because once I said it was unfavoury, affirming that it seemed to her as the sent of ripe and pleasant apples. And during this long time of his lingring sicknes, the charge being great for the attending of a man in that case, who had gottē nothing for many yeares together, nor had any certaine revenues, she sold or pawned her rings, her chaines, her jewels, her apparel, her plate, & this shee did most willingly, least her husband should want any thing was fit for him, contenting her selfe with any kinde of dyer, that so shee might provide whatsoever was conducible for his afflicted body. Thus did hee draw out the thred of his life by his wifes care in a body halfe dead, or to speake more properly in the sepulchre of his soule, by the space of ten yeares from his first sicknes; during which time shee brought him two children, having had six before; And having bin married by the space of 20 yeares, shee was never infected with her husbands most contagious disease, nor was touched with any the least ulcer, as neither were any of her children, but had all of them sound bodies and cleere skins. At last her old sickly husband dyed, or rather departed then dyed, being so freed from his daily torments, yet with so excessive greife of Clara his wife, that they who well knew her affirme that never any younge husband of a sound body, faire and rich, ever left to his deare wife by his death so great lamentation & sorrow.



Many of her freinds to comfort her told her, that she had more reason to reioice then greive, whom she even cursed, wishing that her husband such as hee was might be restored to her againe, though it were with the losse of all her children. And though she were not farre advanced in yeares, yet vowed she never to marry againe, because she doubted shee should never finde againe another *Bernard Valdaura*.

Now though it may seeme but ordinary & to little purpose whatsoever may be said after this, yet I will instance in one exāple more homebred and of our owne nation, I meane in *Eleanor* the wife of *Edward* the first, who as *Rodericus Toletanus* writes, followed her husband into the holy land, where when by the treacherie of a Moore he was wounded with a poysoned knife, and his wound by the remedies applyed rather grew worse then better, shee found out a new kinde of medecine, yet full of affection & piety, sucking his wounds every day and licking them with her tounge, as if it had bin some precious liquor, by which meanes she drew out the poyson and cured him, her selfe remaining untouched;

Whereupon the Author of the story breaks forth into this exclamation; *Quid igitur hujus mulieris fide rarius audiri? quid mirabilius esse potest? ut uxoris lingua fide & dilectione maritali peruncta, venena à dilecto marito expulerit, quæ ab electo medico trahi non valuerunt: & quod plurima exquisitaque non effecerunt medicamenta, una uxoris pietas explevit.*

These I confesse are examples of single women, I will therefore add hereunto the multitude of a whole towne called *Wenisburg* in *Suevia*, which when *Conrad* the third Emperour of that name besieged, & could not upon any terms bee perswaded from sacking the towne and putting all the inhabitants to the sword, at last by the importunity of the womē who rushed out of the towne and cast themselves at his feet, he granted them that they should depart untouched and carry forth with them as much as they could beare & no more; who all agreeing together carried forth their husbands, their children their parents their brothers upō their backs and shoulders, from which sight the Emperour conceived so great pleasure, that bursting forth into teares of joy, he not only layd aside his former feircenes and fury, but spared the towne, and entred a league of friendship with them. By the narration of which story *Laurentius Medices*, as *Bodin* reports, was recovered from a dangerous sickness, without the helpe of any other Physick; as were likewise *Alphonfus* and *Ferdinandus* Kings of *Spaine* and *Sicilie*, the one by the reading of *Titus Livius*, and the other of *Quintus Curtius*.



## CHAP. II.

Wherein the objections brought in behalfe of the Romanes touching their pretended iustice, prudence, and fortitude, are examined and fully answered.

## SECT. I.

The first objection touching the pretended Iustice of the Romans, answered out of Lactantius.

**B**Ut happily it may be said, that as fertile grounds abound as well in weedes as wholesome hearbes : so the *Romanes* had many *vertues* no lesse commendable, then odious & detestable *vices*, which to be ignorant of were childish simplicity, to dissemble or suppress envious partiality. The principall of these *vertues* are pretended to bee their *iustice*, their *prudence*, and their *fortitude*. But if there be a chaine of all the *Vertues*, { as both *Aristotle* and their owne great *Oratour* have taught } so that he who truly possesseth one, is owner of ali, and hee that wants but one, upon the matter hath none at all, but shadowes instead of substances, then certainly the *Romans*, whom we have proved to bee excessively *cruell*, *covetous*, *luxurious*, *ambitious* and *vaine-glorious*, could not properly be said to bee either *iust*, *wise*, or *valiant*, but rather formall then *iust*, crafty or cunning then *wise*, adventurous or daring then *valiant*. And I would willingly learne, how they who with such an insatiable thirst of gaine and glory (as hath beene shewed) robbed, spoyled, oppressed, not the provincials onely, but their owne fellow Citizens, can be said to be *iust*, or how they who admitted so many so base *Gods* and *Goddeses*, and honoured them with such beastly prophane services, can be said to be *wise*, or lastly how they who were wholly drowned in softnes and in delicacy, could bee truly *valiant*; And I will never doe that wrong to *Christian Religion*, as not to beleeve, but that it hath yeelded more *iust*, more *wise*, more *valiant*, then *Pagan Rome* ever did. And therein if *Tertullian* in his *Apologetique*, *Cyprian* against *Demetrianus*, *Lactantius* in his *Institutions*, and *Augustin* in his bookes de *Civitate dei* erre not, I am sure I am right.

I will first then take a view of their *Iustice*, *Nec est difficile dicere, cur Deorum cultores iusti & boni esse non possint* (saith *Lactantius*, striking indeed at the very roote of their injustice) it is not hard to say, why the worshippers of such *Gods* cannot be either *iust* or good: he goes on and particularizeth in the severall branches of their injustice. *Quomodo enim sanguine abstinebunt, qui colunt cruentos Deos Martem atq; Bellonam? quomodo aut parentibus parcent, qui expulso rem patris sui Iovem, aut natis ex se infantibus, qui colunt Saturnum? quomodo pudicitiam tuebuntur qui colunt Deam nudam & adulteram, & quasi apud Deos prostitutam? quomodo se à rapinis & fraudibus abstinebunt qui Mercurij furta noverunt, docentis non fraudis esse decipere sed astutiae? quomodo libidines coercebunt qui Iovem, Herculem Liberum, Apollinem, ceterosq; venerantur, quorum adulteria & stupra in matres & foeminas non tantum doctis nota sunt, sed exprimuntur etiam in Thea-*

*Lactant. Instit.*  
l. 5. c. 10.



tris, atque cantantur ut sint omnibus notiora. Possuntne inter hæc justi esse homines, qui etiam si naturâ sint boni ab ipsis tamen Dijs erudiantur ad injustitiam: ad placandum enim Deum quem colas, ijs rebus opus est quibus illum gaudere ac delectari scias, sic fit ut vitam colentium Deus pro qualitate numinis sui formet: quoniam religiosissimus est cultus imitari. How should they abstaine from blood who worship bloody Gods as Mars and Bellona? how should they either spare their Parents who worship Jupiter, or their children who worship Saturne? How should they have a care of their chastity who worship a naked and adulterous Goddess, as it were the prostituted strumpet of the Gods? How should they abstaine from rapine and eosenage who are acquainted with the thefts to Mercury, teaching, that to deceive was not fraude but wyliness? how should they bridle their lust who adore Jupiter, Hercules, Bacchus, Apollo and the rest, whose adulteries and incontinencies both with males and females are not onely knowne to the learned, but are acted and sung in their Theaters; that so they may bee knowne to all. Is it possible for men in this case to be just? who though they were naturally well disposed, yet by the exâples of their very Gods are they taught injustice. For to please the God you worship, it is requisite you do such things as you know he is delighted with, and may give him content: so as according to his owne quality and condition he formes and conformes the lives of such as worship him, in as much as imitation is the most religious kinde of worship.

Yet notwithstanding all this, it seemes by the same godly Father, that they stood much upon their owne just & upright dealing, reproaching the Christians with the contrary, which gives him occasion in another place thus to expostulate the matter with them. *Audent igitur homines improbiissimi iustitiæ facere mentionem qui feras immanitate vincti?*

--- Lupi cen

*Raptores atra in nebula quos improba ventris  
Exegit cacos rabies.*

Like ravening wolves whom in a gloomie day,  
Their bellies rage drives forth to seeke their pray.

*Verum hos non ventris, sed cordis rabies effera vit, nec atra in nebula, sed aperta pradatione grassantur: nec eos unquam conscientia scelerum revocat, ne sanctum ac pium nomen iustitiæ ore illo violent, quod cruore innocentium tanquam ritus bestiarum madet.* Doe these most dishonest men dare mention justice who exceede the savage Beasts in cruelty? &c. But these not so much the fiercenesse of their stomakes, as of their owne wicked hearts hath intraged, neither doe they flipke in the darke, but make havocke & lay waste by open violence. Neither are they ever touched with any remorse of Conscience for prophaning the holy & divine name of justice with those mouthes, which like the chaps of beasts, are dyed with the blood of Innocents. And lest we should conceive he thus speaks by reason of their cruelty towards the Christians, he goes on in the same Chapter, and tels us, *Non de nostro sed ex illorum numero semper existunt qui vias obsideant armati, maria prædentur, vel si palam grassari non licuit, venena clam temperent, qui uxores necent ut dotes earum lucrentur, aut maritos*

us



ut adulteris nubant qui natos ex se pueros aut strangulent, aut si nimium py fuerint, exponant; qui libidines incestas, nec à filia, nec à sorore, nec à matre, nec à sacerdote contineant; qui adversus cives suos patriamque conjurent. Qui denique sacrilegia committant, & Deorum quos colunt templa dispolient. They are not of ours, but yours, who rob by the high wayes, and turne pyrats by Sea. Or if open violence will not serve the turne, they prepare poyson, who make away their wives, that they may gaine their dowries, or their husbands, that they may marry with their Adulterers, who either strangle their infants, or if they bee very devout, expose them; who forbear not incestuous lustes with their owne daughters, their sisters, their mothers, no nor with their consecrated Priests, who treacherously conspire against their owne Country; Lastly, who commit sacrilege, and robbe the Temple of those very Gods whom they worship.

And least wee should imagine, that he speakes of the *Gentiles* in generall, and not rather of the *Romanes* in particular, he referres us to the testimonies of *Seneca* & *Lucilius*. *Qui volent scire plura, Seneca libros in manum sumant, qui morum vitiorumque publicorum, & descriptor verissimus, & accusator acerrimus fuit.* They who desire to understand more hereof, let them take into their hands *Seneca's* bookes, who both most truly describes, and most sharply censures the publique manners and vices. And to the testimonie of *Seneca*, he addes that of *Lucilius*: *Sed & Lucilius tenebrosam istam vitam circumscriptè breviterque depinxit his versibus:* *Lucilius* alio hath briefly and pithily painted out that base kinde of life.

*Nunc vero à mane ad noctem festo atque profesto,  
Totus item pariterque die populusque patresque  
Iactare, indufori se omnes, decedere nusquam,  
Vni se atque eidem studio omnes dedere, & arti,  
Verba dare ut causè possint, pugnare, dolose  
Blandiri, certare, bonum simulare virum se,  
Insidias facere, ut si hostes sint omnibus omnes.*

From morne to night on dayes profane or festivall,  
They meete at th'common place commons and fathers all,  
There they bestirre themselves, thence will they not depart,  
One selfe same study all attending and one art,  
How closely they may cheate, strive, flatter cunningly,  
Contend, and as good men pretend sincerity,  
Yet undermine, as each were others enemy.

*Nostro autem populo quid tale potest objici? Cujus omnis religio est sine scelere & sine macula vivere?* But now unto those of our profession what can be objected in this kinde? whose religion consists wholly in this, to live without wickednesse and pollution? Nay so much he stands upon the powerfulness of *Christian Religion*, that he makes it beyond all the rules of Morall Philosophy, strongly effectually to expell vice, and plant in men all kinde of vertue: *Da mihi virum qui sit iracundus, maledicus, effrenatus: paucissimis Dei verbis tam placidum quam ovem, reddam. Da cupidum, avarum, tenacem; jam tibi eum liberalem dabo, & pecuniam suam pro-*

Lib. 3. c. 26.



*prijs plenisque manibus largientem. Da timidum doloris ac mortis: jam cruce & ignes & Phalaridis taurum contemnet. Da libidinosum, adulterum, ganeonem; jam sobrium, castum, continentem videbis. Da crudelem, & sanguinis appetentem; jam in veram clementiam furor ille mutabitur. Da injustum, insipientem, peccatorem; continuo & equus, & prudens, & innocens erit. Ad quod efficiendum non mercede, non libris, non lucubrationibus opus est. Gratiſta sunt, facile, cito: pateant modo aures, & pectus sapientiam sitiat. Give me a man that is wrathfull, full-mouthed, unruly; with a few words of Gods booke, I will make him as gentle as a lambe. Give me one that is close-fisted, covetous, greedy of money: I will send him backe unto thee, liberall, bountifully distributing his money with his owne hands. Give me one that is fearefull of torments and death, he shall soone despise crosses and fires, and Phalaris his bull. Give me a lecher, an adulterer, a haunter of brothell-houses; you shall see him sober, chaste, continent. Give me one that is cruelly disposed, and thirsting after blood, that fury of his shall be changed into true clemency. Give me one who is unjust, unwise, a sinner, he quickly shall be just, wise, upright. For the effecting whereof, there is no need of a reward, of bookes, of watchings, those things are done gratis, easily, suddainely: onely let the eares be open, and the heart long for wisdom. Thus writes Lactantius, and much more to this purpose, attributing a quickning efficacy to the divine oracles of Gods word, in the reformation of manners, which was not to be found in the writings of any of the Heathen*

## S E C T. 2.

*The same answer farther confirmed by the testimony of S. Augustine.*

*De Civ. Dei.  
l. 2. c. 6.*

*Cap. 19.*

*Cap. 17.*

*Raptus sine mo-  
re Sabinas, Vir.  
Æn. 8.*

**S**AINT Augustine presses them farther, that their Gods never taught them to be good, or at least-wise that their Priests never published any precepts tending that way in the name of their Gods. *Dicatur in quibus locis hæc doctum Deorum solebant præcepta recitari, & à Cultoribus eorum populis frequenter audiri; sicut ostendimus ad hoc Ecclesias institutas, quaquaversum religio Christiana diffunditur.* Let it be shewed in what place such precepts, given by direction of their Gods, were wont to be read and heard of the people, who came frequently to worship them, as we shew that among us, temples are to that purpose erected, as farre as Christian Religion is spread: Where (saith he in another place) out of the Prophets, the Gospells, the Acts of the Apostles, the Epistles, many things are read to the people being assembled, against covetousnesse & luxury, so excellent, so divine, as if they were rather thundrings from Heaven, then wranglings from the Philosophers Schooles. And for the particular point in matters of justice, he floutes at Salust for saying, that *jus bonumque apud eos non legibus magis quam naturâ valebat*, right & equity did as much prevaile with them, through the goodnesse of their Nature, as by the force of the Lawes: *Ex hoc jure ac bono credo raptas esse Sabinas; quid enim justius & melius quam filias alienas fraude spectaculi inductas non à parentibus accipi, sed vi ut quisque poterat inferri?* From this love of



of right I trow it was that the *Sabin* women were ravished. For what can be more just, then not to receive from their parents hands, but to take and carry away by violence other mens daughters, drawne on under the pretence of beholding a spectacle? From the same love of this right too belike *Iunius Brutus* being *Consull*, caused *Lucius Tarquinius Collatinus* husband to *Lucretia*, an innocent and good man and his Colleague, to quite both his office and the Citie, only because he bore the name, & was of kinne to the *Tarquins*: *Quod scelus favente vel patiente populo fecit, a quo populo Consulatum idem Collatinus sicut etiam ipse Brutus acceperat*: And this most unjust act he did by the favour or connivence of the people, from whom *Collatinus* had received his *Consulship* as well as *Brutus*. From the love of this right, it likewise came to passe that *Marcus Camillus*, who had done his Countrey so great service, being questioned through the insolencie of the *Tribunes*, & the envy of his great vertues, *tam ingratam sensit quam liberaverat Civitatem, ut de sua damnatione certissimus in exilium sponte discederet, & decem millibus aris absens etiam damnaretur, mox iterum a Gallis vindex patria futurus ingratae*: He found that Citie which hee had saved so ingratefull, that being fully assured hee should have sentence passe against him, he put himselfe into voluntary banishment, & being absent, they laid a mulct upon his head of 10000 asses, though he were afterward re-called to free his unthankfull countrey from the forces of the *Gaules*. To these examples of injustice in other places hee addes the unjust putting to death of *Rhemus* by his brother *Romulus*, their unjust warre upon the *Aibans* the mother of *Rome*, the unjust exile of *Scipio Africanus* at *Linternum* in *Campania*, where he ended his dayes, giving strait charge, *ne saltem mortuo in ingrata patria funus fieret*, that being dead, his funerals should not be solemnized in his ungratefull Countrey. Nay *Salust* himselfe he confutes, by testimonies drawne from his owne writings, where he tells us, that discord, covetousnes, ambition, and other mischiefes which were wont to waite upon prosperity, *post Carthaginis excidium maximè aucta*, after the fall of *Carthage* mightily increased, and from that time, *Majorum mores non paulatim ut antea, sed torrentis modo precipitati*, the ancient manners not by degrees as before, but like a torrent were carried downe headlong. By which confession of *Salust*, it appeares that it was not so much the goodnesse of their Nature, as the emulation and feare of *Carthage* that bridled them, and kept them in order. *S. Augustines* conclusion in the fore alleadged chapter is: *Multa commemorare jam piget fæda & injusta quibus agitabatur illa Civitas: Cum potentes plebem sibi subdere conarentur, plebsque illis subdi recusarent, & utriusque partis defensores magis studis ageret amore vincendi, quam æquum & bonum quicquam cogitarent*. So many were the foule and unjust acts with which this Citie was burdened, that it grieveth me to recount them; whiles the Nobility fought to trample upon the Commons, and these againe refused to obey them, & the chiefe abettours on both sides were rather carryed with faction then love of justice.

*Nusquam tuta fides,---*  
Faith is no where to bee found,

*Vergil.*

It

*Simulacra ludis equestribus, virgines quæ ad spectandum venerunt capere: Florus. l. 3. c. 1.*

*Lib. 3. c. 28.*

*2. 18.*

*2. 17.*



Is the complaint of one of their Poets; and of another,

--- *Qua terra patet fera regnat Erinny's,*  
*In facinus jurasse putes.*

As farre as land doth reach doth fierce *Erinny's* rage,  
 A man would thinke they sworne had to all outrage.

And of a third,

*Simplicitas, cujus non audeo dicere nomen:*  
*Simplicity, whose name*  
 I dare not speake for shame.

### SECT. 3.

*Another answer, that none can be truly just which are not truly religious, nor any truly religious which professe not the Christian Religion.*

**A**Nd to speake a truth, so naturall is the union of *true religion* with *justice*, that wee may boldly deeme there is neither, where both are not: For how should they be unfainedly just, whom Religion doth not cause to bee such? or they religious, who are not found such by the prooffe of their just actions? If they which imploy their labour and travell about the publique administration of *justice*, follow it only as a trade with unquenchable and unconscionable thirst of gaine, being in heart not perswaded that *justice* is Gods owne worke, and themselves his Agents in the businesse; the sentence of right, Gods owne verdict, and themselves his Priests to deliver it: formalities of justice doe but serve to smother right, and that which was necessarily ordained for the common good is through shamefull abuse, made the cause of common misery. It is moreover the proper effect of true Religion to qualifie all sorts of men, and to make them in publique affaires the more serviceable, Governours the more apter to rule with conscience, inferiours for conscience sake the willinger to obey. *Candere & giorari ex fide semper volumus, (saith the good Emperour Theodosius) scientes magis religionibus quam officiis & labore corporis, vel sudore Rempub. nostram contineri:* We will alwayes rejoyce and glory in our faith, as well knowing that our Empire consists rather by Religion, then any other meanes. And doubtlesse the *Christian Religion* hath herein the start of all others, that it strikes so much upon the soule, whereby it is brought to passe, that men fearing God, are thereby a great deale more effectually then by positive lawes, restrained from doing evill, in as much as those lawes have no farther power then over our outward actions onely, whereas unto mens inward cogitations, unto the privy intents and motions of their hearts, *Christian Religion* serveth for a bridle. What more savage, wilde, and cruell then man, if he see himselfe able, either by fraud to over-reach, or by power to over-bear the lawes whereunto he should be subject? Wherefore in so great boldnesse to offend; it behooveth that men should bee held in awe, not by a vaine surmise, but a true apprehension of that which no man may thinke himselfe able to withstand. *Summum presidium regni est justitia*

*Cardan de sapi-*  
*et. l. 3.*



*ob apertos tumultus, & religio ob occultos*: The chiefe safegard of a kingdome is justice against open disorders, and religion against secret. And our best writers of the *Primitive Church* forgat not to presse this against the *Ethnicks*, *Vos scelera admissa punitis, apud nos & cogitare peccare est; vos conscios timetis, nos etiam conscientiam solam, sine qua esse non possumus*, sayes *Minutius Fælix*: You punish wicked acts committed, with us to thinke wickedly is a sinne, you feare to be convinced of guiltinesse, we feare the guiltinesse of our conscience, which wee alway carry about with us, and without which wee cannot be. But above all, *Tertullian* notably urgeth this point. *Tanta est prudentia hominis ad demonstrandum bonum, quanta auctoritas ad exigendum, tam illa falli facilis, quam ista contemni. Age ideo quid plenius dicere, non occides? aut docere, ne irascaris quidem? quid perfectius? prohibere adulterium, an etiam ab oculorum solitaria concupiscentia arcere? quid eruditius? de maleficio, an & de maleloquio interdiceret? quid instructius? injuriam non permittere, an nec vicem injuria sinere?* Such is the wisdom of man to direct what is good, as is his authority to exact it, the one may as easily bee deceived, as the other contemned. Which commands more fully? either hee who saith, thou shalt not kill, or he who charges not to be angry? which of the two is more perfect, to forbid adultery, or to restrain the eyes from concupiscence? whether more wisely done, to forbid evill deedes, or evill words? whether more like to doe good; the not permitting of injuries, or the not suffering the revenge of them? and besides all this, the *Ethnickes* onely threatned the death of the body to malefactors, but we (saith the same *Tertullian*) feare to offend God, & *pro scientie plenitudine, & pro latebrarum difficultate, & pro magnitudine cruciatu, non diuturni, verum sempiterni*: in regard of the fulnesse of his knowledge, the difficulty of being hid, and the greatnesse of the punishment, not for a long time, but for ever. And thus wee have seene that the *Ancient Romans*, neither were, nor indeed had the meanes to be so just as is pretended; or as the *Christians* were, whom they persecuted. But it will bee said, that howsoever they might bee defective in matter of justice, yet they excelled in wisdom and courage: Let us then take a view of these, and first of their wisdom.

## S E C T. 4.

*The second objection, touching the pretended wisdom of the Romanes, answered, by taking a brieve view of their courses, but especially by the testimony of Pliny.*

**I**F we should speake of true wisdom, it is onely that which serves to make us wise unto salvation, which without true Religion can never be attained, as *Lactantius* most divinely: *Omnis sapientia hominis in hoc uno est, ut Deum cognoscat & colat, hoc nostrum dogma, hac sententia est: quanta itaque voce possum testificor, proclamo, denuntio, hoc est illud quod Philosophi omnes in tota sua vita quaesierunt, nec unquam tamen investigare, comprehendere, aut tenere valuerunt, quia religionem aut pravam retinuerunt, aut totam*



*totam penitus sustulerunt.* All the wisdom of man consists onely in this, that he know and worship God, this is our doctrine, this our opinion, and this with as loud voyce as I can, I testifie, professe, proclaime: This is it which all the Philosophers during their whole life have sought, and yet could never finde out, comprehend, or attaine unto, because they either retained a corrupt religion, or wholly extinguished it. I would willingly learne how they, who (as hath already beene proved) worshipped stocks & stones; the workes of their owne hands, or such a rabble of filthy, wicked odious Gods, and that in such a beastly or cruell manner, like men voide of common reason, could be said to be wise? Or how they, who suffered the most notorious vices of their Gods to be described by their Poets, acted by their Players, drawne to life by their Painters, whom they highly applauded and rewarded, as if thereby they meant to instruct their youth in vertue, could be said to be wise? Or how they who wasted such infinite masses of treasure in such vaine buildings, banquettings, and spectacles could be said to be wise? Or they, who by their sword-playes, or wilde beasts (onely to satisfie their beastly pleasure) devoured so many millions of men, as might have served to enlarge or preserve their Empire, could be said to be wise? Or how they, who gave way to men to make themselves away upon all occasions as they thought fit, nay exhorted them to it, & commended them for it (which must needs be a meanes to weaken their state) could be said to be wise? Lastly, how they, who professed that they most desired to traine up their citizens to a military course of life, and yet suffered them to wallow in all kinde of luxury, could be said to be wise? What a great peece of wisdom did they ever shew in the making of their Lawes, in their stratagems of warre, or treaties of peace, which hath not beene exceeded, or at leastwise equalled by the Christians in latter ages? It is to this purpose a memorable passage which *Andreas Rey* a *Polonian*, in his preface to his *Politickall discourses* hath left upon record. *Si Consilia Romanorum, qualia partim à Livio, partim à Dione & alijs gravissimis historicis descripta sunt, conferantur cum ijs quæ ab annis centum in Hispania, Italia, & hujus parte Repub. Veneta, Gallia, Germania, Anglia, Polonia, alijsq; regnis, sive ad pacem, sive ad bellum inventa susceptaq; à Comineo, Guicciardino, Sleidano, recentioribus item Gallica historiae authoribus, Meterano, itemque alijs ex parte annotantur: fatendum erit etatem hanc inveniendi prompto acumine, & judicandi exquisita dexteritate, antiquitatem non tantum æmulari, sed et superare.* If the Counsels of the ancient Romans, as they are described partly by *Livy*, partly by *Dion* & other grave Authors, were compared with those which within the compasse of these last hundred yeares have bin observed in *Spaine*, in *Italy*, & a part thereof the Common-wealth of *Venice*, in *France*, *Germany*, *England*, *Poland*, & other states, & reported in part by *Comineus*, *Guicciardin*, *Sleydan*, the late *French Historiographers*, *Meteranus* & others: it must be confessed that as in sharpenes of wit, so likewise in depth of judgement this age not emulath only but surpasseth Antiquity. But the notable folly of the whole body of this state, notoriously appeared in one action of theirs, which I find thus at large described & censured by *Pliny* their Country-man, &

a great



a great admirer of his owne Nation. Certes, when I consider & behold the monstrous humors of those prodigall spirits, my mind is drawne away still from the progresse of mine intended journey, & forced I am to digresse out of my way, and to annexe unto this vanity of *Scaurus* as great folly of another, not in Masonry and marble, but in Carpentry & timber. And *C. Curio*, it was he who in the civill wars betweene *Cesar* & *Pompey* lost his life in the quarrell of *Cesar*. This Gentleman desirous to shew pleasure unto the people of *Rome*, at the funerals of his father deceased, as the manner then was; & seeing that he could not outgoe *Scaurus* in rich and sumptuous furniture was put to his shifts, & devised to surpassse him in wit, since hee could not come neare him in wealth. And what might his invention be? Certes it is worth the knowledge, if it were no more then this, that we may have joy of our owne conceites and fashions, and call our selves worthily as our manner is *Maiores*, that is to say, superiour every way to all others. This *Curio* then in emulation of *Scaurus* caused two Theaters to bee framed of timber, & those exceeding bigge; howbeit so as they might be turned about as a man would have them, approach neare one to the other, or bee removed farther asunder as one would desire; and all by the meanes of one hooke a peece that they hung by, which bare the weight of the whole frame; the counterpoise was so even, and all the whole fabrique thereof sure and firme. Now he ordered the matter thus, that to behold the severall stage playes and shewes in the fore-noone before dinner, they should be set backe to backe, to the end, that the stages should not trouble one another; and when the people had taken their pleasure that way, hee turned the *Theaters* about in a trice against the after-noone, that they affronted one another; and toward the latter end of the day, and namely when the Fencers and sword-players were come in place, he brought both the *Theaters* nearer together (and yet every man sate still & kept his place according to his rank & order) in so much as that by the meeting of the hornes or corners of the both together in compasse, he made a faire round *Amphitheater* of it, & there in the midst betweene, hee exhibited indeed unto them all joyntly a sight and spectacle of sword-fencers, fighting at sharpe, whom he had hired for that purpose. But in truth a man may say more truly, that he carried the whole people of *Rome* round about at his pleasure, bound sure enough for stirring or removing.

Now let us come to the point and consider a little better of this thing: what should a man wonder at most therein, the deviser or the devise it selfe? The workeman of this fabrique, or the Master that set him a worke? Whether of the twaine is more admirable, either the venturesous head of him that devised it, or the bold heart of him that undertooke it? To command such a thing to be done, or to obey, and yeeld, and goe in hand with it? But when wee have said all that wee can, the folly of the blinde and bold people of *Rome* went beyond all, who trusted such a ticklish frame, and durst sit there in a seate so moveable; loe where a man might have seene the body of that people, which is Commander and ruler of the whole earth, the Conquerour of the world, the



‘disposer of Kingdomes and Realmes at their pleasure, the divider of  
 ‘Countries & Nations at their wils, the giver of lawes to forraine states,  
 ‘the vicegerent of the immortall Gods under heaven, and representing  
 ‘their image unto all mankind, hanging in the aire within a frame at the  
 ‘mercy of one onely hooke, rejoycing, and ready to clap hands at their  
 ‘owne danger. What a cheape market of mens lives was here toward?  
 ‘what was the losse at *Canne* to this hazard? how neare unto a mischiefe  
 ‘were they, which might have hapned hereby in the turning of a hand?  
 ‘Certes, when there is newes come of a Citie swallowed up by a wide  
 ‘chink, and opening of the earth, all men generally in a publique com-  
 ‘miseration doe grieve thereat, and there is not one but his heart doth  
 ‘yearne, & yet behold the universall state and people of *Rome*, as if they  
 ‘were put into a couple of barkes, supported betweene heaven & earth,  
 ‘and sitting at the devotion onely of two pinnes or hookes. And what  
 ‘spectacle doe they behold? a number of Fencers trying it out with un-  
 ‘rebated swords? Nay I wis, but even themselves rather entred into a  
 ‘most desperate fight, and at the point to breake their neckes every mo-  
 ‘thers sonne, if the scaffold fayled never so little, and the frame went  
 ‘out of joynt.

I will conclude this Section with their vanity in hiding of treasure un-  
 der ground, which Sir *Thomas Moore* in the second booke of his *Utopia*  
 thus wittily censures. *Aurum quo nunquam sint usuri, fortassis nec visuri*  
*amplius abscondunt, & solliciti ne perdant, perdunt: quid enim aliud est usibus*  
*demptum tuis & omnium fortasse mortalium telluri reddere, & tu tamen ab-*  
*struso thesauro velut animi jam securus latitia gestis: quem si quis furto sustu-*  
*leris, cujus tu ignarus furti, decem post annos abieris: toto illo decennio quo sub-*  
*stracta pecunia superfuisti, quid tua retulit surreptum an salvum fuisse? Viro-*  
*que certe modo tantundem usus ad te pervenit.* They hide gold which per-  
 chance they shall never use, no nor see againe, and so lose it outright,  
 for feare of loosing it; for what is it else by burying of it, to bereave thy  
 selfe, and perhaps all other men too of the use thereof, and yet thou by  
 treasure thus hid, huggst thy selfe as being now secure: and if any hap-  
 pen to steale it away, and thou being ignorant thereof dyest ten yeares  
 after; all that space of time, in which thou out-livedst the stealing away  
 of thy money, what advantage was it to thee whether it was safe or  
 stolne? Surely both wayes the use thereof was alike to thee.

#### SECT. 5.

*The third objection touching the pretended fortitude of the Romanes answered,*  
*in as much as their Empire is by their owne writers in a great part ascribed*  
*to Fortune, and by Christians may bee referred to Gods speciall providence*  
*for the effecting of his owne purposes, rather then to any extraordinary worth*  
*in them.*

**N**OW that which is most of all stood upon, as well by the *Romanes*  
 themselves, as by their Proctours & Patrons is their great forti-  
 tude & courage, as appears in their subduing the greatest part of the  
 the



the knowne world: and in truth, placing their chiefe happinesse in the honour and glory of their names; and withall supposing that there was for the purchasing thereof no readier meanes, then the sacrificing of their lives for the enlarging & advancement of their *Empire*, they were in this regard for the most part, even prodigall of their blood: But shall we call that *fortitude*, which neither aimed at *Iustice*, nor was guided by *true wisdom*, or rather obstinacie and adventurous boldnesse? It is very true, that they were often in their warres very succesfull: but

--- *Careat successibus opto,*

*Quisquis ab eventu facta notanda putat.*

May that mans actions never well succcede,  
Who by th'event doth censure of the deede.

By the confession of their owne Writers they owed as much to *Fortune* as their valour, whom therefore they made a *Goddesse* and placed in heaven.

*Te facimus Fortuna Deam Caeloque locamus.*

Thee, Fortune, wee a Goddesse make,  
And grant thee place in Heaven to take.

These two *Fortune* and *Fortitude*, *Ammianus* so chaineth and linketh together, as neither of them could well be wanting in the raising of their *Empire*: *Roma ut augetur sublimibus incrementis, fœdere pacis æternæ virtus convenit atq, fortuna, quarum si altera defuisset, ad perfectam non venerat summitatem*. That *Rome* should rise to that height and greatnesse, *Fortitude* & *Fortune* made a league of eternall peace, so as had either of them beene wanting, it could never have risen to that perfection. Both of them performed their parts herein, seeming to strive which should preceede the other, which *Plutarch* disputes at large in his booke *de fortuna Romanorum*, and *Florus* hath briefly, but roundly and clearly expressed: *Ad constituendum Romanum Imperium virtutem ac fortunam contendisse videri*, that to the stablishing of the *Roman Empire*, *Fortitude* and *Fortune* seemed to contend which should be more forward. Now if themselves attributed as much to *Fortune* as to their *Fortitude*, wee may well conceive that the latter was short of the former, rather then otherwise.

And surely, if by *Fortune* wee should understand *Gods Providence*, we may safely say, that for the effecting of his owne purposes (though happily unknowne to them) rather then for any extraordinary worth or merit in them, he conferred upon them the *Empire* of the world. As *Augustus Caesar* was by Gods speciall providence directed in taxing the world, that so every man repairing to his owne Citie, *Christ* by that meanes might bee borne at *Bethleem*, as was fore-told by the Prophet *Mica*. so likewise was he by the same hand and power settled in the *Empire*, that hee might thorow the world settle an universall peace, when the *Prince of Peace* was to bee borne in it; as was fore-told by another Prophet, *They shall beate their swords into plough-shares, and their speares into pruning hookes*. And may we not wel conceive, that the world was therefore by the divine Providence brought under the yoake of the *Roman* government, made subject to their Lawes, and acquainted with their language,



Jer. 43. 10.

Dan. 2. 37.

De civ. dei. 5. 21

Ecclesiastes 9.  
11.

language, that so when the Emperours themselves should become Christians, as afterwards they did, the propagation of the Gospell of Iesus Christ might finde an easier passage? The Romans then perchance might challenge, that as due to their owne worth in the conquering of the world, which is rather to be ascribed to the hand of Heaven, disposing these earthly Monarchies for the good of the Church, or for the chastising of his enemies: To which purpose he gave to Nebuchadnezzar such great victories and large dominions. *Thou O King art a King of Kings, for the God of heaven hath given thee a Kingdome, power, and strength, and glory,* which was not for any extraordinary worth or vertue that we reade of in Nebuchadnezzar, but only to make him as a staffe or a rod in his hands for the scourging of other rebellious nations, an instrument for the accomplishment of his owne designs. Answerable whereunto is that memorable speech of S. Augustine. *Non tribuamus dandi regni atque imperij potestatem, nisi Deo vero qui dat felicitatem in regno cœlorum solis pijs, regnum verò terrarum & pijs & impijs, sicut ei placet cui nihil injuste placet;* Let us not referre the power of conferring Kingdomes, but onely to the true God, who gives happinesse in the Kingdome of heaven onely to the godly, but these earthly kingdomes, both to the godly and ungodly, as pleases him whom nothing pleases that is unjust. I conclude this point with that of Salomon, *The race is not to the swift, nor the battle to the strong, nor bread to the wise, nor riches to the understanding, nor yet favour to men of skill, but time and chance hapneth to them all.* The meaning is, that the successe of these outward things is not alwayes carried by desert; but by chance in regard of us, though by Providence in regard of God.

## S E C T. 6.

Secondly, the Romanes having no right or just title to those Nations they subdued, wee cannot rightly tearme their strength in conquering them, Fortitude.

De Civ. Dei. 4. 4

Ad Donatum.

Secondly, *sicut non martyrem pœna, sic non fortem pugna, sed causa facit,* as the torture doth not make a martyr, so doth not the conquest, but the justnesse of the cause make a valiant man, if the Romanes then cannot shew us by what right they conquered the world, we will never call their strength in conquering it, Fortitude, or crowne it with the name of Vertue, unlesse withall, wee shall call the out-rage of robbers and cut-throates, who with fire and sword spoyle and lay waste all they can, Courage and Valour. *Remota itaque iustitia quid sunt regna nisi magna latrocinia?* saith S. Augustine, take away the justnesse of the cause, and tell me what is the acquisition of Kingdomes, but great robberies? unlesse we should say, that the killing and robbing of one is a sinne, but of many a vertue, as S. Cyprian wittily speakes, *homicidium cum admittunt singuli crimen est, virtus vocatur cum publicè geritur, impunitatem sceleribus acquirit, non innocentia ratio, sed sevitia magnitudo:* when one single man commits a single murther that's a grievous offence, when it is commonly



ly and publicly done, that's a vertue: They purchase impunity not by reason of their innocency, but the greatnesse of their cruelty. When a Pyrate was convented before the great *Alexander* for robbing upon the Seas, and demaunded what he meant so to doe, or by what right he did it: his answer to that *Emperour* was by way of recrimination; by the same right (saith hee) as you robbe the world, which was *elegant & veraciter responsum*, (they be the words of *S. Augustine*) a trimme and true answer: for what was *Alexander*, if we should tearme him a-right, but

*Nonius Mar-  
cellus ex Cicero-  
ne lib. de Re-  
pub. 3.*

*Felix terrarum prado, non utile mundo  
Editus exemplar?*

A robber of the world, yet prosperous,  
And to mankinke example dangerous?

Or rather as the same *Poets* speakes,

*Terrarum fatale malum, fulmenque quod omnes  
Percuteret populos, pariterque & sydas iniquum  
Gentibus.*

Earths fatall evill, a thunder-bolt of warre  
Striking all Nations, an unluckie starre.

And *Seneca* professeth both of him and his father *Philip*, that they were to mankinde no lesse plagues, *quam inundatio quâ planum perfusum est, quam conflagratio quâ magna pars animantium exaruit*, then a land-floud which drownes all the champian, or a burning drought wherewith the greatest part of cattle perish.

*Nat. quæst. 2. 1. 3.*

Now that which hath been spoken of *Alexander*, by the *Romans*, may as properly bee applyed to themselves, *Felix scelus virtus vocatur*, unjust attempts if they be fortunate in the event are called vertues; & some actions there are of that nature, *quæ nunquâ laudantur nisi peracta*, which are never commended till they are ended; and surely so it was with the *Romans*, & for prooffe that their attempts were indeed for the most part unjust, wee need goe no farther then that of *Mithridates* in *Salust*, *Roma- ni arma in omnes habent, in eos acerrima, quibus victis spolia maxima sunt*, the *Romans* made warre upon all, and that upon them most fiercely, from whom being conquered they hope for the greatest booty. And againe, *Romanis cum nationibus, populis, Regibus, cunctis una & vetus bellandi Causa est, Cupido profunda imperij & divitiarum*. The *Romans* have an old and common quarrell with all nations, people, kings, an unquenchable thirst of Empire and riches: with whom *Galgacus* in *Tacitus* fully ac- cords, *Raptores orbis postquam cuncta vastantibus defuere terra, & mare scrutantur: si locuples est hostis avari, si pauper ambitiosi, quos non oriens non occidens satiaverit*, Robbers of the world they are, and after that they have laid all places waste, land wanting for them to spoyle, they search into the Sea, if the enemy bee rich, their covetousnesse moves them to invade him, if poore their ambition, so as neither East nor West can satisfie their insatiable appetite. And though wee should perchance suspect the testimonies of *Mithridates* and *Galgacus*, as being their ene- mies, yet against that of *Lactantius* we cannot well except. *Isti qui ever- siones urbium, populorumq; summam gloriam computant, otium publicum non ferent*,

*Epist. ad Regem  
Arsacem.*

*In vita Iulij  
Agricola.*

*Lib. 1. c. 18*



*ferent, rapiunt, facient, & injurijs insolenter illatis humana societatis fœdus irrumpent, ut habere hostem possint, quem sceleratius deleant, quam laceſſerint.*  
 But they who account the subversion of Cities and States their greatest glory, will not endure the publique peace, they will rob and spoyle, and most insolently offering wrongs, will violate the league of humane societie, that they may have an enemy whom they may more injuriously vanquish, then they have unjustly provoked.

I am not ignorant that *Cicero* in defence of his owne Nation tels us, *noſter populus ſocijs defendendis terrarum omnium potitus eſt*, our people by defending their associates, became Masters of the world: but I would willingly be informed whether or no they did not often ſet their associates to complaine without a cauſe, or abet them in unjuſt quarrels; and I deſire that *Cicero* or any other *Roman* ſhould tell mee truly, what juſt reaſon of warring they had upon the *Carthaginians* in the firſt Punicke warre. I know there is a pretence coyned that it was undertaken in defence of the *Mamertins*, whom the *Carthaginians* and *Syracuſians* intended to chaſtiſe, for their villanous treachery committed upon *Meſſana* a Citie in *Sicily*, where they lay in gariſon, putting to the ſword all the Inhabitants, and dividing the ſpoyle among themſelves, and *Decius Campanus* a *Roman* Prefect with his Legion, conſiſting of 4000 Souldiers being received into *Rhegium*, for the ſafeguard thereof againſt *Pyrhus*, by the example and aſſiſtance of the *Mamertins* did the like. Now it is true the *Romans* at the inſtance of the people of *Rhegium* did juſtice upon their owne Country-men, yet the *Mamertins* guilty of the ſame foule fact, and that in a higher degree, they tooke into their protection, & made it the pretence of their firſt warre upon the *Carthaginians*, their ancient friends and allies. But it is certaine that no company of *Pyrats*, *Theeves*, *Outlawes*, *Murderers*, or other ſuch *Malefactours*, can by any good ſucceſſe of their villany obtaine the priviledge of *Civill Societies* to make league or truce, yea or to require faire warre, but are by all means as moſt pernicious vermine to be rooted out of the world. Wherefore we may ſafely eſteeme this action of the *Romans*, ſo farre from being juſtifiable by any colour of confederacy made with them, as that contrary-wiſe by admitting this neſt of murderers and theeves into their protection, they juſtly deſerved to bee warred upon themſelves: Yet after this warre ended, and a peace ſolemnly concluded, when the *Carthaginians* made a doubtfull warre upon their rebellious *Mercenaries* of *Sardinia*, the *Romans* perceiving that *Carthage* beyond their hope had recovered her feet againe, began to ſtrike at her head: On the ſuddaine they denounced warre againſt this enfeebled and impoveriſhed Citie, under a ſhameles pretence, that the preparations made for *Sardinia* were made indeed againſt *Rome* it ſelfe. The *Carthaginians* knew themſelves at that time unable to reſiſt, and therefore yeelded to the *Roman* demaund, renouncing unto them all their right in *Sardinia*: But this was not enough, they would have 1200 talents in recompence belike (for I ſee not what reaſon they could alleadge) of the great feare which they had endured of an invaſion from *Carthage*. It is indeed plaine, that they impudently ſought occaſion of warre: but neceſſity taught the *Carthaginians* patience;

*Specie quidem  
 ſocios juvandi,  
 re autem ſolli-  
 citante pradi.  
 Florus 2. 1.*



tience; and the money was payd how hardly soever it was raised. Let not *Rome* then complaine of the Punicke faith in the breach of Covenants, she her selfe hath broken the peace already, which *Amilcar* purposed to make her dearly repent, but what *Amilcar* lived not to performe, was accomplished by *Hannibal* his renowned sonne. I will conclude this Section with the words of *Florus*, touching the *Romans* unjust invading the Isle of *Creet*; *Creticum bellum* faith he *si vera volumus noscere, nos fecimus solâ vincendi nolâlem insulam cupiditate*; if wee desire to know the true ground of our warre with the *Cretians*, it was undertaken by a covetous desire of conquering a noble Island.

## S E C T. 7.

*Thirdly, that the Christians in suffering for Religion surpassed the Romans fortitude.*

**T**Hirdly, if true fortitude consist as well in suffering, as in doing nay rather in suffering chearefully & constantly, then in doing valiantly, as the Prince of Philosophers, and great Master of morality hath taught us, *Ex eo fortes appellantur, quod res molestas atq; asperas fortiter ferant*, from thence are they termed manfull, that they manfully endure bitter and sharpe brunts; and from him the Poet,

*Fortiter ille facit, qui miser esse potest.*

He it is doth valiantly,

That can miserable be.

Then I will be bold to say, that the *Christian Religion* hath yeilded more undaunted invincible spirits, then ever *Pagan Rome* did, nay, then all the *Pagan Religion* ever did: so as I cannot sufficiently wonder what should induce *Machiavell* to conceive or affirme that the *Christian Religion* served to make men cowards, and that *Paganisme* was in that respect to bee preferred before it. Surely hee that shall advisedly read the *Ecclesiasticall Story*, what incredible multitudes; with what alacrity, and what exquisite torments they endured, will soone I thinke bee of another minde; they were so farre from shunning death, that they ranne to meete it halfe way, kissed it, imbraced it, in what ugly terrible shape soever it appeared; in so much that our writers of the *Primitive Church* dare match them, as well they might, with the most hardy and resolute of the *Romans*, yea and to preferre them before these, *Nostri autem* (saith *Lactantius*) (*ut de viris taceam*) *pueri & muliercula tortores suos taciti vincunt & exprimere illis gemitum nec ignis potest. Eant Romani, & Mutio gloriantur aut Regulo, quorum alter necandum se hostibus tradidit quod captivum pudit vivere, alter ab hostibus deprehensus cum videret mortem se vitare non posse, minum foco injecit ut pro facinore suo satisfaceret hosti quem voluit occidere, eâque pænâ veniam quam non meruerat accepit*: Those of our profession (not to speake of the men) even boyes and tender young women do with silence conquer their Executioners, from whom not the fire it selfe can wring so much as a groane. Let the *Romanes* go then, and boast of their *Mutius* and *Regulus*,



See for this  
point *Laurent*.  
*Valla* in his 2.  
booke de vo-  
luptate.

Lib. 8. c. 6.

De Civ. Dei. 5.  
14.

Apolog. 50. ad.  
Gentes.

*gulus*, of which the one offered himselfe to death by the hand of the enemy for that he was ashamed to live in captivity; the other being attached by the enemy, when hee saw hee could not avoid death, burnt his hand in the fire, that so for his wicked attempt hee might make satisfaction to the enemy, whom he sought to dispatch, and by that penance purchased he an undeserved pardon: But with us behold those who are for their sexe infirme, and weake for their age, suffer themselves wholly to bee torne in peeces, and burnt not through any necessity, for they might avoyd it if they would, but willingly and readily because they trust in God. *Ensebius* takes a larger scope and makes a bolder challenge, including not the *Romans* alone, but the *Grecians*, and any other not *Christians*. *Ex omnibus qui unquam vel apud Græcos vel apud Barbaros propter animi magnitudinem illustres, & hominum sermone celebrati sunt, nullus cum divinis & eximijs nostri temporis Martyribus, Dorotheo & suis sodalibus Imperatorum ministris comparari potest*: Among all those who either among the *Grecians* or *Barbarians* have beene renowned for their magnanimities, none of them all could be matched with those divine & heroicall Martyrs of our time *Dorotheus* and his Companions the Emperours servants. After these, in time, but in learning and zeale nothing inferiour unto them: *S. Augustine* confidently maintaines the same truth: *Hoc secuti sunt Martyres qui Scævolas, & Curtios, & Decios non sibi inferendo pœnas, sed illas ferendo: & virtute vera quia vera pietate & innumera multitudine superarunt*: This rule our Martyrs followed, who not by laying violent hands on themselves, but by patiently enduring others exceeded the *Scævola*, the *Curtij*, the *Decij*, both in true fortitude, because joyned with true piety, and besides in multitudes innumerable. And lastly, before all these, *Tertullian* both saw, and publicly taught the same truth. *Multi apud vos ad tolerantiam doloris & mortis hortantur, ut Cicero in Tusculanis, ut Seneca in fortuitis, ut Diogenes, ut Pyrrhon, ut Callimachus, nec tamen tantos inveniunt verba discipulos quantos Christiani factis docendo*: Many among you exhort men to a constant and patient enduring of griefe and death, as *Cicero* in his *Tusculanes*, *Seneca* in his remedies against fortune, *Diogenes*, *Pyrrhon*, and *Callimachus*; yet their writings and words finde not so much Schollers, as do the *Christians*, teaching by their deedes and deaths.

But because the *Romans* stand so much upon their valour in suffering for their countrey, it were not hard to instance in many *Christians*, who might justly bee paralled with the chiefe of them in that kinde, I will content my selfe onely with one example, and that of the Burgessees of *Calais*, as I finde it reporteth by *Pasquier*. The towne of *Calais* during the raigne of *Philip de Valois* being brought to those straits, that now there was no more hope left, either for succour or victuals; *John Lord of Vienna*, who there commanded for the King, began to treat about the rendring of it, desiring onely that they might give it up with safety of their lives and goods; which conditions being offered to *Edward King of England*, who by the space of eleven moneths had straitly besieged it; he being exceedingly enraged, that so small a towne should alone stand out against him so long, and withall calling to minde that they



they had often galled his subjects by Sea, was so farre from accepting of their petition, that contrarywise hee resolved to put them all to the sword, had hee not beene diverted from that resolution by some sage Counsellours then about him, who told him, that for having beene faithfull and loyall subjects to their Sovereigne, they deserved not to be so sharpely dealt with: Whereupon *Edward* changing his first purpose into some more clemencie, promised to receive them to mercy, conditionally that fixe of their principall Towns-men, should present him the keyes of the Towne bare-headed & bare-footed, & with halters about their neckes, their lives being to be left to his disposition: Whereof the Governour being advertised, he presently gets him into the market-place, commanding the Bell to bee sounded for the convening of the people; whom being assembled, hee acquainted with the articles which hee had received, touching the yeelding up of the Towne, and the assurance of their lives which could not bee granted but with the death of fixe of the chiefe of them: With which newes they being all of them exceedingly cast downe and perplexed, on the suddaine their rises up one of their company called *Stephen S. Peter*, one of the richest and most sufficient men of the towne, who thus spake aloud: Sir, I thanke God for the goods hee hath bestowed on mee, but more that he hath given me this present opportunity to make it known that I prize the lives of my Countrey-men & fellow Burgeses above mine owne: At the hearing of whose speech and sight of his forwardnesse, one *Iohn Daire* & foure others after him made the like offers, not without great abundance of teares and prayers for the common people, who saw them so freely and readily sacrifice all their particular respects for the weale of the publique, and instantly without any more ado they addresse themselves to the King of *England* with the keyes of the Towne, with none other hope but of death: to which (though they held themselves assured thereof) they went as chearefully as if they had beene going to a wedding. Yet it pleasing God to turne the heart of the *English* King at the instance of his Queene and some of the Lords, they were sent backe againe safe and sound. Now who can say that our *France* hath not her *Horatij*, *Quintij*, *Curtij*, and *Decij*? We have ours as well as the *Romans* had theirs: but a certain kinde of basenesse in us more ready to apprehend & admire the worth of strangers, then of our owne Nation, makes us happily not to beleieve so: Now that which *Pasquier* writes of his Nations, and truly as I thinke, in comparison with the *Roman* valour in suffering for their country, we may as confidently speake of ours, as others perchance of theirs.

I will instance only in one more out of the *Spanish* history written by *Mariana*, which was this. *Zanchius* king of *Castile*, having take the towne of *Tariffa* or *Cartheia* from the *Mooves*, but being doubtfull of keeping it, by reason of the vicinirie of the enimie, and the great charge required thereunto; *Alphonfus Peresius*, a man renowned both in warre and peace, great in wealth, and yet greater in the right use of it, of his owne accord offered himselfe for that service, promising to defray a part of the charge himselfe: The King in the meane time being busied about other

*De reb. Hisp.*  
*lib. 14. cap. 16.*  
*Anno Christi.*  
1293.



others matters. Within a while after *John* the Kings brother passeth over to the King of *Morocco*, and having received forces from him, on the suddaine he beseigeth *Tariffa*; the besieged feared nothing, trusting in their owne and their Captaines valour, their mindes were lifted above any apprehension of daunger; only they were somewhat dismayed with an unexpected accident, which was the taking of *Alphonfus* his only sonne whom the *Moores* made shew of before the walls, threatening to put him to a cruell death before their eyes, except they speedily rendred the towne. With these words his father was nothing moved, but rather hardning himselfe against all private affection in regard of the publique good, hee constantly said, that if the *Moores* had in their power a hundred of his sonns that hee would not depart a jot from that trust which was put in him; nay saith hee to his enimies, if you have so great a desire of dispatching him, behold here a sword for the purpose, and withall threw his owne downe from the wall; and so with a countenance unmoved went away to dinner. Hee was scarce gon, before a lamentable outcry was raised among his souldiers, which drew him back againe to the walls, and demanding what the cause might bee of so great a tumult, was told that his sonne was by his brother *John* in a barbarous manner put to death. Was this all the matter, saith hee? I thought the citie had bin taken by the enimie; and so in a calme and a quiet manner hee returned againe to his dinner and his wife; The enimies being astonished at this his invincible fortitude, brake up the siege and departed *libet hic exultare*, saith *Lansius*, *libet hic interrogare, sit ne factum in omni antiquitate fortius vel laudabilius?* and *Strada* in his imitation of *Lucan* taking this story for his subject, thus concludes it.

Orat pro  
hispania.

*O ingens anime! o fato insuperabile pectus!  
Digna erat hac scribi sub Bruti nomine virtus;  
Ni foret Alphonsi, moresque referret Iberos.*

#### SECT. 8.

*That as the Christians have surpassed the Romans in the passive part of fortitude, so have they matched them in the active, & that the partiall overvaluing of the Roman manhood by their owne historians, is it chiefly which hath made the world to thinke it unmatched.*

**F**ourthly and lastly, as the *Romans* were thus surpassed in the passive part of fortitude: so were they matched in the Active, many times meeting with those, that either put backe their forces without losse, or with victory put them to the worst. *Julius Caesar* their great experienced and most renowned Captaine after all his valiant acts and triumphs, what adoe did hee make, to doe any thing worth the remembrance upon this Iland then inhabited by naked *Brittaines*, and those divided? And though *Caesar* himselfe tell us of foure Kings of *Kent* by him subdued, and many other matters here performed, and *Velleius Paterculus* the Court Historiographer beares us in hand, *bis penetratam Britanniam a Cesare*, that *Brittany* was twice thoroughly invaded by *Caesar*; yet *Lucan* tels us another tale,

*Terris*



*Territa quaesitus ostendit terga Britannis :*

To th' Britons whom he fought his coward backe he turnd,  
And Tacitus a grave Authour, *Britanniam tantum ostendisse non tradidisse Romanis*, that he only shewed, but delivered not Britannie to the Romans.  
And sure he did so little, that both Horace and Propertius agree in it that he left them untouched, or at least unconquered :

*Intactus aut Britannus, ut descenderet*

Horat. Epod. 1.  
7.

*Sacra catenatus via :*

Or that the Britons, yet untouched, may  
Be led in chaines along the sacred way.

Sayes the one : And the other,

*Remanet invictus Romano Marte Britannus*

--- Unconquered Britannie,

By Romane armes reserved is for thee.

And Seneca of Claudius,

*Cuique Britanni*

*Terga dedere, ducibus nostris*

*Ante ignoti jurisque sui.*

Seneca.

And againe

*En qui ora Tamesis posuit jugum !*

Yet even in the time of this Claudius who was here himselfe in person,  
*Boudica* or *Boodicia* as shee is commonly called being then the Com-  
mandresse of the Brittaines, in one battle cut in peeces of the Romans 70  
or as *Dion* hath it 80000 of their men.

Camden in  
Essex.

The Gaules in their contention with them they found so stout and  
hardy, as *Salust* himselfe confesseth, that with other Nations the Romans  
fought for dominion, but with the Gaules for preservation of their owne  
safety, who once under the conduct of *Brennus*, entred the City of Rome  
it selfe, sacked it and burnt it. And the same in effect doth *Velieus Pa-*  
*terculus* in a manner confesse, touching their long and doubtfull warre  
with the Spaniards. *Per ducentos annos, saith hee, in Hispanijs multo mu-*  
*tuoque ita certatum est sanguine, ut amissis populi Romani Imperatoribus ex-*  
*ercitibusque, saepe contumelia, nonnunquam etiam & periculum Romano infer-*  
*retur imperio.* And going on upon the same straine, *Patrum etate* saith he  
*per quinquennium dijudicari non potuit, Hispanis Romanisve in armis plus esset*  
*roboris, & uter populus alteri pariturus foret.*

See *P. J. J. J.* in  
his epistle to  
Monsieur Sybe-  
let.

Hist. l. 2.

*Pyrrhus* King of the Epirots encountred them in Italy it selfe, & van-  
quished them in two severall battells, in the former of which they  
were through feare stricken with such a consternation and forgetfulnes  
of their discipline, that they tarried not so much as to defend their  
campe, but ran quite beyond it, leaving both it, and the honour of the  
day entirely to *Pyrrhus*, though the *Contull* himselfe were then in the  
field with a select army. But *Hanniball* was indeed the man, who made  
the Romans know that they were but men made of like mettall as others  
are. Like a haile storme hee came thundring downe from the *Alpes*  
and *Pyrenean* mountaines upon Italy. At *Ticinum* now called *Pavia*, after  
a long tedious journey, having scarce refreshed his wearied army, con-  
sisting of severall Nations, and therefore the harder to bee held to-  
gether



gether and commanded, hee beate *Scipio* the Consull, and sent him (with the losse of almost all his horses) wounded out of the field. And within a while after, fighting with both the Consuls *Scipio* and *Sempronius* at *Trebia*, there escaped of six and thirty thousand of the *Romans*, but tenne thousand of all sorts horse and foote. Not long after this, againe hee encountred with *Flaminius* another Consull at the lake of *Thrasymene*, who was slaine in the place, accompanied with fiftene thousand dead carkases of his Countrey-men. And *Certrius* being sent by *Servilius* the other Consull to the ayde of *Flaminius*, his strength only served to increase the misadventure, being charged and the greatest part of them cut in peeces by *Maharball*, the rest yeelding themselves to mercy. The *Romans* being put to these straights, choose a Dictator that was *Fabius Maximus*, who like a cloud hung upon the toppes of the hils, but durst not come downe into the plaines to fight with *Hanniball*, though he saw the countrey fired & spoyled by him before his eyes. Whereupon two new Consuls are chosen, *Amilius Paulus* and *Terentius Varro*. For the dispatch of the warre great forces are leavied, and at *Cannæ* they come powring upon him with assurance of victory. The whole summe of *Hanniball's* army in the field this day was, tenne thousand horse and forty thousand foote; his enemies having two to one against him in foote, and he five to three against them in horse: But heere againe he routed and foyled them, in so much as the *Romans* were all in a manner either slaine or taken prisoners: Of men of speciall note there died in the great battell, besides *Paulus* the Consull, two *Questors* or *Treasurers*, one and twenty *Colonells* or *Tribunes* of the souldiers, foure score *Senatours*, or such as had borne office; out of which they were to bee chosen into the Senate, and many of these were men of marke, as having beene *Ediles*, *Prators*, or *Consulls*, among whom was *Servilius* the last yeares Consull, and *Minutius* late Master of the horse: besides all this, the number of the *Roman* Knights that lay slaine on the place, & of the common souldiers was almost incredible: Whereas on the side of *Hanniball* there died but foure thousand *Gauls*, fiftene hundred *Spaniards* and *Africans*, and two hundred horse or thereabouts, a losse not sensible in the joy of so great a victorie, which had hee pursued as *Maharball* advised him, and forthwith marched away towards *Rome* then destitute both of men and money, it is little doubted but that the warre had presently beene at an end: But hee beleevved not so farre in his owne sufficiencie and good fortune, and was therefore told that he knew how to get, not how to use a victorie: Yet had not his supplies promised & expected from *Carthage*, partly by the malice of *Hanno*, and partly by the sloath & parsimonie of the *Carthaginians*, beene too long deferred, it is to be thought the *Romans* would never againe have recovered that blow. For after this, he performed in *Italy* many noble & worthy exploits, marching home even to the gates of *Rome* it selfe; and had he beene supplied with victuals, in all likelihood, had carried it. So true is that which *Silius Italicus* though no less in nation and faction, then in name an *Italian*, in his first booke *de bello Punico* hath left upon record.

*Certatumque*



*Certatumque diu quâ tandem poneret arce  
Imperij fortuna caput.*

Now that which hath made the world conceive the *Roman Magnanimity* to be unmatched, is the partiall overvalving of their manhood by their owne *Historians*, and the too much sleighting of all others in comparison with themselves. *Romanorum virtus plurimum scriptoribus debet*, saith *Meursius*, and *Wenceslaus Clemens* no less truly, *veteres illi quos tantopere admiramur, plerumque scriptoribus magnitudinem suorum operum debent.*

*Athen: Bar: ep:  
ded: epist. ante:  
exces. Aug.*

I will instance only in two or three passages. *Livie* to disgrace *Hannibal* writes, that a little before the striking of the battle at *Canna*, *de fuga in Galliam dicitur cogitasse*, hee is said to have bee thought himselfe of flying into *Gaule*; which was in truth very incredible, the difficulties considered which *Hannibal* before had passed, and the tearmes he then stood in. This tale therefore *Plutarch* omitteth, who in the life of *Hannibal* takes in a manner all his directions from *Livie*. My second instance is this: *Fabius* an ancient *Roman Historian* ( from whom *Livie* borrowes much ) sayth of *Amilcar* the father of *Hannibal*, and his men at *Erix* a towne in *Sicill*; that having cleane spent their strength, and being broken with many miseries, they were glad to submit themselves unto the *Romans*: But *Polybius* a grave writer, censures this report of *Fabius*, as fabulous and partiall in as much as the contrary thereunto is to bee found in the life of *Amilcar*, set downe by *Æmilius Probus*, confessing that *Erix* was in such sort held by the *Carthaginians*, that it seemed to be in as good condition, as if in those parts there had not beene any warre. Though then wee may not reprehend in that worthy *Historian Livie*, the tender love of his countrey, which made him give credit to *Fabius* and others: Yet must we not for his sake beleieve those lyes, which the unpartiall judgement of *Polybius* hath condemned in the writers that gave them originall. My third and last instance is; that the great Captaine *Fabius* or *Livie* in his person, maketh an objection unto *Cneus Scipio*, which neither *Scipio* nor *Livie* for him doth answer, that if *Asdruball* the brother of *Hannibal*, and sonne of *Amilcar* were vanquished, as *Scipio* would say, by him in *Spaine*; strange it was, and as little to his honour, as it had beene extreamely dangerous to *Rome*, that the same vanquished man should invade *Italy*. And it is indeed an incredible narration, that *Asdruball* being inclosed in on all sides, and not knowing how to escape out of the battell, save only by a steepe descent of rocks over a great river that lay at his back, ranne away withall his monie, Elephants, and broken troupes over *Tagus*, directly toward the *Pyrenes*, and so toward *Italy*, upon which hee fell with more then threescore thousand Souldiers. Wherefore wee can but be sorry, that all *Carthaginian* records of their warres with *Rome* (if there were any) being utterly lost, wee can know no more thereof, then what it hath pleased the *Romans* to tell us, unto whom it were no wisdome to give too much credit. *Albericus Gentilis*, by nation an *Italian*, late professour of the *Civill Lawes* in the *Univerfity of Oxford*, well versed in the *Roman story*, hath written two learned bookes de



*armis Romanorum*; In the former of which hee clearly proves, that the *Romans* got the reputation of so great justice, and wisdom, and valour, only from the testimony of their owne writers, who were in their relations most partiall: notwithstanding, saith hee, *Sunt vel in his ipsis plura & dissecta passim, & quasi in amplo naufragio dissipata quae per sedulam operam collecta, vincere, vulgi opinionem, consensum hominum inveteratum superare, persuasionem de virtute Romanorum bellicâ tollere possunt*. Even in them are many passages to bee found scattered heere & there, as it were after some great shipwrack, which being diligently collected and put together, might serve to vanquish the vulgar opinion, to rooke out the inveterate & common consent, to weaken the strong perswasion of men touching the warlike manhood of the *Romans*. And alleaging that place of *Cicero* in his Oration for *Murena*, *virtus militaris populo Romano nomen, urbi Roma aeternam gloriam peperit*; The military vertue of the *Romans* wanne to themselves fame, and to their City eternall glory, *imo non ita est M. Tulli*, saith he, *sed fraus, avaritia, audacia, crudelitas illud vobis imperium pepererunt; orbem terra reliquum simpliciore, justiore, humaniore, faciliore, moderatiore subegerunt*. Tullie it is not so, but fraud, covetousnesse, impudence, cruelty got you the *Empire*, and subdued the rest of the world more innocent, more just, more courteous, more mercifull, more moderate, more peaceable then your selves: and this he doth not barely affirme, but substantially makes it good through that booke, though in the next, he seeme to have spoken in the person of another.

I will conclude this long, though I trust not tedious discourse of the *Romans*, with a dispute of *Sir Walter Rawleigh's* handling that probleme, proposed and discussed by *Livie*, whether the great *Alexander* could have prevailed against the *Romans*, if after his *Easterne* conquest he had bent all his forces against them. Where having delivered his opinion against *Livy* for *Alexander*, together with his reasons inducing him thereunto, hee goes on preferring the *English* both before the *Macedonian* and the *Roman*: wherein if he speake reason, let him be heard, if not, let him bee censured: But for mine owne part I must confesse, I know not well how to answer his arguments, so pressing & ponderous to me they seeme, whether affection have clouded my judgment heerein, I leave it to others to judge. His words then are these

## S E C T. 9.

*The English not inferiour to the Roman in valour and magnanimity, by the judgment of Sir Walter Rawleigh.*

*Hist. of the  
world, l. 5. part  
2. cap. 1. Sect. 1.*

**N**OW in deciding such a controversie, saith he, me thinkes it were not amisse for an *English-man* to give such a sentence betweene the *Macedonians* and *Romans*, as the *Romans* once did (being chosen Arbitrators) betweene the *Ardeutes* & *Aricini* that strove about a peece of land; saying, that it belonged unto neither of them, but unto the *Romans* themselves. If therefore it bee demanded, whether the *Macedonians* or the *Roman* were the best Warriour? I shall answer, the *English*.



*English-man.* For it will soone appeare to any that shall examine the noble acts of our Nation in warre, that they were performed by no advantage of weapon; against no savage or unmanly people; the enemy being farre superiour unto us in numbers, and all needefull provisions, yea as well trayned as wee, or commonly better, in the exercise of Warre.

In what sort *Philip* wanne his Dominion in *Greece*; what manner of men the *Persians* and *Indians* were, whom *Alexander* vanquished; as likewise of what force the *Macedonian Phalanx* was, and how well appointed against such armies as it commonly encountred: any man that hath taken paines to read the fore-going story of them, doth sufficiently understand. Yet was this *Phalanx* never or very seldome able to stand against the *Roman Armies*: which were embattelled in so excellent a forme, as I know not whether any Nations besides them have used, either before or since. The *Roman* weapons likewise both offensive and defensive were of greater use, then those with which any other Nation hath served, before the fierie instruments of gun-powder were known. As for the enemies with which *Rome* had to doe, wee finde that they who did over-match her in numbers, were as farre over-matched by her in weapons; and that they of whom shee had little advantage in armes, had as little advantage of her in multitude. This also (as *Plutarch* well observeth) was a part of her happinesse, that shee was never over-laid with too great warres at once.

Heereby it came to passe, that having at first increased her strength by accession of the *Sabines*; having wonne the estate of *Alba*, against which shee adventured her owne selfe, as it were in wager upon the heads of three *Champions*; and having thereby made her selfe *Princesse* of *Latium*, shee did afterwards by long warre in many ages extend her Dominion over all *Italy*. The *Carthaginians* had well nigh oppressed her, but their souldiers were *Mercinarie*, so that for want of proper strength they were easily beaten at their owne doores. The *Aetolians*, and with them all or the most of *Greece*, assisted her against *Philip* the *Macedonian*: he being beaten, did lend her his helpe to beate the same *Aetolians*. The warres against *Antiochus* and other *Asiatiques*, were such as gave to *Rome* small cause of boast, though much of joy: for those opposites were as base of courage, as the lands which they held were abundant of riches. *Sicil*, *Spaine*, and all *Greece* fell into her hands by v-sing her ayde to protect them, against the *Carthaginians* and *Macedonians*.

I shall not need to speake of her other conquests: it was easie to get more when shee had gotten all this. It is not my purpose to disgrace the *Roman* valour (which was very noble) or to blemish the reputation of so many, or so famous victories: I am not idle. This I say, that among all their warres, I finde not any, wherein their valour hath appeared comparable to the *English*. If my judgement may seeme overpartiall, our warres in *France* may helpe to make it good.

First therefore it is well knowne, that *Rome* (or perhaps all the World besides) had never so brave a Commander in warre as *Iulius Caesar*; and



that no *Roman* Army was comparable unto that which served under the same *Cæsar*. Likewise it is apparant that this gallant Army which had given faire prooffe of the *Roman* courage, in good performance of the *Helvetian* warre, when it first entred into *Gaule*; was neverthelesse utterly disheartned when *Cæsar* led it against the *Germans*. So that we may justly impute all that was extraordinarie in the valour of *Cæsar*'s men, to their long exercise under so good a Leader, in so great a warre. Now let us in generall compare with the deedes done, by those best of the *Roman* souldiers in their principall service, the things performed in the same countrey by our common *English* souldiers, levied in hast from following the Cart, or sitting on the shop-stall, so shall we see the difference. Herein will we deale fairely, and beleve *Cæsar* in relating the Acts of the *Romans*: but will call the *French* Historians to witnesse what actions were performed by the *English*. In *Cæsar*'s time *France* was inhabited by the *Gaules* a stout people, but inferiour to the *French* by whom they were subdued; even when the *Romans* gave them assistance. The Countrey of *Gaule* was rent in sunder (as *Cæsar* witnesseth) into many Lorships: Some of which were governed by petty kings, others by the multitude, none ordered in such sort as might make it applyable to the nearest neighbour. The factions were many and violent, not onely in generall through the whole Countrey, but betwene the petty States, yea in every City, and almost in every house. What greater advantage could a Conquerour desire? yet there was a greater: *Ariovistus* with his *Germans* had over-runne the Countrey, and held most part of it in a subjection, little different from a meere slavery: yea so often had the *Germans* prevailed in warre upon the *Gaules*, that the *Gaules* (who had sometimes beene the better souldiers) did hold themselves no way equall to those dayly invaders. Had *France* beene so prepared unto our *English* Kings, *Rome* it selfe by this time, and long ere this time would have beene ours. But when King *Edward* the third began his warre upon *France*, he found the whole countrey settled in obedience to one mighty King: a King whose reputation abroad was no lesse then his puissance at home, under whose Ensigne the King of *Bohemia* did serve in person, at whose call the *Genowayes* and other neighbour States were ready to take Armes: Finally a King unto whom one <sup>a</sup> Prince gave away his Dominion for love: <sup>b</sup> another sold away a goodly City and Territory for money. The Country lying so open to the *Roman*, and being so well fenced against the *English*, it is note-worthy, not who prevailed most therein (for it were meere vanity to match the *English* purchases with the *Roman* Conquest) but whether of the two gave the greater prooffe of military vertue therin. *Cæsar* himselfe doth witnesse, that the *Gaules* complained of their owne ignorance in the Art of warre, and that their owne hardinesse was over-mastered by the skill of their enemies. Poore men, they admired the *Roman* Towres and Engines of battery raised and planted against their wals, as more then humane workes. What greater wonder is it that such a people was beaten by the *Roman*, then that the *Caribes*, a naked people, but valiant as any under the skie, are commonly put to the worse by small

<sup>a</sup> The Dolphin of *Viennois*.

<sup>b</sup> The King of *Majorca*.



small numbers of *Spanyards*? Besides all this wee are to have regard of the great difficulty that was found in drawing all the *Gauls*, or any part of men to one head, that with joint forces they might oppose their assailants, as also the much more difficulty of holding them long together: For hereby it came to passe that they were never able to make use of opportunity: but sometimes compelled to stay for their fellowes, and sometimes driven to give or take battell upon extreame disadvantages, for feare lest their company should fall asunder: as indeed upon any little disaster they were ready to breake and returne every one to the defence of his owne. All this, and (which was little lesse then all this) great oddes in weapon, gave to the *Romanes* the honour of many gallant victories. What such helpe? or what other worldly helpe then the golden mettall of their souldiers, had our *English* Kings against the *French*? were not the *French* as well experienced in feats of warre? yea did they not thinke themselves therein our superiours? were they not in armes, in horse, and in all provision exceedingly beyond us? Let us heare what a *French* writer saith of the inequality that was betweene the *French* and *English*, when their King *John* was ready to give the onset upon the *Black Prince* at the battell of *Poitiers*. *John* had all advantages over *Edward*, both of number, force, shew, country, and conceit, (the which is commonly a consideration of no small importance in worldly affaires) and withall, the choise of all his horsemen (esteemed then the best in *Europe*) with the greatest and wisest Captaines of his whole Realme. And what could he wish more?

John de Serris.

I thinke it would trouble a *Roman Antiquary* to finde the like example in their Histories; the example, I say, of a King, brought prisoner to *Rome* by an army of eight thousand, which hee had surrounded with forty thousand, better appointed, and no lesse expert warriors. This I am sure of, that neither *Syphax* the *Numidian*, followed by a rabble of halfe scullions, as *Livy* rightly tearmes them, nor those cowardly kings *Perseus* and *Gentius*, are worthy patterns. All that have read of *Cressie* & *Agincourt*, will beare me witnes, that I doe not alleage the battle of *Poitiers*, for lack of other as good examples of the *English* vertue: the prooffe whereof hath left many a hundred better markes in all quarters of *France*, then ever did the valour of the *Romans*. If any man impute these victories of ours to the long-Bow, as carrying farther, piercing more strongly, and quicker of discharge then the *French* Crosse-Bow: my answere is ready; that in all these respects, it is also (being drawne with a strong arme) superiour to the musket, yet is the musket a weapon of more use. The Gun and the Crosse-bow are of like force when discharged by a boy or woman, as when by a strong man: weakenes or sicknes, or a sore finger makes the long-bow unserviceable. More particularly, I say, that it was the custome of our *Auncesors* to shoot for the most part, point blank: and so shall hee perceive that will note the circumstances of almost any one battell. This takes away all objection: for when two Armies are within the distance of a butts length, one flight of arrowes or two at the most can be delivered before they close. Neither is it in generall true, that the long-bow reacheth farther, or



John de Serres.

that it pierceth more strongly then the Crosse bow : but this is the rare effect of an extraordinarie arme: whereupon can be grounded no common rule. If any man shall aske : How then it came to passe that the *English* wanne so many great battelles, having no advantage to helpe him? I may with the best commendation of modesty, referre him to the *French Historian*: who relating the victory of our men at *Crevant* where they passed a bridge in the face of the enemy, useth these words, The *English* comes with a conquering bravery, as he that was accustomed to gaine every where without any stay: hee forceth our Guard placed upon the bridge to keepe the passage. Or I may cite another place of the same Author, where he tells how the *Britons* being invaded by *Charles* the 8<sup>th</sup>, King of *France*, thought it good policy to apparell a thousand and two hundred of their owne men in *English* Cassacks: hoping that the very sight of the *English* red Crosse would bee enough to terrifie the *French*. But I will not stand to borrow of the *French Historians* (all which, excepting *De Serres* and *Paulus Æmilius*, report wonders of our Nation) the proposition which first I undertooke to maintain, That the military vertue of the *English* prevailing against all manner of difficulties, ought to bee preferred before that of the *Romanes*, which was assisted withall advantages that could be desired. If it bee demanded, why then did not our King finish the Conquest as *Cæsar* had done? my answer may be (I hope without offence) that our kings were like to the race of the *Æacide*, of whom the old Poet *Ennius* gave this note; *Belli potentes sunt magis, quam sapienti potentes*, they were more warlike then politique. Who so notes their proceedings may finde that none of them went to worke like a Conquerour, save only King *Henry* the fift, the course of whose victories it pleased God to interrupt by his death. But this question is the more easily answered, if another be first made: Why did not the *Romanes* attempt the Conquest of *Gaule* before the time of *Cæsar*? why not after the *Macedonian* warre? why not after the third *Punick*, or after the *Numantian*? At all those times they had good leisure, & then especially had they both leisure and fit opportunity, when under the conduct of *Marius* they had newly vanquished the *Cimbri* and *Teutones*, by whom the Country of *Gaule* had beene pieceously wasted. Surely the words of *Tully* were true, that with other Nations the *Romans* fought for Dominion with the *Gaules* for the preservation of their owne safety.

Therefore they attempted not the Conquest of *Gaule*, untill they were Lords of all other Countreies to them knowne. Wee on the other side held only the one halfe of our owne *Iland*; the other halfe being inhabited by a Nation (unlesse perhaps in wealth and numbers of men somewhat inferiour) every way equall to our selves: A Nation anciently and strongly allied to our enemies the *French*, and in that regard enemies to us: So that our danger lay both before and behinde us, and the greater danger at our backs; where commonly we felt, alwayes we feared a stronger invasion by Land then wee could make upon *France*, transporting our forces over Sea.

*It is usuall with men that have pleased themselves in admiring the matters which*



which they finde in ancient Histories, to hold it a great injurie done to their judgement, if any take upon him by way of comparison to extoll the things of latter ages. But I am well perswaded, that as the divided vertue of this our Island hath given more noble prooffe of it self, then under so worthy a Leader that Roman armie could doe, which afterwards could winne Rome and all her Empire, making Caesar a Monarch: So hereafter by Gods blessing, who hath converted our greatest hindrance into our greatest helpe, the enemy that shall dare to trie our forces, will finde cause to wish, that avoyding us, he had rather encountred as great a puissance as was that of the Roman Empire. Thus farre Sir Walter Raleigh, comparing the Roman valour with the English: And if we should compare them to the Turkes, it is certaine that the Romans in the like space of time, never subdued the like quantitie of land, so excellently fertile, and abounding in warlike people as did they. In lesse then three hundred yeares, from Ottoman to Mahomet the third, they wanne all those goodly Countreys from Tauris in Persia, to Buda in Hungarie, lying East, and West, and North, & South, from Derbent neare the Caspian Sea, unto Adena, upon the gulf of Arabia, each of which contains about 3200 miles. Nay Mahomet the second who tooke Constantinople, and tooke upon him the title of their first Emperour within the space of 32 yeares, by force possessed two Empires, twelve Kingdomes, and above two hundred Cities.

R. de Lusinge de  
enclim. imp. l. 2.  
cap. 2.

It is likewise the observation of Mr Meade in his Commentary upon the Revelation, touching the wondrous progresse of the Saracens in their speedy conquests: *Nulli unquam genti tam latè regnatum fuit, neque tam brevi temporis spacio unquam tot regna, tot regiones, sub jugum missa. Incredibile dictu, verissimum tamen est, octoginta, aut non multo plurium annorum subjugarunt illi & diabolico regno Mahumidis acquisiverunt Palestinam, Siriam, Armeniam utramque, totam firmè Asiam minorem, Persiam, Indiam, Ægyptum, Numidiam, Barbariam, totam ad nigrum usque fluvium Lusitaniam, Hispaniam. Neque hic stetit illorum fortuna aut ambitio, donec & Italia magnam quoque partem adjecerint ad portas usque urbis Romæ. Quinetiam Siciliam, Candiam, Cyprum, & reliquas maris mediterranei insulas.*

pag. 94.

Now because the valour of this present age is by some questioned, for that the conquests of our late Princes, are not thought to be so great as of those of ancient times: I will hereunto annexe the discourse of a learned Venetian Gentleman, wherein hee endeavours to prove, that though the conquests of the Ancient were of larger extent, yet the valour of the modernes was not therefore inferiour to them. His discourse is written in Italian, his owne language, and though the translation perchance doe not fully answer the worth of the originall, yet I thinke it not unworthy to bee presented to the view of the Reader as it is.



## S E C T. 10.

*The sixth discourse taken out of the second booke of Paul Paruta a Gentleman of Venice, in his politicall discourses; translated out of Italian.*

*The subject whereof is, wherefore our Moderne Princes have not performed enterprises; like to those which the Ancients have accomplished, although they have beene in valour nothing inferiour.*

**S**OME men there are, who onely commending matters performed by the Ancients, equally blame all the moderne, holding them in small or no esteeme, as if that by those things which arise in our times, the way were wholly excluded by meanes of excellent studies in most noble Sciences, to arrive unto any period of glory. Contrarily, others are of such disposition, that they endeavour to accumulate all commendation upon this our age, and to equall it with the most famous and extolled Ancient, affirming that the antique vertue hath resulted therein, no way inferiour or different in our men, except defect of that reverence, which Antiquitie is accustomed to contere upon matters. The moderne wits are highly celebrated, for the perfection and excellencie whereunto they have conducted many noble disciplines and arts, having beene obscure and vile in the ignorance of former ages, but particularly touching the manner of warre, wherein in respect of so many new invented formes concerning fortification, and expugning of fortresses, the qualitie of engines, and other many certainly marvellous inventions, It seemes that the moderne industrie hath not onely equalled the Ancient, but in many parts farre exceeded it; and much more in our present age, the glory of many professors of most esteemed artes so resplendent, by how much that the profession belonging thereunto, is not onely greatly increased, but Picture, Sculpture, Architecture, together with many other noble sciences and disciplines, being ornaments of civill life, have beene extracted out of darkenesse, wherein for a long time they lay involved. Herein I altogether differ not from them in opinion, neither doe I conceive it to be requisite so farre to advance other mens affaires, that by reason of grosse modesty or ignorance, wee hold a base account of ours, so farre forth as in themselves they are worthy of any commendation. But concerning military actions, which as in themselves they are most conspicuous in the eyes of all men, so they attract the greatest part of blame or commendation, from the universall discourse of men: when in my selfe I revolve in my minde the enterprises accomplished in warre by those Ancient and Moderne, I seeme to behold that the one is so farre superiour to the other, as I can hardly make a just comparison betweene them, notwithstanding that as these our last ages, in comparison of some others former, have become fruitfull with excel-

lent



lent wits in other disciplines, so they have flourished by the valour and generositie of some Princes truely great, no lesse in vertue then forces. But that which peradventure affords no lesse cause of wonder, and gives to this discourse particular matter, is to enter into consideration, from whence it proceedes, that our moderne Princes (though some of them have beene of generous dispositions, great experience and vertue in military affaires, of large state and potent forces) have neverthelesse not beene able to conduct their enterprises to such ends, as by reason of their greatnesse, together with the shortnesse and facilitie of time, they may hold comparison equivalent to the Ancients. Among whom we see one onely *Alexander*, one *Pompey*, one *Cesar*, have subjugated entire Provinces, and conquered many Nations. And to the end that we goe not farre off, seeking examples to paralell herein, seeing one onely age very neare unto ours, may most readily afford them: have there not beene Princes for all heroicall qualities very great and valorous, namely *Charles* the first Emperour, *Francis* the first King of *France*, and (leaving apart the respect of errours in Religion) *Sultane Solyman* Great Signiour of the *Turkes*? In whom all the gifts of nature and fortune have concurred together, so that it hardly seemes there rests in any one of them, more to be desired for the making up a most potent Prince, and accomplished excellent Captaine for the undertaking of the greatest and most difficult enterprises. What matters did not *Charles* undertake with his invincible minde, undaunted against all dangers? Who was more desirous of praise and military honour then *Francis*? who was never seene neither wearied, nor satisfied in the travell of armes, & conducting of armies? But in *Solyman* there were such ardent spirits wholly disposed to the glory of warre, that his burdensome yeares of age were not sufficient to extinguish them, seeing he died at the age of 84 yeares in the field among his souldiers. These great Princes were for the number of their forces which they conducted in battle, militarie discipline, and for all preparations of warre so strong and remarkable, that in regard thereof the age wherein they lived had no reason, neither to admire nor envie any of the Ancients, though most famous. Notwithstanding whosoever shall particularly examine the enterprises accomplished by them, shall finde them farre short to be compared with those of the Ancients, not correspondent to the rumor and opinion of such Princes and so great forces, seeing that if we take into consideration those few formerly mentioned, omitting many others, how stupendious were the deedes of Great *Alexander*, who in so short a time conquered the most potent Empire of *Persia*, overrunne all the East victories, and stroke terrour of his armes into people formerly in a manner unknowne, & yet death seized on him in his youthfull yeares? But for *Cesar* and *Pompey*, how many Cities (or rather Provinces) did they subdue to the Empire of *Rome*? the one in the East conquered *Pontus*, *Armenia*, *Cappadocia*, *Media*, *Hiberia*, *Siria*, *Cilicia*, *Mesopotamia*, *Arabia*, and *Iudea*, matters which after the deede done, seemed in a manner incredible; and the other, though he over-runne not such large Territories, yet in respect of the qualitie of those enemies whom hee over-



over-ran, performed as great matters, having vanquished the fierce and warlike Nation of the *Swisse, French, and Germans*, performing so many and such fortunate expeditions, that by his onely valour above 800 Cities were subdued to the *Romane* dominion. But for those moderne Princes, what like matter can wee produce, to equall them to the afore-said in militarie glory? The Emperour *Charles* often times conducted potent armies upon small enterprises, but for his most famous actions, what fruite did they produce? The greatest and most valorous armie was that which hee opposed against *Solyman*, when hee attempted upon *Austria*, yet notwithstanding he never departed therewith from the walles of *Vienna*, so that he gained no other honour and trophie of victorie, then that he was not overcome, his armie having not so much as beheld the face of an enemy. Certainly the courses of *Germanie* were very difficult; notwithstanding he interposed not himselfe therein, against any Prince equall in force to him of his owne strength, nor the occasions were not by election, or hope of glory, or new conquests, but for necessitie and defence, as well for the Empire as his owne proper person interested therein, whereof summarilie the fruit could bee none other, then to returne the affaires of the Crowne to their former State, to the end that the Empires authority might not be diminished. The contentions of warre continued for a long time (& no lesse hatred then forces) betweene *Charles* the Emperour, and *Francis* King of *France*, who oftentimes weakned the forces of each other, but though *Cæsars* fortune for the most part prevailed against those of the *French* Kings, yet the Empire of *Charles* became no way greater by his new Conquests, wherein it seemes he was set forward chiefly by his admirable fortune and felicity, which united in him onely by way of inheritance, so many great and ample States, more then by the meanes of armes, or warre. The enterprises of *Afrike, Tunis, and Algeres*, carried in themselves greatest appearance of generositie, being in qualitie very difficult, and attempted with great courage and much danger, wherein there was appearance of more glory then profit, notwithstanding the unhappy successe of the one, greatly diminished the commendation and reputation obtained by the good event of the other, and the successe of these enterprises were none other in conclusion, that by the fruit thereof they gained any more in *Afrike*, then one or two Cities of meanest qualitie; whereas *Scipio* alone, in the same Territorie conquered *Carthage*, head of that great Empire, subjecting to the *Romane* Commonwealth all those Regions. The undertakings of *Solyman* were somewhat greater, yet notwithstanding no way to bee equalled unto the Ancients, neither peradventure in respect of his great potencie, and long time of life, and raigne, they any way appeared to bee so great or remarkeable: Hee consumed much time and huge forces in *Hungarie*, comming upon it by sundry attempts; with all which adoe he onely conquered a part thereof, which in it selfe, is none of the greatest Provinces. He vanquished the Iland of *Rhodes*, but it was small glory for so great a Prince to subdue a few Knights, weake in themselves, and not assisted by others, wherein notwithstanding fraud prevailed more then force.



force. He afterward besieged the Iland of *Malta*, belonging to the Knights of the order, with mighty forces both by sea & land; yet after a long siege his forces were shamefully repulsed with great losse both of men and honour: He passed with his armie into *Persia*, but though he might say with *Caesar*, I came and beheld, yet hee could not make good that which hee did, I have overcome, for as he over-runne with much celeritie a great part of the *Persian* Empire, arriving to the Citie of *Tunis*, so afterward without knowing or being able to settle in any place, or fixe upon any conquest, he retired within his owne confines, leaving in his enemies Territories, the best & greatest part of his forces broken and dissipated by sundry accidents. These matters then and many others like hereunto, give just occasion of wonder, setting forward the curiositie of mens wits to investigate the true occasions of such diversitie of successes.

Among the same therefore, the chiefeest consideration is, the different manner of warre from the former times to these, wherein passing to greater particulars which present themselves in the use of fortresses, they being erected more frequent in this our age, then among the Ancients, seeing without all doubt the art of their fabricature is in farre greater perfection with us, then it was in their times. There is not at this day any State or Territorie without many strong places & Cities, either assisted by the situation of nature, or by the force of art, reduced to much securitie, with sundry preparations and inventions investigated by the moderne Professors of this art by meanes whereof every situation is in a manner made capable of a fortified forme, being thereby inabled with a few, to maintaine it selfe against the forces of many. So that whosoever hath a minde to enter with his armie into another mans Countrey to take possession thereof, is first necessitated to conquer the fortresses placed upon the frontiers, for to goe forward, leaving such places behinde, is no secure counsell, seeing thereby hee may bee prevented of his victuals, and sustaine much prejudice otherwise, together with great disturbance: Moreover, for a man to make himselfe Master of the field, without reducing Cities and strong places into his power, would bee to take a possession with much labour for a few dayes, which being grounded upon no other forces then an army in the field, that being overthrowne, any other conquest done in what kinde soever, will consequently fall to the ground; from whence it proceedes, that much time being consumed for one fort, and great forces for the taking in of it, which often happen to faile in the attempt, the enterprises set on foote by moderne Princes, being incountered with these difficulties, cannot bee conducted to an end, neither with that facilitie nor celeritie which many of the Ancients accomplished without any such impediments. And certainly, how is it possible to carry a full vounge of victory, being so often retarded by the difficulties which fortresses interpose? wherefore in the actions of those Princes formerly mentioned, we may see evident examples. *Charles* the Emperour more then once undertooke warres against the King of *France* with mighty forces, as also great conceits and designs, which



in conclusion became all vaine, by reason of the incounter which hee found in strong and well fortified Cities, so that with long labour and time hee could hardly get any one of them, by reason whereof it likewise happened, that though sometimes his successes in war were prosperous, they fell out notwithstanding to bee so retarded, that in a manner hee reaped no fruite thereby, or reall benefit, which appears when after the expence of long time and much forces, consumed about the fort of Saint *Desire*, placed in the midst of *France*, he being prosperously entered so farre, though he reduced the same into his power, yet he was necessitated to make accord with his enemy, finding his forces by reason of that conquest so much weakened, that hee could not then prosecute any other designe. The same, and for the like occasion happened to the King of *France*, *Francis* the first, who having sent the *Dolphine* his sonne with a most potent army to the *Pyrenean* mountaines, to the end that by those reinforcements he might enter into *Spaine*, presuming that it might succeed the more easily to him by reason of that suddain assault, and for having at the same time with other armies assaulted some of *Casars* States, but the *Dolphine* having in the beginning of his enterprize beleagured *Perpignano*, a fortresse placed upon those frontiers, he incountered with so many difficulties, that this only affront was sufficient to stop his forces, from entering farther. *Solyman* comming upon *Hungarie*, with a most potent armie to enter into *Austria*, he consumed so much time in gaining the fort of *Breda*, that it proved the safety of that Territorie, and chiefly of the Citie of *Vienna*, where for that respect he arrived much the latter, by meanes of which delay, more time was given unto the defenders to provide and secure themselves, which Citie being in it selfe strong, may well bee said that their assurance consisted not therein, but it was wholly preserved both then and afterward, more then once by the forces of all *Austria*, and other Provinces of *Germany*. Likewise in the warre with the same *Solyman* moved against the *Venetians*, notwithstanding that hee presented himselfe in person with mighty forces, both by sea and land, his armie being repulsed from the fort of *Corfu*, which the *Turkes* attempted in vaine with greatest furie, hee was constrained to raise his siege, where without the helpe and benefit of so strong a fortification, consequently upon so great preparations, the *Turke* had carried both the Iland of *Corfu*, and other places belonging to that State. By reason then of such difficulties and occasions, the enterprises performed by our moderne Princes prove farre inferiour both in glory and greatness in the undertakings, then those of the Ancients. As soone as *Alexander* overcame *Darius* in battle, the most potent King of *Persia*, he readily made himselfe master of his whole dominion, and penetrating farther into more remote Territories, as farre as the Ocean Sea, he found his way so open, that the difficultie was onely to overcome Rivers and maritime inlets, which Nature had given thereunto, whereupon those who make mention of him, hardly speake of two fortresses of importance, wherein among the *Indian* people, hee was any way enforced to spend much time, bravely to over-runne so spacious a Continent.



continent. But *Pompey* made such long journeys in the following of *Mithridates*, and placing in all places where he passed among so many Provinces of the East, so many trophies of his victories over the people brought in subjection by him, rather by command then fight, that it may well bee conceived, hee no where found impediment of fortresses, which could any way retard the course of his victorious armes. *Cesar* undertooke somewhat a harder taske in his conquest of the *European* people, against whom he was to make warre, not so much for the qualitie of scituations, and fiercenesse of those people with whom hee incountered, as for a strong resistance made against him by fortified Cities; notwithstanding in the space of ten yeares he accomplished so many enterprises, that 300 people are reckoned up to have beene subdued by him. If then these so great Princes and most valorous Captaines, had incountered with such difficulties, as to spend moneths and yeares in the expugning of one onely fortress, certainly their conquests would have become much lesse, and their glory farre interiour to that which it arrived, which appears manifestly by the examples also of other ages, whereby we may observe that so great progressions of warre, have chiefly beene effected in the Orientall parts, where in all times (considering the spaciousnesse of the Territorie) there have beene fewest fortresses in use: whereupon not onely *Alexander* the Great, and *Pompey* most famous Captaines beyond all others, but some *Romane* Emperours also, by meanes of their Generalls, in a short time subdued to the Empire large Territories. And in times of fresher date, by the same meanes *Selim Ottoman* conquered wholly the Empire of the *Soldane* of *Egypt*, for having in sundry battles the fortune of warre prosperous on his side, the whole Countrie subject to that dominion, being not strengthened with any fortress, by all consequence must become a prey to the conquering *Turkes*, having command of the field. But such conquests as they are very easie, so ordinarily they are of small duration or assurance; by reason whereof, the *Roman* Emperours were not able to get dominion, of those extreame parts of the East, but that tumults were often raised either by the people themselves, or bordering Kings; so that they were enforced oftentimes to subdue the same Provinces. But notwithstanding that such difficulties to expugne fortresses, retarded the course of victories; so they ought not to diminish the commendation of our moderne Princes and Captaines; especially when their industrie and vertue in warre deserves the same, seeing that in the manning of such a warre, there is discovered great discipline, art, constancie, and tolleration. And as such conquests are more firme, and lesse subject to sundry accidents in the fortune, and change of warre, so it seemes that the few exploits done therein, may justly in respect of glory and praise, bee equalled with many of the former in ancient times, when such accidents and sundry respects have not concurred therein. But proceeding to examine other parts belonging to warfare, wee shall finde that by the diversitie of other



affaires, diverse effects have proceeded. Verily the invention of great Ordinance, as it is a matter new, so it may with good reason behold wonders, being beyond the ordinary use of all those engines of warre, knowne or practised by the Ancients; I hold it very credible, that necessarily it hath made great alteration in the present exercise and practise of warre; and the inventions of fire-workes are so farre increased in these our times, multiplyed and perfected in sundry manners, that it may well be supposed; warres are now adayes managed, not with iron as was formerly accustomed, but rather with fire. This then so formidable instrument of Artillerie, making so great and irreparable slaughter, is the occasion wherefore Commanders proceed with more caution in joyning battle, seeking to prolong the warre, and reduce the enemy unto some necessitie, accustomed more art and lesse hazard of fortune to bring their enterprises to an end with greater delay, but more securitie; by reason whereof, wee see that in these times few battles are fought, wherein full armies incounter with their whole forces; whereupon it also proceeds from hence, that being not able so easily to roote out, or debilitate without much time the forces of those who defend the Countrey invaded, which when it wants not convenient defence, small progression can bee made therein, except with time and industrie, more then open force, where likewise it ought to bee considered that the necessitie whereby now adayes armies are enforced to conduct with them great quantities of Artillerie, makes all their operations the more slow, without which they hold not themselves well secured from the enemies annoyance, nor undertake any important enterprises, wanting those instruments, whereof being destitute, they can neither take any Towne, nor place of importance. Let us now betake our selves somewhat to examine and consider matters done by the Ancients; what long journeys did *Pompey* the great make in following of *Mithridates*? who certainly with his Armie over-ran so many Provinces, alwayes conquering and subjecting new Countreies, that it might rather seeme a pleasure to him who undertooke those expeditions, then to make any warre. *Alexander* the Great when hee invaded *India*, caused his souldiers to leave behinde them such booties as they tooke in *Persia*, and all their baggage; who selecting his most nimble forces, hee therewith onely went forward to performe that tedious and difficult journey; for the accomplishment whereof, supposing a few (but valorous souldiers) to bee sufficient, hee sent backe many of them, for in that age the maine of all affaires was onely decided by armes and vertue; whereupon those Princes and Generalls of Armies, who found themselves strong and potent by a good discipline of warre, such as were *Alexander*, and the *Romanes*, not finding neither impediment of fortresses, nor contradiction of any forces in vertue or experience equall to theirs, or any way inabled to withstand their assaults, taking away with quicke dispatch from those Countreies which



which they invaded, all meanes of defence by the overthrowing of their Armies, wherein they reposed all their greatest security, they easily got dominion over them, both by the reputation which they gained to their owne forces, and the impression of feare which tooke hold of their enemies, which hath left unto them none other more steadie refuge, one victory easily opened a way to another, by meanes whereof such men might in short time lay the foundation of the supreme Monarchie, which to this day amuzeth the whole world. Hereunto may bee added, that the most firme nerve of those forces which the Ancients used, and made their armes the more prosperous, consisted wholly in the foote, which may with more ease and expedition turne to every part, and imploy themselves for all stations, but another custome being observed in the conduct of all great Armies, namely with their troopes, to assist and flanke their squadrons with a good number of horse, some impediment falls out thereby, that they can neither begin nor prosecute any great enterprise, according to fitting opportunity, being for this cause obliged to respect opportune seasons for the yeare, and the Countrey, together with other necessities, seeing horses have neede of nutriment, which cannot be administered in all times and places. But seeing now the confines of the *Turkish* Empire are so farre seperated and distant, we may well hope, that other Potentates will be the more quiet and secure from their impressions, for this respect, that seeing his chiefeest forces consist in the abundance of horse, maintained wholly in all those Territories which hee hath conquered, chiefly from the *Christians*, he cannot so easily and commodiously bring into the field his huge Armies, which may peradventure cause a doubt that this very consideration may induce him the more diligently to apply himselfe to sea affaires. Hereunto is a matter worthy of no small consideration, the qualitie of times and Potentates, wherein a generous Prince desirous of militarie glory, encounters; seeing if it so occurre that he is to make proove of his armes and vertue, with another Prince equall or little inferiour to himselfe in state, valour, and militarie discipline, hee cannot hope with all his force to performe any remarkeable matter, seeing he shall finde a just counterpoise to his potencie, and valour, so that if he get some footing by his good successe, hee cannot notwithstanding bee well secured from incurring some contrary disaster, his corrivall and enemy being potent, though somewhat dejected. What did *Francis* King of *France* intermit, to gaine state in *Italie*? how great Armies did hee conduct thither? what great heapes of treasure did he spend? when was hee ever wearied or satisfied by imploying his whole time in armes? But because *Charles* the fift Emperour was his Competitor, in whom their forces and vertue were equall, and a constant resolution in the said Emperour to keepe the *French* out of *Italie*, all the others indeavours became vaine, finding an extreame difficultie to get, and impossibilitie to make good his conquests, seeing the defence of that State was supported by Princes too great, which was the occasion, that by reason of the resistance which those



two potent Princes made against each other, and their valour, which they well knew rested in equall ballance, and they both having their eye upon the affaires of *Italie*, each of them laboured with great care and indeavour, to procure friendship and confederacie with the *Italian* Princes; and chiefly the *Venetian* Common wealth, for seeing neither of them were able to effect in *Italie*, that they could there hold any strong footing, their forces being weakened, by joyning with some other *Italian* Potentate, they hoped more easily to accomplish, & chiefly in the States of *Savoy* and *Milane*. But in the end, they agreed upon a faire pacification, without any greater profit to either partie, having wearied out their forces of each side, though their hatreds and emulations were no way extinguished, notwithstanding that the felicitie of *Charles* the first, by an unexpected accident of the death of *Francis Sforza*, reduced all that State under his dominion. Finally from hence it hapned upon the like occasion, that *Charles* and *Solyman* greatly fearing the forces of each other, they shunned all that might bee to come to blowes, and to hazard upon the uncertaine event of battles, that glory which they had obtained with so much labour. From hence it proceeded, that *Charles*, though a bold and valorous Prince, when his brother *Ferdinand* was hardly beset in great dangers by the armes of *Solyman*, hee most unreasonably resolved to passe into *Africa*, for resolving in himselfe not to contend against the power of *Solyman*, he would manifest unto the world that he was not retained by labour or danger, for that he turned not his forces to the defence of *Hungaria* and *Austria*, then invaded by the *Turkes*, but because he reputed the enterprise of *Africa* very requisite, yet notwithstanding when a greater necessitie should so require, that they should arme against each other, after that of each side most numerous armies were brought into the field, yet notwithstanding they kept farre off from each other, both the feare and respect being alike, which one conceived of the others potencie and fortune, so that in the end so great a masse of men was dissolved without of either side seeing the face of an enemy, seeing that *Cesar* would not consent, that his Armie should enlarge it selfe from the walles of *Vienna*, to hazard a day of battle, nor *Solyman* would not come forward to encounter him, though he publiquely affirmed at his departure from *Constantinople*, that he went to fight with *Charles* the Emperour within his owne doores; whereby it appeares, that the counter-ballance which they gave to each other, they being great Princes in neere paritie of yeares, held their armes restrained in certaine confines, which by reason of their valour, and other respects, were sufficient to erect in sundry remote Regions, more cleare trophies of victory.

Now contrarily let us examine the condition of those times and Potentates, with whom those ancient famous Captaines mannaged warr. *Alexander* found the Empire of *Persia*, against which he prosperously performed his first expeditions, by the largenesse of dominion, very rich and potent, but destitute of good militarie discipline, and their forces commanded by Captaines of no experience or valour, which falls out to bee the condition of some other Kingdomes, it being the con-



consequence of long peace and securitie, by reason whereof he going beyond the *Persians*, both in practise of warre and vertue, though they farre exceeded him in numbers, a man may well say, that in actions of warre, he was farre their superiour, and for that cause, willingly embraced all occasions to joyne battle with them: and concerning those Princes and Orientall people, after he had conquered them, no man can bee ignorant how unwarlike and weake they were in themselves, being not in league together for common defence, nor supported by fortresses, or the nerve of ordinary warlike discipline, so that it seemes the greater commendation of such victories, ought to be attributed unto *Alexander* for his exceeding generositie of minde, for undertaking hazardous enterprises in desert Countries, and in a manner unknowne, overcoming by meanes of his valour such difficulties, and finishing them gloriously. Likewise the same may bee observed of *Pompey* in his Orientall conquests: True it is, that the exploits done by *Cæsar* in *France* and *Spaine*, were in themselves subject to some more difficulty, seeing hee incountered with people of more warlike dispositions in the managing of their armes, and formerly held unconquerable, which was the occasion hee consumed the more time; notwithstanding those Provinces were divided under the subjection of many Kings, and sundry people, so that none of himselfe was very potent, nor well secured to receive helpe from others, (seeing such forces are never of the like vertue as a mans owne) so that they could not resist an Armie of old souldiers, excellently well disciplined, like to that which *Cæsar* commanded; whereby it seemes a man may with good reason conclude, that if these famous Captaines had incountered with other Armies, potent and valorous to equal them, supported by the conduct, experience, and vertue of great Commanders, certainly the fame of their remembrance would have beene farre lesse remarkeable; neither could they have subdued such large Territories, and erect their Trophies of victory in so many Regions as they did. But peradventure among these considerations, it will be held reasonable not to censure the art and meanes which those valorous Ancients accustomed, besides their practise of warre, to open the way more easily unto large conquests, and greater glory, seeing that whosoever shall consider their deedes, may thereby take notice by the evident examples, which they produced of such a fervent desire of glory and commendation in them, that it verily seemes, they onely propounded the same as a reward of their labours and dangers, and the end of their enterprises; whereupon they have left so many noble examples, not onely of military valour, but of equitie, clemencie, temperance, & other egregious remarkeable vertues, which greatly availed them to gaine the favour of the people, together with the affection and benevolence of sundry of those Princes whom they conquered. In testimony whereof, it is written of *Alexander*, that he in *India* confirmed and increased the dominion of many Kings whom he had conquered, who being contented to receive from them obedience and supply of those things, which were necessarie for his journey, he made it appeare that he aspired rather unto the glory



of new conquests, then for any benefit he intended to reape thereby. But *Pompey* not as a victorious Captaine in warre, but rather like a friend and arbitrator, compounded the differences among those Orientall people, establishing the Ancient Princes in their dominions; and to others who merited the same, he gave new States, so that from his liberalitie, *Furnaces* King of *Bospherus* acknowledged his Kingdome; *Antiochus* of *Seleucia*, *Tigranes* of *Armenia*, *Ariobarzanes* of *Cappadocia*, *Deiotarus* of *Gallitia*, reducing all those Countries into Provinces, making them immediatly subject unto the Senate and people of *Rome*, finding them destitute of lawfull Princes; as it happened to *Syria*, *Iudea*, and other Regions. By such kinde of honourable proceedings, it was occasioned that many people and Princes, willingly obeyed the Empire of *Alexander*, and the *Romanes*; whereupon *Darius* being overcome by him, who admired his rare continencie and humanitie, hee prayed the Gods to grant unto him the greatnesse and succession of the Kings of *Persia*, when it was destinated that the Empire thereof should fall to the ground. And of the like heroicall examples performed by the *Romanes*, histories are fully replenished. But now adayes it seemes that Princes and Captaines take little care to imitate them, raising warres not for desire of glory, as those magnanimous famous personages have done, but with intention to satisfie some revenge with all cruelty, or in such sort to appropriate unto themselves alone, the whole benefit of the victory; that they leave nothing safe or entire to the Inhabitants: whereupon it followeth, that whosoever feareth these extreame evils, being enforced by desperation, is resolved to trie the utmost proove of his forces, before he will put himself in the power or discretion of those, whom he evidently seeth will bee his utter ruine. By which manner of proceedings, enterprises become the more slow, and every conquest difficult, so that this immoderate cupiditie for a man to attract unto himselfe alone all the benefit, producing effects contrary to the intention; holds more restrained the confines of their dominion, and hereby that note of glory diminished; whereunto they make show so much to aspire. If then our Princes and Captaines will follow the wayes of the Ancients, they shall finde justice, clemencie, and a moderate government, more strong and secure engines to expugne fortresses, then peradventure those are which now adayes they put in practise; and if there be not defective in them true reall vertues, there will appeare in their souldiers, valour and discipline to performe great enterprises, and to advance their names unto so sublime a pitch of true glory, illustrating themselves and their age, that every way they may bee equalled to the famous and extolled Captaines among the Ancients.



## SECT. II.

*Of Boetius his preferring the valour of Christian Captaines above that of the Ancients before Christ.*

**N**OW because the ascribing of so incomparable valour to the Ancients before Christ, seemes not a little to derogate from the Christian religion as if it yeelded none but cowards in comparison of them, it shall not perchance bee amiss, to this discourse of *Paruta*, to annex that of *Boetius*, taken out of his booke, *de robore bellico adversus Machiavellum*; wherein he hath many chapters to this purpose, as namely, that the Christians, or as hee calls them the Catholiques, have subdued many nations, whom the most warlike people in former times could not subdue, *cap. 4.* That the Christians have enlarged the bounds of their territories by armes, beyond any of the *Pagans*, *cap. 5.* That they have preserved, and by armes defended their conquered Empires, longer then the *Pagans*; *cap. 6.* But that which I intend especially to insist upon is, *cap. 7.* Where hee enters a comparison betwixt the ancient Commanders in the warrs before Christ, with those who have since embraced the Christian religion, proving these latter to bee in militarie valour nothing inferiour but rather superiour to the former; but let us heare himselfe speake;

These things will yet be made more cleare, if wee cast our eyes about upon the coasts of Christian Nations, and call to minde the ancient acts of the *Grecians*, the *French*, the *Italians*, the *Spaniards*, the *Portugalls*, the *Brittaines*, the *Germans*, the *Bohemians*, the *Hungarians* and the *Polonians*; in as much as we shall not find, that since the worlds creation by the space of 4000 yeares and more, so many valiant and politique Commanders in the warrs, to have risen in these Nations, as have done since that time only they embraced the Christian religion. For whom I pray you, can the ancient *Spaniards* oppose, to so many *Alphonse* and *Ferdinandi* Kings? whom to that renowned *Cidus*, *Consalvus* the great, *Petrus Navarra*, *Antonius Leva*, or *Ferdinando Duke of Alba*? Or whom can the ancient *Portugalls* oppose to so many *Henries* and *Alphonse* Kings, or to *Vasquius Gama* and *Alphonso Alburqueio* Captaines? What should I speake of the *French*; hath antiquity any to compare with *Clo-doveus*, *Dagobertus*, *Pippin*, *Charle-maigne*, *Robert*, *Philippus Augustus*, *Henrie the second*, or *Charles* and *Robert of Naples*; or *Godfrey King of Hierusalem*? Neither neede wee heere to stand reciting the names of such Captaines, as *Carolus Martellus* the father of *Pippin*, and others of principall ranke; but this is certaine that forasmuch as belongeth to the *Brittaines* and *Scots*, before they embraced the Christian religion, there was none among them who was any way famous for militarie affaires; except we will hearken to fabulous reports; And for the *Germane* antiquity; whom hath it to compare with their *Othoes*, *Henries*, *Lotharij*, *Conradi*, *Frederici*, *Caroli*, *Rodulphi*, *Maximilianj*, *Ludovici*? Now for *Bohemia*, whom will it compare to their *Othocari*, *Boleslai*, *Wenceslai*? Ne-



ther need wee make any speech of the *Polonians* and *Hungarians*, inas-  
much as their names were hardly knowne to the Ancients; but since  
they were Christians, how renowned have their *Geyzas*, *Stephanus pri-  
mus*, *Ludovicus primus*, *Mathias Corvinus* bin in *Hungarie*? What brave  
men in *Polonia* have bin the *Casimiri*, *Boleslai Vladislaus primus* and *Ste-  
phanus Battorius*?

But shall wee passe over *Norwey* and *Denmarke*? from whence came  
the *Normans*, who not only conquered *England* and *France*, since they  
submitted themselves to the yoke of *Christ*, but beating the *Grecians*  
and *Saracens* out of *Scicilie* and *Naples*, subdued the Kings of *Tunis* in  
*Africa*, and many citties in *Greece*; And for a long tyme did many  
valiant acts, setting up in *Italie* the most noble kingdome of *Naples* and  
*Sicilie*; as *Sigonius* in his books *de regno Italie* hath at larg reported it.  
Why should I speake of the *Normans* invading *Antiochia*, and taking  
to themselves the principalitie of that dominion in the East, and their  
defending of it for a long tyme against most warlike Nations? Was not  
that *Margaret*, of the *Danish* blood who led armies and gained to her  
selfe foure kingdomes? Was not *Cnutus* the great likewise a *Dane*, who  
joyned togeather *Brittaine*, *Denmarke*, *Norway*, *Gotland*, *Sweden* under  
one goverment? And why should wee pass over in silence the *Goths* and  
the *Swedes*? from whom issued those Commanders whose royall blood  
hath bin derived downward even to our age, who atcheived so great  
conquests against the *Mahometanes* in *Spaine*, as we have shewed in the  
signe of the happy prosperitie of the *Catholique Church*, & by whose conduct  
a way was opened both to the east and west *Indies*.

But happily some one will say, that *Italie*, or *Greece* never yeelded since  
they were Christian, any Commanders, matchable with the ancient *Ro-  
man* leaders or with *Alexander* the great; and yet I know not why wee  
should not presume to set in the scale against him, *Bellizarius* or *Mauri-  
tius*, or *Basilius* the *Macedonian*; for that *Alexander* waged warre with ef-  
feminate Nations, but *Bellizarius* with the *Vandalls* in *Africke*, the *Goths*  
in *Italie*, the *Sclavonians* in *Dacia*, *Mesia*, and *Illyrium*, with the *Persians* in  
*Asia*, all warlike people; whom hee vanquished by fine force, though  
he led but small forces in comparifon, but because it was not his hap to  
have such writers of his atcheivements, as *Alexander* had, nor had the  
soverainty of goverment, therefore is his name more obscure, though  
there were wanting in him nothing which belongs to the office and the  
commendation of the best Commanders. *Mauritius* likewise subdued  
*Persia*, and after most noble conquests obtained, he tooke into his hands  
the reines of the *Oriental Empire*, *Africke* and *Italie*; neither wanted hee  
any thing required to the glory of a most excellent Generall; which  
may likewise not undeservedly bee affirmed of *Basilius* the *Macedonian*.  
And so much touching the *Grecians*.

Now for the *Italians*, it may perchance be truly said, that in military  
powre and policie they declined since the *Empire* of *Augustus*, or the age  
of *Constantine*; yet *Matheus Palmerius*, in his *Chronicle* hath well ob-  
served, that *Italy* since about 200 yeares last past hath afforded singular  
Commanders in military affaires among these were *Attenadolus Cognola*  
or



or *Sfortia*, *Braccius Earle of Monton*, *Nicolaus Piccininus*, *Franciscus Sfortia*, *Philippus Scholarius* a Florentine, who being made Generall by *Sigismund* the Emperour of his forces, in twenty battles at severall times utterly vanquished the *Sarmatians*, and *Turks*, rushing in upon the Christians. To whom may bee added *Jacobus Piccininus*, *Guidantonius*, and *Fredericus* Dukes of *Vrbin*; *Dominicus Malestta*, *Bartholomaeus Coleo*, *Hercules Estensis* Dukes of *Ferraria*, *Robertus Severinus*, *Franciscus Maria Ruerius*, *Marcus Antonius*, *Prosperus Pompeius Columna*, *Alphonfus Davalus*, *Ferdinandus Gonzaga*, *Emanuel Philibertus* Dukes of *Savoy*, *Alexander Farnesius* Prince of *Parma*, qui sanè priscis nulla re cedant, who need not in any thing yeeld to the Ancients. But shall we here passe over in silence the *Vrsini*, the *Vitellij*, the *Balconi*, the *Vicecomites*; or forget *Farinata Vbertus*, *Martinus Turrianus*, *Vguccio Fagiolanus*, *Castruccio Castracanis*, *Albericus Balbianus*, *Franciscus Buffonius Carmagnola*, *Gatumelata*, *Iulianus* & *Ioannes* of the house of *Medices*, *Bartholomaeus Livianus*, *Jacobus Trivultius*, *Franciscus Gonzaga*, *Pyrrhus Stipicianus*; but here is the difference betwixt the ancients and ours, that the former had many faire occasions offered them to shew their valour and excellent writers, to commend their names to posterity; both which have bin wanting to the latter: *Cesar* himselfe was well stricken in yeers, before hee was of any great account; because noe great occasion was offered for the making of his valour knowne to the world: but in the space of his last sixteen yeares, hee had notable occasions presented for shewing the same, which hee nobly performed, and had not these occasions bin presented unto him, wee should have heard little of his name at this day; and that which herein wee affirme of *Cesar*, may as truly bee verified of the rest; so as the *Italians* of this our age, or that before us, whom we have named; are not therefore to bee fleighted or lesse esteemed of us then the most renowned among the ancient *Romans*, because they did not so many and great acts, for had they fallen upon the like tymes, and encountred the like occasions, there is litle question but they would have performed as noble Acts. From hence it is that for the space of 500 yeares after the foundation of *Rome*, noe leader ever did more memorable things; then those whose names have bin by us recorded, & many others who might easily be named, since the driving out of the *Longobards* by *Charlemaigne*, for how could the commonwealth of the *Venetians* and *Genowayes* arise to soe high a pitch in so short a time, had they not abounded in most valiant men and most expert in warlike affayres; Wee see their Empire greater then was that of the *Romans* in their first 500 yeares; neither were either *Venice* or *Genoa* ever taken by their enemies, as was *Rome* by the *Gaules*. And for *Genoa*, amongst others it may well boast of these leaders, *Gulielmus Embriacus* who beside many other memorable acts tooke *Casarea* in *Palestina*; *Affaldus* and *Hugo* who sacked *Biblum*, as on the other side, *Affaldus Auria*, *Vbertus Turrius*, *Philippus Longus*, *Affaldus Piso*, and *Baldwinus Ingo* who recovered *Almeria* and *Derthusia* in *Spaine* from the *Saracens*; *Simon Vignotius*, joyned *Chios* and *Phocæa* to the dominion of the *Genowayes*; *Petrus Fulgosius* made *Cyprus* tributarie, *Renatus Grimaldus* tooke *Theodosia* situate in the lake *Maotis*; *Alphonfus Carretus*



*Carretus Corsica; Philippus Auria Calcis in Greece, and Tripolis in Africk; Raphael Adornius Meninga; Petrus Spinola Naxos and Andros in the Egean sea, to say nothing of Antonius and Andreas Auria, with many others of this our age. And for the Venetians what shall we say of them? surely we shall be forced to passe over their valiant acts in silence, since in a few words they cannot bee unfolded, Non minus igitur Itali nunc fortes, quàm fuerunt in temporibus ullis priscis, so as wee may safely affirme and truely conclude, That the Italians are now no lesse valiant then in former ages; sed nostris scilicet non eadem quæ illis adfuerunt facultates, but here is the only difference that our men have wanted those faire occasions and meanes which were presented unto them.*

Now since mention is heere made of the *Genowayes* and *Venetians*, if wee should affirme that they excell all the *Ancients* in navall affayres, we could not bee justly blameable; And if any man shall bee disposed to defend the contrary, let him produce unto mee out of all antiquity, any one matchable with *Christophorus Columbus* a *Genowaye*, or with *Marcus Paulus*, *Nicolaus* and *Zenus* and *Alloisius Mustus Venetians* who were not only expert in the art of navigation, but both in land and sea fights. And for *Columbus*, hee not only opened a passage to the west *Indies*, which hee left to posterity, but fought many battells. And for *Marcus Paulus* hee travailed thorough all those vast regions, from the utmost part of *China* even to the *Persian gulph*, curiously noting all that was to bee observed. *Nicolaus* passed thorough all the *Northerne* countries, and *Mustus* thorough the *southerne* even to the equinoctiall circle, in which space, many barbarous people were to bee subdued by every one of them. And both these commonweales are of that condition, as neither in *Italie* nor any where else hath any bin knowne, which hath possessed so large, & so long a dominion, in so great libertie. The *Roman* indeed extended farther, but lasted not so long after the expulsion of their kings; she could not defend her liberty above 500 yeares or thereabout, whereas these have defended theirs much longer, specially the *venetian*. The excellency of which commonwealth in maritime affaires, specially for warlike use, may bee seene in their *Arcenall*, cui nunquam fuit aut est similis in terris, whereunto their neither hath bin nor is any thing in the world in that kinde comparable; it may likewise bee seen in their diverse formes of ships, invented for more commodious sea-fights.

But that we may decide this controversy in a word, we are to know, that as the *Ancients* had their *Cæsar*, and *Alexander* the great: so have wee had three *Greats*, not in name only but in deed, such as were *Constantine* the great, *Theodosius* the great, and *Charles* the great; insomuch as *Themistius* the *Philosopher* although hee were no Christian in profession yet constantly affirms, and makes it evident by many and strong arguments, that *Theodosius* excelled *Alexander* both in power and warlike policie. And I pray why should our age strike sayle to the *Ancients*, sithence they have performed no less worthy acts then either *Cæsar* or *Alexander*: our *Charles* the 5. yeelding to neither of them. For why should we ranke him behind any King, or Emperour, or Captaine? did



did he not reduce all *Germany* and the most warlike *Princes* thereof under his owne power? did hee not bring under all the chiefe citties of *Italy*, *Venice* only excepted? did he not suppress the rebellious *Spaniards*? did hee not take captive and keep prisoner the most couragious *Francis* King of *France*? did hee not force *Solyman*, invading *Germany* with a most powerfull army to retire for feare? did hee not take possession of the Kingdomes of *Tunis* and some others, putting to flight the great armies of the *Moores*, the *Numidians*, the *Lybians* and the *Turks*? and besides, did he not worke wonders in the west *Indies* by the hand of *Franciscus Pizarrus*, and *Ferdinandus Cortesius*, and in the east *Indies* by *Magellanus*, who sayled round about the world, and layd it open not only by his maritime discipline, but by many battells happily fought with many Nations? *Quis igitur Carolo quinto equalis in bellicis rebus?* whom then among the ancients shall we match with *Charles* the 5. for warlike affaires? As for *Alexander*, hee fought with the *Asiaticks*, tender and effeminate Nations. And *Cesar* with the *Gaules* who indeed were of a fierce disposition, but rude in militarie matters; but for *Charles* the fifth, hee was to incounter with the most warlike *Germanes*, *Italians*, *French*, *Spaniards*, *Turks*, *Africans*, and so largely extended his Empire, as none ever did the like. Neither could the Ancients by inventing fables to set forth the honor of their worthies, ever arrive to his height; that same *Hercules* placed among the Gods is highly commended, that hee touched upon the confines of *Spaine*, and set up pillars there with *Non ultra*, ingraven upon them; but *Charles* the fifth, how farre went hee beyond him?

And if we should speak of *Alphonfus Alburquesius*, or *Ferdinandus Cortesius*, all the Ancients will be in no repute with vs, if wee should compare their acts together. As for *Cortesius*, being followed but with one thousand *Spaniards*, hee assaulted and tooke in many Provinces in the west *Indies*, together with innumerable cities, & those of no small note; Neither had hee to doe with unarmed and weake, but with strong and valiant men. Many citties well fortified both by nature and art were to bee taken by him; many leagues were to bee made with some people against others; it had bin otherwise impossible to goe thorough so great matters with so small forces; yet with those did hee fight against a 100000 armed men. Finally within the compasse of a few yeares, he brought under his power so spacious countries, abounding in all kinde of riches, that he almost equalled all that *Alexander* the great conquered. But now for *Alphonfus Alburquesius*, having scarce a thousand men under his command, he vanquished many cities of *Arabia*; together with the kingdom of *Ormuz*, to which many regions both in *Arabia* and *Persia* are subject; he also brought under the regions of *Goa*, together with the citties and *Ilands* adjoyning thereunto; and with an incredible boldnes marching thorough even to *Aurea Chersonesus*, he subdued the goodly Kingdom of *Malacha*; thus running thorough in a victorious manner, as large a tract of ground in longitude, though not perchance in latitude, as did *Alexander* with his Captaines. And besides hee waged battell with those very *Persians* and *Indians* whom *Alexander*



der did; for *Ormuz* is a citie and *Iland* in the *Persian* gulph; In which regard *Ismael*, the most powerfull *Sophie* of *Persia*, had *Allburquesius* alwayes in great account and reputation; sending him an honorable embassie & rich presents. Now these two Captaines *Cortesi*us and *Allburquesius*, as they commanded very few souldiers in all their expeditions: so had they none or very little assistance from any friends; many unknowne countries were to bee marched thorough by them, many discords among their owne followers to bee composed, and lastly many treacheries of their enemies to bee prevented. The acts of *Allburquesius*, *Hieronymus Oforius*, *Lopezius* and *Petrus Maffei*us have committed to writing; and the acts of *Cortesi*us, another *Lopezius* and some others have published, whose writings are to bee found among the books of the *Indian* navigations. And our purpose beeing here to speake of famous leaders in the warrs, wee might deservedly add unto these already named *Johannes Hunniades* and *George Castriot* the *Epyrote*, whose famous acts seeme to exceed all humane beleife, having few or none of the Ancients, unlesse wee will hearken to fabulous reports, who may justly bee compared with them.

## S E C T. 12.

*Of some excellent Princes of this latter age, not to bee matched with any in ancient times.*

I Will conclude this chapter with the comparison of some few Princes of this latter age, with those of former times; neither need wee seeke farre for examples in this kinde, our owne countrey and the very age wherein wee live, hath afforded 3. such, immediately in a manner succeeding each other (only one comming betweene, who raigned but a short time) as I thinke no kingdome in the world, since the first creation thereof, can afford us the like: *Edward* the 6 I meane, *Queene Elizabeth*, and *King James*; rare I confesse in severall kindes, and yet againe in those severall kinds, all of them so rare even to admiration, as whatsoever shall be spoken or written of them, will be found to bee short of their just desert. I will take a veiw of them in their order; *Edward* the 6. being scarceten yeares old succeeded his father, and dyed in his seventeenth yeare, yet in this tender age of his, did hee shew such sparks of all royall vertues, as it astonished all that knew him. Hee was borne with the death of his mother, from whence was made this *Epitaph* upon her.

*Phanix Iana jacet, nato Phanice, dolendum  
Sacula Phanices nulla tulisse duos:*

Which was not more poetically then truly written; hee being, considering his yeares, an admirable President for all ages, of piety, learning, clemency, magnanimity, wisdom, and care in governing his people. Hee spake *French* perfectly, could declaime in *latine ex tempore*, and that



that without any sticking or stammering, hee understood *Greeke*, *Spanish*, and *Italian*, a flowing kinde of eloquence hee had, yet grave and polite, such as became a Prince, alwayes measuring his words by the things hee spake of. Hee was so inclinable to mercy and pittie, but speciall in capitall punishments, that when *Joane Butcher* a blaphemous heretique was to bee burnt, and a warrant for the doing thereof to bee signed with the kings hand, his Counsaillors being not able to perswade him thereunto, they sent to him *Thomas Cranmer Archbishop* of *Canterbury* his God-father, to deale privately with him for his subscription, yet the King remained constant and immoveable in his resolution; affirming that hee would not send her headlong to Hell, that heretiques for the most part had in them a spice of madnesse, and that they were to bee reduced to their right wits, by chastisement and tract of tyme; but being at last overcome by the Archbishops importunity, he professed that he would before God, lay the blame of that subscription upon the Archbishop.

Hee was much delighted with all kind of militarie exercises, as wrastring, running, riding, shooting, insomuch as hee often instituted games of these among his servants, proposing prizes and rewards to the conquerour, nay himselfe in riding and shooting would often contend with them in person. Nothing in his time was done in the wars abroad, but hee would bee thoroughly informed thereof, curiously inquiring by what art on the one side, or error on the other, such or such events fell out. Hee was likewise well skilled in fortifications, all the haven townes of *England*, *Scotland*, *Ireland* and *France* hee could readily describe, how they were scituated; their houres of the ebbing and flowing of the sea, what ships and how many they were capable of, and with what windes they were to bee entred.

Neither was hee lesse skilfull in affayres of peace; he was often conversant amongst his Counsaillors, and well understood what they did, and upon what grounds they proceeded; when it came to a question, hee would dispute against their reasons, and propose his owne in so solid a manner, that at last they decreed, that nothing of moment should bee discussed among them but in his presence; where hee so artificially recollected their opinions and speeches, that he seemed rather willing to dispatch the busines with judgement, then to involve it with nice distinctions. Hee often answered the Embassadors of forraine Princes *extempore*, replying to the severall heads of their speeches methodically and fully, both to the great delight & amazement of his hearers. In imitation of *Julius Caesar*, hee wrote with his owne hand, Commentaries of all the principall matters which passed in his Kingdome during his raigne, which lately remained in the keeping of *Sr Robert Cotton*, that great treasurer of ancient monuments.

A most diligent frequenter of Sermons hee was, these he noted in greeke characters, that his servants might not easily know what hee most observed; and when not long before his death, *Ridley Bishop*



of *London*, in a sermon before him highly commended works of charity, the King applying it to himselfe, the same day sent for him, and in his gallerie calling for a chaire caused him to set downe, neither would hee suffer him to bee uncovered, but giving him thanks, and repeating the principall heads of his sermon, withall hee added, I perceive that your speech was specially directed unto mee, whom God hath set in the most eminent place, and upon whom of his goodnes hee hath conferred the greatest ability; and as I am next unto God and under God in power, so should I likewise bee in goodnes, and therefore as you exhorted mee in generall, so I pray assist mee with your particular directions and counsaile, that so both your exhortation may take the better effect, and my selfe bee not found defective in the performance of my duty. Whereunto when the Bishop had answered how hee conceived that busines more properly to belong to the citizens of *London*, the King would not suffer him to depart, before hee had receaved letters to that purpose to the *Lord major* of that citty, and others Commissioners for the happy and speedy effecting of that busines: whereupon they divided the poore into 3 ranks, by *Impotency*, in which they placed Infants, Orphans, decrepite old men, lame, blinde and the like; by *Casualty*, as maymed souldiers, such as had bin undon by shipwrack, or fire, sick persons and the like; or lastly by idlenes wilfull *Luxurie* and prodigality; The first ranke of these they agreed were to bee maintained and nourished; the second to bee cured and releevd; the third to bee corrected, and by that meanes if it might bee, brought to some better passe. For the first of these the King gave to the citty the Church of the *Franciscans* with all the revenues belonging thereunto; for the second, the hospitall of *S. Bartholomew*; for the third his house of *Bridewell*, the ancient seat of many of our Kings, not long before repaired and furnished by his father, that it might serve as a lodging for that great Emperour *Charles* the fifth. And for the better maintenance of these places and the farther increase thereof, together with the hospitall of *S. Thomas* in *Southwarke* lately reedified, hee bestowed upon them out of the rents of the hospitall of *S. Iohn Baptist*, commonly called the *Savoy*, seven hundred & fifty marks yearly; together with the bedding and household stuff belonging to that place; And when the Charter of this donation was presented unto him, together with a blanke for the summe of revenues in land afterwards, to bee conferred upon them without the farther purchase of any mortmaine, the King with his owne hand filled up the vacant space with these words, 400 marks yearly; Which being ended, with a reverent voice and gesture hee gave humble thanks unto God, that hee had spared his life so long as to see that worke finished. And thus was hee entituled to the foundation of three charitable works, which by some addition since have become the most famous in *Europe*.

Now



Now for his learning wee need goe no farther then the testimony of *Cardan* that great *Italian* Philosopher, Hee was, saith hee, skilfull in logick, naturall philosophie and musicke; and for astronomie, I my selfe had some tryall of him when most learnedly hee disputed with mee of the cause and motion of comets; as touching humanity, hee is the very patterne of manners, and the sampler of royall majesty, in a word hee seems to bee the miracle of nature. Neither doe I herein use *Rhetoricall amplifications*, *Res ipsa longè omnibus quæ dixerim major est*, the truth it selfe is a great deale more then I can utter. A part of *Cardans* owne words in latin are these; *Ex ungue leonem ut dici solet. fuit hic in maxima omnium, aut bonorum aut eruditum expectatione, ob ingenuitatem atque suavitatem morum; prius caperat favere artibus quàm nosceret, & noscere antequam uti posset. Conatus quidam humana conditionis, quem non solum Anglia sed orbis ereptum immaturè deflere debet. O quàm bene dixerat ille.*

*Immodicis brevis est ætas & rara senectus.*

*Specimen virtutis exhibere potuit non exemplum; ubi gravitas regia requirebatur, senem vidisses; ubi blandus erat & comis, ætatem referebat.* So as that of *Peter Martyr*, in his first oration held at *Tigurum*, when hee succeeded into the place of *Conradus Pellicanus*, seemes not to have bin a fiction but agreeable to truth, *Obijt Edwardus ille sanctissimus rex quo adolescente nescio an sol doctiorem pro ætate atque prudentiorem usquam viderit*, that most holy King *Edward* saith hee, is dead, and I doubt whither the Sunne ever saw a more learned for his age or a more sanctified and wise young Prince. With which accords that of our *Hooker* a judicious writer, and voyde of flatterie, who speaking of King *Henry* the eight, hee thus goes on, The sonne and successour of which famous King, saith hee, as wee know was *Edward* the Saint; in whome (for so by the event wee may gather) it pleased God righteous and just to let *England* see, what a blessing sinne and iniquity would not suffer it to enjoy; howbeit that which the *Wise man* hath said concerning *Enoch*, the same to that admirable childe most worthily may bee applyed, Though hee departed this world soone; yet fulfilled hee much tyme as wee may justly take up that of *Iosephus Iscanus* concerning him, which the Author wrote of King *Arthur*.

*Prisca parem nescit, æqualem postera nullum  
Exhibitura dies; reges supereminet omnes;  
Solut præteritis melior, majorque futuris.*

As this *Edward* was the jewell and myrror of Princes for his age, so was *Elizabeth* his sister and next successour save one, for her sex; A Prince saith our *Camden* of a masculine spirit and gravitie in counsell beyond her sex; of a cleare wit, a happy memorie, and of study in good learning indefatigable; before the age of 17 yeares she was well skilled in *Latine*, *French*, and *Italian*, and in the *Greeke*, indifferent well



neither did shee neglect musick, both singing and playing on instruments very sweetly and artificially, for so much as became a Prince; with *Roger Askam*, who governed her studies, she read over *Melancthon's* common places, *Cicero* entire, a great part of *Livies* history, some select orations of *Isocrates*, (whereof two shee translated into latin) *Sophocles* tragadies, and the new testament in Greeke; by which meanes, shee both furnished her speech with elegant language, and her minde with wholsome precepts, referring her learning rather to practise and conversation, then ostentation and pompe, yet was shee in a manner for learning a miracle among the Princes of her age. In one and the same day she answered three Embassadors of great Princes, the one in latine, the other in *French*, and the third in *Italian*. Shee had so great a command over her appetite, that her brother *Edward* usually called her by no other name, but his sweet sister *Temperance*; shee was so farre from pressing her subjects with impositions, that when the Parliament once offered her a great summe of money, shee refused a great part thereof, giving them thanks, and adding withall, that the money was as sure in her subjects coffers as in her owne.

So great was her clemency, that to use the words of an *Italian* and a Pontifician, the same might bee verified of her which was spoken of *Alexander Mammæa*, That her raigne was *Anemator unbloudie*. When once she was conferring with that great Divine, Doctour *Reynolds*, touching such books as were fittest for Princes to reade, among other things she said, That shee had profited much by the reading of *Seneca's* booke *de clementia*, though some thought that therein shee had prejudiced her kingdome.

Her wisdom was so rare and policie in government, that shee sate as an arbitratour betweene the *Spaniards*, the *French*, and the states of the *Netherlands*; posterity will hardly beleieve, saith her Annalist, and yet I speake nothing but truth, That a virgin by the space of 44 yeares, so swayed the scepter, that her subjects loved her, her enemies feared her, and all men admired her, *Quod retroactis ante temporibus non habet exemplum*, such an example as former ages cannot paralell. But let us heare, if you please, the testimony of a most learned King touching so great a Queene; Now swayeth the scepter saith hee *England* a lawfull Queene, who by the space of so many yeares hath raigned with so much wisdom and happines, that sincerely and ingenuously I confesse, since the raigne of *Augustus* the Emperour, we have read or heard of nothing comparable thereunto. The same most excellent King, having succeeded her in this crowne, erected a royall monument with this Epitaph to her memory, such a one I thinke, as wee shall hardly read of, bestowed upon any Prince; yet some things might have bin added thereunto, it being certainly short of her worth.

*Gasp. Ensign*  
*hist. Belg.*  
*tom. 4. lib. 8.*  
*Camden ut supra.*

*Bizar: hist.*  
*Genuens. pag.*  
*568.*

*John Speed.*

*Camd. Annal.*  
*an. 1577.*

*Id in Errory.*

*Basilicon doron.*  
*pref.*

SACRED



## SACRED TO MEMORIE.

**R**ELIGION to its primitive sinceritie restored, peace settled, money to its just value reduced, domesticke rebellion extinguished, France ready to perish by intestine wars releev'd, the Netherlands assisted, the Spanish Armado put to flight, Ireland by vanquishing the Spaniards and the Irish rebels quieted, the revenues of both the universities by the statute of provision much increased; Finally all England much enriched and most wisely governed by the space of 44 yeares; Elizabeth a Queene, a Conqueress, a Triumpher, most studious of piety, most happy at the age of 70 yeares was delivered by a gentle death &c.

I have seene a  
copie of *Lypsius*  
his politicks  
sent by himselfe  
to this Queene,  
and thus pre-  
sented to her  
with the sub-  
scription of his  
owne hand:  
*Serenissima*  
*Elizabetha Re-*  
*gina, Anglia, Hi-*  
*berniae, &c. &c.*  
*ab omni auro*  
*Maxime,*  
*lustris*  
*Lypsius donum*  
*misit devotus*  
*nominis ma-*  
*gestatione eius*

Whereunto might be added, the great care of her navy, together with the increase of trading by the English, into all the parts of the knowne world; and the world it selfe twice sayled about by her subjects during her raigne. *Tantum ut mulier à perenni contestataq; majorum virtute degenerarit, ut eos si non superaverit, certè abunde aequarit*, saith Camden in describing *Richmond* house where shee dyed; so farre was shee, though but a woman, from degenerating from the constant and famous vertue of her predecessors, that if shee went not beyond them, surely shee fully equaled them.

By her very Adversaries in matter of religion, shee is termed, The Mirror of government, the starre of Empire, the terrour of her enemies, the load stone of majesty, and even by the confession of our fugitive preists, a Princess incomparable. Nay *Sixtus Quintus* himselfe Bishop of *Rome*, was wont to say, That he saw in the world but one man and one woman worthy to raigne, had they not bin infected with heresie, and with whom hee would sooner consult of waighy affaires, thereby intending *Henry King of Navarre*, and *Elizabeth Queene of England*. Lastly her wonderfull deliverances from Romish and Spanish conspiracies were no lesse frequent and strange then undoubtedly divine. Of which the late learned Bishop of *Chichester* Doctour *Carleton* hath written a whole booke; but having by Gods speciall providence ever watching over her, happily escaped them all; at length for number of yeares shee fulfilled the raigne of *Augustus*, and the age of *David*.

*Orosius. Riza-*  
*nus. Merc-*  
*Gallus.*  
*Quodlibet p.*  
*274.*  
*Thuan. hist. lib.*  
*82.*

It remaines now that I should speake of King *James*, of fresh and happy memory; the immediate successour and great admirer of this noble Queene; but least I should seeme to flatter the present times, or to blemish his reputation by a short and unpolished discourse, I will referre the Reader to his owne works, published both in English and latine, and to the funerall sermon made upon him by the right reverend father in God the present Lord Bishop of *Lincolne*, and to that discourse, which *S. Isack Wake* late Lord Embassador with the *Venetians*, published under the name of *Rex Platonicus*.

One *Bernardus*  
*ab Angelis*  
as he calleth  
himselfe hath  
likewise writ-  
ten the life of  
this King in  
Latin.



Now let all antiquity bee exactly searched, and if in any kingdome of the world since the first Creation thereof, three such Princes can be found succeeding each other in the same kingdome, I will then grant a universall decay, but not before.

Of this King the Jesuites themselves and namely Silvester Petrasanta in his book lately published against Du Moulin, gives this testimony that save the badnes of his cause and religion, he had nothing defective in him, which belonged to an excellent King and brave Captaine.

Canonber. in  
ds. c. pol. ad Te-  
m.

I will conclude this discourse with the name of the late victorious King of Sweden, and it is enough to have named him, his actions speake his worth, and both of them will live even to the death of the world. *Hensius* hath said somewhat of him in his panegyrick, and *Wenceslaus Clemens* both in prose and verse, but all short of his deserts, so as what *Bonifacius Vanotius* wrote concerning *Stephanus Battovius* King of Poland, might more truly bee verifed of him.

*In templo plus quàm Sacerdos.*

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*In venatione ferisque domandis plus quàm Leo.*

*In tota reliqua vita plus quàm Philosophus.*

## CHAP. 12.

Wherein the generall objections touching the worlds decay in matter of Manners, are answered at large, and probable proofes produced, that the Church of Christ before the consummation of the world, shall enjoy a more peaceable and flourishing estate then at any time hitherto it hath.

## SECT. 1.

Two objections drawne from reason, and both answered. The one, that since the first plantation of Christian Religion, men have from time to time degenerated: The other, that the multitude of Lawes, and Lawyers, and Law-suites, and the multiplicity of words in writtings and conveyances, argue the great sicknesse and malice of the present times in regard of the former.

**A**Nd thus I hope I have now sufficiently cleered this point; that the ancient Romans (who are in stories most magnified of any Nation under heaven for their morall vertues) exceeded latter ages in many foule vices, and have by latter ages beene equalled, if not exceeded even in those vertues, wherein they seemed most to excell. And herein have I chiefly aymed at the honour of Christ



*Christ* and *Christian* Religion; which being rightly understood and practised, without apish superstition on the one side, or peevish singularity on the other, serves no doubt to make men more morally vertuous then any other religion, that either at this day is, or since the Creation hath beene professed in the world; I speake, not onely in regard of *Justice & temperance*, but of *wisedome & fortitude*; and besides, for contempt of the world, austerity of life, patience, humility, modesty, charity, chastity, obedience, piety, and singular devotion, it hath doubtlesse yeelded men altogether unmatched. But it will bee said, that since the first plantation of *Christian* Religion, men have from time to time degenerated, so as the farther they are removed from the *Primitive Professours*, who burned in zeale, and shined in good workes, the worse they have growne: Whereunto I answer, that the primitive times, as well in that they came nearer to *Christ* and his *Apostles*, as likewise, because they were subject to the fierie tryall of persecution, were indeed purer then the succeeding ages, in which together with peace and plenty, pride & luxury, oppression & uncharitablenes crept in, till at length they, who should have bin the principall *lights* and *guides* in the *Church*, became in all manner of uncleannes, cruelty, covetousnes, & ambition little inferiour to the worst of the *Romane Emperours*. But here then, things being now come to this height, appeared the speciall providence of *Almighty God*, in sending some zealous spirits to awaken the world, to rouse up *Christian* Princes, to tell the Prelates their owne: And though thereupon followed a rent in the *Church*, yet withall there followed a reformation of manners, at least-wise in regard of scandalous, & notorious vices, even among them, who refused, and still refuse reformation in matter of doctrine; their lives of their *Popes*, their *Cardinals*, their *Bishops*, their *Priests*, are in appearance much amended; what within these two or three hundred yeares, by the confession of their owne writers, they were; who we may well thinke, were ignorant of much, and much out of feare or favour they concealed: But so much have they published to the view of the world, as would grieve an honest man to reade, and shame a modest to write, which they shamed not to act; nay boasted of being acted: And for the other part, which professes & maintaines the reformation, I hope they will not say, that they are thereby made the worse in matter of *manners*; *God* forbid but they, who profess themselves reformed in matter of *doctrine*, should likewise shew themselves reformed in matter of *manners*. And sure I thinke we may safely say, that fewer *rebellions*, *robberies*, *murthers*, *sorceries* and the like, have beene heard of, and more pious and charitable workes seene in our Land since the *Reformation* of *Religion*, then in the like compass of yeares since the first plantation thereof amongst us.

It will perchance bee said againe, that the multitude of *Lawes*, and *Lawyers*, and *Law-sutes*, and the multiplicity of words in writings & conveyances for Law businesses, argue the great sickenesse and malice of the times in regard of the former: To which it may truly be replied, that the multitude of *Lawes* gives occasion to the number of *Law-sutes*, and that to the increase of *Lawyers*; and they againe serve to increase the multiplying

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Canonber. in disc. pol. ad Tit. 11. 1. 1. 1.

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*multiplying* of words in Conveyances. Now that which gives occasion to a greater multitude of *Lawes*, is not, as I conceive, so much the increase of vice, as of knowledge and zeale in the *Law-makers*; common swearing, simple fornication, prophaning of the Lords day and the like, in former times were scarce knowne to be sinnes; but being now by the light of the Gospell discovered to be such, and that in an high degree, as they are straitly forbidden by *Gods Law*, so is the edge of our *Lawes* turned against them. Besides, it is certaine, that no Law can be so cautiously framed for the preventing of all inconveniences in that kind, but that the wit of man armed with malice, will finde meanes to wrest the letter, or frustrate the intent of it; from whence other *Lawes* have sprung up for the clearing of the ambiguity, or supply of the defect of the former; it is not then so much the malice of the present age, as that of all ages succeeding one another therein, which hath occasioned such a *masse of Lawes*, that their burden is in a manner now as cumbersome, as were the mischiefes they were made to prevent; *præus vitij laboravimus nunc Legibus*, *Tacitus* spake it of his times, but it may well enough be verified of ours; we formerly were burdened with *vice*, but now with *Lawes*. If then a wise choise were made out of the whole bodie of the *Lawes*, of the most usefull and proper for the present times, and they severely executed, the rest being repealed and abrogated; it would prove both *easier* for the subject, and *happier* for the weale-publique. Now for the number of *Law-suites*, it hath alwayes beene observed, that in time of *peace* and *plenty*, as riches increase by manufactures, and tillage, and trading, so doth the number of controversies. Our Forefathers for many ages together lived for the most part in *Civill Warres* and continuall alarmes, so as the *sword* then determined the controversy, and not the *Law*; since then the *sword* hath bin sheathed, no marvell that the *Law* & Courts of Justice have bin more in request. Moreover the fall of the *Monasteries*, and the alienating of their Lands into so many hands, hath no doubt beene a great meanes to set *Lawyers* a worke since that fall, more then in former ages. And what is it but the setting of men a worke which sets up a trade, and multiplies the professors thereof? And as the number of professors multiply, so doe the diversitie of their conceits and inventions; many eyes seeing more then one can, which is the cause, that both more flaws are found in Conveyances, and consequently more clauses and cautions thrust into them for the preventing of the like.

## S E C T. 2.

*Another objection answered, taken from the Scriptures, which in diverse places seeme to say, that the last times shall be the worst.*

**B**Ut the great doubt which troubles most men, is, that the Scriptures seeme in diverse places to say, that the *last times* shall be the worst; and to this end are commonly alleadged these passages:

Mat. 24. 21.

*Because iniquitie shall abound, the love of many shall waxe cold. When the Sonne*



Sonne of man commeth, shall hee finde faith on the earth? Now the Spirit  
 speaketh expressely, that in the latter times some shall depart from the faith, gi-  
 ving heed to seducing spirits, and doctrines of devills. This know also, that in  
 the last dayes perillous times shall come, for men shall bee lovers of their owne  
 selves, covetous, boasters; and evill men and seducers shall waxe worse and worse,  
 deceiving, and being deceived. There shall come in the last dayes, scoffers wal-  
 king after their owne lusts. Beloved, remember yee the words which were spo-  
 ken before of the Apostles of our Lord Iesus Christ, how that they told you  
 there should be mockers in the last dayes, who should walke after their owne un-  
 godly lusts. These are all, or at least-wise the principall passages which  
 I have either found alleaged, or can remember to that purpose. Where-  
 unto I first reply in generall, that put the case they all inferred a decay  
 in matter of manners, towards the end of the world; yet doth not that  
 necessarily inforce a perpetuall and universall declination since the fall of  
 man; but men may be (as doubtlesse they have been) sometimes better  
 and sometimes worse by interchange, and at the last worst of all. But I  
 would demaund how it could hang together, that we should expect the  
 subversion of Antichrist and his Kingdome, & the conversion of the whole  
 Nation of the Jewes to the saving knowledge of the truth, before the  
 end of the world; and yet withall affirme or beleve, that the whole  
 world still hath, and doth, and shall to the end thereof grow worse and  
 worse? For mine owne part I must professe, that I know not how to  
 reconcile so different and contradictorie opinions. But for the better  
 clearing and understanding of the passages alleaged, it will be needfull  
 to consider in what sense *The last dayes* in holy Scripture are to be taken.  
 Some there are, who referre them to the dayes of Antichrist: but others  
 upon better warrant to the dayes of Christ, from his first comming in  
 the flesh, to his second comming to judgement. Thus Beroaldus, *Tem-*  
*pora quæ sunt ab Adamo condito ad Christi Domini Incarnationem, vocantur*  
*prima sive priora; at quæ ejus Nativitatem & Passionem consequuntur, plena*  
*& posteriora sive novissima dicuntur.* Thus the Prophet Isayah, *It shall*  
*come to passe in the last dayes, that the Mountaine of the Lords house shall be*  
*establisht in the toppe of the Mountaines.* And Micah to the same  
 purpose, and so neare in the same words, as if he borrowed them from  
 Esay. Now the dayes of Christs Kingdome are therefore called the  
 last dayes, not onely because it set an end to the Kingdome of the Jewes,  
 but because none other Priest-hood, or Sacrifice, or Sacraments, or Law  
 are to succede in place thereof. As man is a little world, so the age  
 of the world like that of man, is distributed into diverse stops or peri-  
 ods. It hath its *infancie, child-hood, youth, perfect estate, and old age.* And  
 as in man old age may, and sometime doth, last as long as all the rest, so  
 may it fall out in these times of the Kingdome of Christ, and yet they  
 be still the last times. Thus the time of Job from his restitution to his  
 death, is said to bee his last dayes, or latter end, though it comprehend  
 one hundred and forty yeares, which in the life of man is a long space.  
 And if by the last dayes we should understand the time neare approach-  
 ing to the worlds end, no small advantage might thereby unawares be  
 given to the Jewes, who would beare us in hand that the *Messias* is not  
 yet

Luc. 18. 8.

1 Tim. 4. 1.

2 Tim. 3. 1.

verf. 13

2 Pet. 3. 3.

Jude. 17, 18

In Chron. lib. 4.

cap. 1.

2. 2.

4. 1.

42. 12. 16.



Heb. 1. 1

1. 2. 18.

In Epist. Jude.

2. Tim. 3. 1.

80.

114.

2. 28.

Acts 2. 17

2. 28.

Ecc. 1. 1.

yet come, because the *last times* are not yet come: Whereas we on the other side say for our selves, and truly, that the *last times* are come; not therefore because they approach neare to the *worlds end*, but because the *Messias* is come. Upon which ground the *Apostles* themselves, in imitation belike of the *Prophets*, likewise tearme it the *last times*. In the *last times* he hath spoken to us by his Sonne, saith S. Paul. And S. Iohn, Little children, it is the *last time*, and as you have heard that *Antichrist* shall come, even now are many *Antichrists*, whereby we know that it is the *last time*. Since which time wee know fixteene *Centenaries* of yeares have passed. So as the *Apostles* could not well tearme their times the *last*, in regard of any neare approach to the *worlds end*: but because they lived under the Kingdome of *Christ*. And if I should thus expound those alleadged passages, I should conceive the interpretation were not unsound. *Augustine* I am sure in his *Epist. to Hesichius* allowes it. *Calvin* in diverse places beats upon it, *Per dies extremos, satis tritum est, regnum Christi designari*: and in another place more fully to our present purpose, *Sub extremis diebus comprehendit universum Christiana Ecclesia statum*, under the tearmes of the *last dayes* he comprehends the universall estate of the Church of *Christ*. Hereunto may be added that which some later learned *Divines* touching this point have observed, that the *Hebrew* word signifies either *extremitie* or *posterioritie*, as I may so speake. Whence it is somtimes rendred *Last*, and sometimes *Latter*, both in *Greeke*, *Latine*, and other Languages, and those two promiscuously taken the one for the other. Thus the *Apostle* in 2 *Timothy* and the 3. calls that the *last times*, which before in his former *Epistle* and 4. *Chapt.* he had called the *Latter times*, and that word which in the last of S. *Marke*, our former Translations rendred *Finally*, our last hath turned *Afterward*: nay whereas wee reade in the Prophet *Joel*, *It shall come to passe afterward*, S. *Peter* (by divine inspiration no doubt) hath rendred it, *It shall come to passe in the last dayes*. But very remarkeable are these words of old *Jacob* to this purpose when hee lay a dying, and by the spirit of *Prophecie* foretold what should become of his sonnes, *I will tell you saith he, that which shall befall you in the last dayes*, in which prediction of his, though it be true that some things concerne the Kingdome of *Christ*, as that touching *Judah*, *The Scepter shall not depart from Judah, nor a Lawgiver from between his feet untill Shiloh come*; yet is it as true that many things in that *Prophecie*, both concerning *Judah*, and the other *Patriarches* and *Tribes* descending from them, were fulfilled long before the Incarnation of *CHRIST*, and not long after the death of *Jacob*. In like manner the same word is used by *Daniel* in the Interpretation of *Nebuchadnezzars* dreame. *There is a God in heaven that revealeth secrets, and maketh knowne to the King what shall bee in the latter dayes or last dayes*: Which same speech in the 45. v. following hee againe repeates in these termes: *The great God hath made knowne to the King what shall come to passe hereafter*. And though it be most certaine that some of those things there fore-shewed, were none otherwise fulfilled then in the Kingdome of *Christ*, as namely that in the 44. v. in the dayes of these Kings shall the God of Heaven set up a Kingdome which shall never be destroyed: yet withall it may not, it cannot be denied, but the greatest



rest part of them were accomplished before our Saviours apparelling himselfe with our flesh, and some of them, to wit, the setting up of the Persian Monarchy, but 63 yeares after Nebuchadnezzars dreame or vision, and Daniels prediction. And hence it is that Iunius and Tremelius render the Hebrew words in both those passages of *Genesis* and *Daniel*, with *Sequentibus*, or *Consequentibus temporibus*, which implyes nothing else but times following and ensuing. Those Prophecies then of S. Peter, and S. Paul touching the great wickednesse of the latter or last times, may well bee understood either of the Kingdome of Christ, as hath beene said, or of times following theirs, and not necessarily neare approaching the end of all time.

## S E C T. 3.

*The passages of Scripture alleadged to that purpose, particularly and distinctly answered.*

NOW for the particular passages: That prophesie of Saint Paul touching Apostates, forbidding to marry, and commanding to abstaine from meates was accomplished in Eustathius, the Encratites or Tatians, the Marcionists, the Manicheans, the Cathari, the Cataphrygians or Montanists, who all vented their heresies in those two points, within lesse then two or three hundred yeares of the Apostles. And if wee should with some latter Writers referre that whole prophesie to the defection of the Roman Church, I thinke we should therein doe her no wrong: Howsoever it is fully agreed upon, both by them and us, that the prophesie was long since fulfilled. The same in effect may be said of his other prophesie in his second Epistle: *Neque enim aetatem suam cum nostra comparat, sed potius qualis futura sit regni Christi conditio, docet*, saith judicious Calvin in his Commentaries upon that place: Hee doth not compare his own age with ours, but rather teaches what the condition of Christs Kingdome was to be. And that which the Apostle addes of *Evill men and Seducers, that they shall waxe worse and worse, deceiving and being deceived*, is not sufficient to evince a perpetuall and universall declination. For though some evill men grow worse, yet others may, and by Gods grace doe, grow from bad to good, and from good to better: and even of the same men doth the same Apostle tell us in the same place, *They shall proceede no farther, but their folly shall be manifest unto all men*. As for S. Peter and his Prophecie touching the last dayes, it is cleare that it was accomplished when S. Jude wrote his Epistle, in as much as he points in a manner with his finger to that passage of S. Peter, not onely using the same words, but putting us in minde that hee had them expressly from the Apostles of the Lord Iesus: the only difference betwixt S. Peter and S. Jude is this, that the one fore-tels it, and the other shewes how it was even then fulfilled.

Verse 9.

But I passe from the Schollers to the Master, from the Apostles to our Saviour himselfe, and his Prophecies touching this point, recorded by the Evangelists, whereof the first is in Mat. 24. *Because iniquity shall abound the*



2 Tim. 4. 16.

Verse 12.

*the love of many shall wax cold.* For the exposition of which words, we are to know that our *Saviour* in that chapter, speaketh of the signes fore-running as well the destruction of *Jerusalem*, as the consummation of the world, and so twisteth as it were, or weaveth them one within another, that it is hard to distinguish them: yet by the consent of the best expositours, the former of these is to bee referred to the first part of the chapter, and so consequently this Prophecie was long since accomplished: the meaning of it to bee this, that such and so cruell shall be the persecution of *Christian Religion*, that many who otherwise had a good minde to embrace it, shall forsake both it and the Professours thereof, leaving them to the malice of the Persecutours. And to this purpose doe both *Maldonate* and *Aretius* bring the Example and words of Saint *Paul*, *At my first answere no man stood with mee, but all men forsooke mee, I pray God it be not laid to their charge.* Our *Saviours* second Prophecie to this purpose is recorded in the 18. of *S. Luke*, *When the Sonne of man commeth shall he finde faith on the earth.* Which words both *Calvin* & *Iansenius* referre not precisely to the time of *Christs* comming to judgment, but extend them to the generall state of men even from his *Ascension* to his second comming: *Diserte Christus à suo in cælum ascensu usque ad reditum, homines passim incredulos fore predicit,* saith *Calvin*; *Christ* expressly teacheth, that from his ascension even till his returne, many unbelievers shall every where be found. But *Iansenius* somewhat more clearly and fully, *Non tantum significat defectum & paucitatem fidei in hominibus qui vivi reperientur in novissimo die, sed etiam in hominibus cujuscunque temporis.* He doth not onely intimate the defect and scantnesse of faith which shall be found in men at the last day, but in those of all ages. To these passages may be added that in the 12 of the *Revelation*, *Woe to the Inhabitants of the earth and of the sea, for the devill is come downe unto you having great wrath, because he knoweth that he hath but a short time:* but the time there spoken of (as the soundest interpreters expound it is not called short in respect of the end of the World, (which to the devill is utterly unknowne) but of his binding up for a thousand yeares whereof he was forewarned: and besides though the shorter his time be, his rage be the fiercer, yet is not his intended and desired successe alwayes answerable to the fiercenesse of his rage, the Lord holding him, as it were in a teather, or chaine, and setting him bounds, as he doth to the raging waves of the sea, *hitherto shalt thou goe and no farther.*

## S E C T. 4.

*The last doubt touching the comming of Antichrist answered.*

**T**He last doubt is concerning *Antichrist*, who many thinke shall come neare toward the end of the World, and consequently it shall then be filled with all kinde of impiety, impurity, and misery, the attendants of his comming, and that much beyond all former times. But if *Antichrist* be already come, and that long since, then will the validitie of this argument prove utterly ineffectuall. And certainly such



such hath been the wickedness and calamity of all ages, that as *Bellar- mine* speaketh: *Omnes veteres animadvertentes suorum temporum malitiam, suspicati sunt tempora Antichristi imminere.* All the Ancients considering the malice of their times, suspected that *Antichrist* was at hand. Thus *S. Cyprian* of his time, *Scire debetis, & pro certo credere, & tenere, pressuram diem super caput esse capisse, & occasum seculi atque Antichristi tempus appropinquasse.* Yee ought to know, and for certaine to hold and beleve that the day of pressure is even over our heads, and that the consummation of all things, and the coming of *Antichrist* doth approach. *Lactantius* of his, *Omnis expectatio non amplius quam ducentorum videtur annorum,* the end of our expectation seemes not to extend beyond the space of two hundred yeares at farthest. *S. Hierome* of his, *Qui tenebat de medio sit, & non intelligimus Antichristum appropinquare?* he which held or with-held is removed out of the way, and doe we not understand that *Antichrist* is at hand? *S. Gregory* of his, *omnia quae praedicta sunt fiunt, rex superbia preest,* all things that were foretold are accomplished, the King of Pride cannot be farre off. And lastly, *S. Bernard* of his, *Supere est ut reveletur homo peccati, filius perditionis;* What remains but that the man of sinne, the sonne of perdition be revealed? From which, two things for our present purpose may be gathered, the one, that extreame prophaneness hath rained in the world almost in all ages, as well as in the present, such as they who then lived, thought could not well be exceeded. The other, that if they looked out for the coming of *Antichrist* so long since, by all likelihood he is already come into the world, & that long ago. Saint *John* tells us, that in his time there were many *Antichrists*, fore-runners no doubt, and harbengers as it were to the great *Antichrist* that was to come. And *S. Paul*, that even then *the mystery of iniquity began to worke:* if he were then conceived, in all likelihood he should be borne ere now; if the egge were then layed, shall we imagine that the Cockatrice is not yet hatched? was the seed then cast into the ground, and this cursed weed not yet sprung up?

*Credat Iudeus Apella*

*Non ego.*

Beleeve't who list for me indeed,  
It ne'r shall come into my creed.

#### SECT. 5.

*The argument of greatest weight to prove that Antichrist is already come.*

**B**Ut among so many and strong arguments as have beene, and justly may be brought to prove that *Antichrist* is already come, there is one which to mee hath ever seemed of greatest weight: You know, saith the Apostle, speaking of the man of sinne, the sonne of perdition, what with-holdeth that he might be revealed in his time: And againe, only hee who now letteth, will let, untill he be taken out of the way. So as upon the removing of that obstacle which hindered his coming, hee was then to be revealed, as the words plainly import. Now what that hinderance

Aaa

should



should be, the unanimous consent of the Ancients both Greeke & Latine is, that it was the *Roman Empire* that then flourished. So *Chrysostome*, *Theophylact*, *Oecumenius*, *Ambrose*, *Primasius*, *Sedulius*, and the Greeke Scholiast in their severall expositions upon the place: *Tertullian* in his book *de resurrectione carnis*, & the thirty second chapter of his *Apologie*. *Cyrillus Hierosolymitanus* in *Catechesi* 15. *Hierome* in his eleventh question to *Agasia*, in his Commentaries upon the 25 of the Prophet *Ieremy*, in his Treatise to *Gaudentius* & *Gerontia*; and lastly *S. Augustine* in his 20 booke *de Civit. Dei*, & 19. cap. And with the Ancients herein agree the latter writers on both sides, as well *Romish* as *reformed*, being warranted by the like Prophecies both of *Daniel*, & *S. Iohn* in his *Revelation*. And in truth the *Apostles* warinesse in not naming it expressely, lest thereby he should incurre hatred against the *Christian* Professours and Religion, shewes as much. That then which remaines to be inquired into, is, whether that obstacle, which by the *Apostle* is said to have hindred the revealing of *Antichrist*, bee taken out of the way or no, that is, whether that *Romane Empire* which then flourished, be now dissolved. It is then most certain, that that Empire for the West ended in *Augustulus*, and the Emperour which now is, is the successour of *Charlemaigne*, an Emperour of a new erection: Neither hath he the dominions or the power of the former Emperours, but onely the name and title.

Daniel. 7.  
Revel. 17.

*Stat magni nominis umbra.*

Of a great name he but the shadow is.

He hath not the City of *Rome* which should denominate the *Roman Emperour*, nor any part of *Italy*; no not so much as a Castle, or an house, or a foote of land as *Emperour*. We may then rather call him the *German Emperour* then the *Roman*; and yet surely his command in *Germany* is very small too. The *Romanists* then in this case seeme to mee to deale with him, as the *Iewes* did with *Christ*, they give him the title, but take and keepe his rights from him. Or they call him *Roman Emperour* perchance, because hee takes, or as they pretend, should take his Oath of allegiance to the Bishop of *Rome*. And that the Empire which was in being in the *Apostles* time, is indeed dissolved; some of the *Romanists* themselves, though happily unawares confesse, *Ante adventum Antichristi facienda erat discessio, ut Gentes discedant à Romano Imperio, sicut jam factum cernimus*, saith *Anselme*, before the comming of *Antichrist*, there was to bee a falling away of the Nations from the *Roman Empire*, as wee see it already done. And *Thomas*, *Quid hoc est quod jam diu Gentes recesserunt à Romano Imperio, & tamen nondum venit Antichristus?* what shall we say to this, that long since the Nations fell away from the *Roman Empire*, and yet *Antichrist* is not come? And *Lyra*, *Romanum Imperium florebat tempore Pauli, à quo recesserunt quasi omnia regna negantia ei subijci & redditionem tributi jam à multis annis: illud etiam Imperium caruit Imperatore pluribus annis*: The *Roman Empire* flourished in *Pauls* time, from which almost all Kingdomes are falne away, denying subjection, and the payment of tribute to it: And besides, that Empire hath wanted an *Emperour* now for the space of many yeares. Neither doe they onely acknowledge, that the Empire which flourished in the *Apostles*

*Lucan, lib. 1.*

*In 2 Thess. 2.*



postles time, is dissolved, but that the *Emperour* which now is, retaines rather the shadow then the power of the ancient Empire. And this confession we have out of the mouthes even of *Iesuites* themselves. *Quampridem Romanam Imperium in eas angustias redactum est, ut vix tenuem quandam umbram Imperij retineat*, long since was the *Romane* Empire brought to these straits, that it scarce retaines a thinne shadow of that Empire, saith *Iustinianus*. And *Salmeron* most fully, *Imperium Romanum jam diu eversum est. Nam qui nunc est Imperator Romanus, levissima est umbra Imperij antiqui, usque adeo ut ne quidem urbem Roma possideat, & jam per multos annos Romani Imperatores defecerunt*. The *Roman* Empire was long since dissolved. For he, who is now *Roman Emperour*, is but a light shadow of the ancient Empire, so as he doth not possesse so much as the Citie of *Rome*, and now for many yeares have the *Romane Emperours* failed. I would demand then, whether a name, a title, a shadow can hinder the comming of *Antichrist*, or be divided among ten Kings, and shared out into ten Kingdomes? if it cannot, then is *Antichrist* undoubtedly already come into the world.

Now what hee is, or where we should finde him, or when he came, I leave that to others to dispute or demonstrate, it is for my purpose sufficient that hee is come, and long since; yet if wee would a little more narrowly search into the matter, who I pray you, is more likely to be the man, then he, who hath specially advanced his throne upon the *Emperours* ruines; who hath thrust himselfe into the *Emperours* seate, the *Imperiall* City, the head & mistresse of the *Empire*? then he who hath taken upon himselfe the Majesty, the power, the ensignes, the robes of the *Emperour*, though in somewhat a different kinde? And that the *Bishop of Rome* hath so done, *Pasquier* in his *Recerches of France*, *Machia-*  
*well* in his *Florentine history*, *Sigonius* in his *history of the Kingdome of Italy*,  
*and Guicciardin* in his, in part declare: But *Lypsius* hath set it downe so  
 clearly and particularly, as we may easily guesse, and neede doubt no  
 longer, who it is, that hath succeeded into the *Emperours* roome. I will  
 set downe his words at large as I finde them in his preface to his *Admi-*  
*randa. Mira Dei benignitas in hanc urbem, cum Legionum vim eripuit,*  
*Legum attribuit; cum armis imperare noluit, sacris indulgit: Et sic quoque fe-*  
*cit eam, decus, tutelam, columen rerum. Atqui Senatus ille vetus non est, inqui-*  
*unt, non ille, sed alius, & vide in ista purpura ex omni nostro orbe selectos pro-*  
*ceres moribus, prudentia, annis, spectandos. Si vetus ille Cyneas redeat & hunc*  
*confessum videat, nihil ambigat vel cum regibus iterum, vel cum heroibus*  
*comparare. Quid tributa? non tam multa, sed magis innoxia & ultronea*  
*sunt. Quid Legationes gentium? nec ea desunt, & ex noto ignotoque orbe (tan-*  
*ta diffusio Majestatis hujus est) concurrunt, & jura ac leges Sacrorum hinc pe-*  
*tunt, ipsi Reges ac Principes adeunt & inclinantur, & obnoxia capita uni huic*  
*Capiti submitunt: Great is the bounty of God towards this Citie, when*  
 he deprived it of the strength of Legions, he strengthened it with Lawes;  
 when he would no longer have it rule with force of armes, hee armed it  
 with holy orders: And so likewise did he make it both the ornament  
 and the safety of things. But you will say, the old Senate is not there  
 to be found: indeed not the same, but another there is instead thereof,

Lib. 2.

Lib. 3.

Lib. 4.



and there you may see clad in that purple the choicest worthies of *Christendome*, and the most venerable for manners, for wisdom, for yeares. If the old *Cyneas* were alive againe and beheld this assembly, hee would nothing doubt to compare it againe with Kings and Princes. What should I speake of their tribute? indeed it is not so great, but more innocently imposed and willingly paid. What of the Embassages from forraine Nations? neither are they wanting: Hither they resort both from the knowne and unknowne parts of the world (so farre is this Majesty spread) and seeke for Lawes and Constitutions in religious affaires; nay Kings and Princes here present themselves, and all bow downe and submit their heads to this one head.

## S E C T. 6.

*Probable proofes produced that the Church of Christ before the consummation of the world shall yet enjoy a more peaceable and flourishing estate, then at any time hitherto it hath.*

*Psal. 22. v. 27.*

*Cap. 2. v. 2.*

*Mat. 24. v. 14.*

**A**S wee neede not doubt that *Antichrist* is long since come into the world, so many passages of holy Scripture, and testimonies of learned men make us more then hope that (notwithstanding his late victories, and triumphs) his downe-fall is not farre off, and that thereupon the Church of *Christ* shall flourish more in peace and power, in doctrine and manners, in lustre and glory then hitherto at any time in former ages it hath done: To instance in all the passages of Scripture, which to this purpose are alleaged, would prove I doubt me tedious, & in some perchance impertinent, mine endeavour then shall be to picke out the choicest, and among them specially those which seeme to point at a fuller calling as well of the *Gentiles*, as the *Jewes*, then heretofore hath beene: for the *Gentiles* then, truly mee thinkes as often as I reade those words of the *Psalmist*: *All the ends of the world shall remember and turne unto the Lord, and all the kindreds of the Nations shall worship before thee:* and compare with it that Prophecie of *Esay*, *It shall come to passe in the last dayes, that the mountaine of the Lords house shall bee established in the toppe of the mountaines, and shall be exalted above the hils, and all Nations shall flow unto it:* And withall call to minde that promise of our Saviour. *This Gospell of the Kingdome shall be preached in all the world for a witnesse unto all nations, and then shall the end come.* Mee thinkes, I say, some more intire & fuller calling of the *Gentiles* should frō hence be inferred then hitherto hath beene accomplished, by a conversion of the barbarous *Indians*, and other Nations, which never heard of the Gospell, to the *Christian* faith. *Kepler* in his discourse *de nova stella Serpentarij*, aimes at such a matter, but *Iustus Heurnius* in his booke *de legatione Evangelica ad Indos capeßenda*, makes the case so cleare, as in truth to mee he seemes to leave very little place to any farther doubt in that point. Now for a more full conversion of the *Jewish* Nation to the *Christian* Religion yet to come, the greatest part (I am sure) of *Divines* as well *Moderne* as *Ancient*, *Reformed* as *Romish* constantly affirme it, & on the other side, to my remembrance,

I have



I have not met with so much as one who constantly denyes it; neither indeed can they (as I conceive) with any colour of truth, if they advisedly weigh that convincing passage of the *Apostle* in the 11. to the *Romans*, *I would not brethren that you should bee ignorant of this secret, that partly obstinacie is come to Israel, untill the fulnesse of the Gentiles be come in, and so all Israel shall be saved*: which last words being taken in opposition (as of necessity they must be) to the *Gentiles*, are in my judgment so constringent, as they will suffer no evasion; specially if thereunto we adde for illustration thereof that other passage of the same *Apostle*, 2. *Cor.* 3. *Even unto this day when Moses is read, the vayle is laid over their hearts: nevertheless when their heart shall be turned to the Lord, the vayle shall be taken away.* And upon the fulnesse of this comming in of the *Jew*, and the *Gentile* into the Church of *Christ*, shall in all likelyhood ensue that universall peace fore-told by the Prophet *Micah*, *They shall breake their swords into mattocks, and their speares into sithes, nation shall not lift up a sword against nation, neither shall they learne to fight any more, but they shall sit every man under his vine and under his figge-tree, and none shall make them afraid.* And upon this peace, that excellent glory fore-told by the Prophet *Esay*, *The light of the Moone shall be as the light of the Sun; & the light of the Sunne shall be seven-fold, and like the light of seven dayes, in the day that the Lord shall binde up the breach of his people, and heale the stroake of their wound.* And againe, *Behold, I will lay thy stones with faire colours, and thy foundations with Saphires, and I will make thy windowes of Agates, and thy gates of Carbuncles, and all thy borders of shining and pleasant stones.* And all this peace and glory shall arise from the subversion of *Rome* and *Antichrist*, and his adherents, so evidently described in the 14, the 18, and the 19 of the *Revelation*, that the very *Iesuites* themselves *Ribera* and *Vegas* cannot possibly devise any juggling conveyance how to shift it off. And if for the effecting of this great worke wee should grant (that which all antiquity both *Jewish* and *Christian* much beates upon) that *Elias* shall come and restore all things, I cannot see what great absurdity can from thence bee inferred, or what article of *Christian* faith it impugne: Indeede our Saviour tells his Disciples that *Elias* was then come, meaning *John the Baptist*, whom hee tearmes *Elias* in regard of his zeale, his austerity of life, his suffering for the truth, and his preparing a way to a reformation; but how the *Baptist* restored all things he tels them not, neither can those words (as I conceive,) be properly understood of him, nor yet those of the Prophet *Malachie*, that *Eliab the Prophet* for the turning of the hearts of men each to other, and all to God, shall be sent before the comming of the great and dreadfull day of the Lord; Whereby, the day of the first comming of the Lord in the flesh cannot well be meant, in as much as that was rather good and gracious then great and dreadfull: it should seeme then that either *Elias* himselfe, or some other great heroicall spirit matchable to him, is yet to bee sent, for the accomplishing of this great businesse in restoring of all things. Though herein I will define or divine nothing positively, but leave all to the consideration and decision of more learned judgements.

Once I am sure that *Alstedius* a famous Professour at *Herborne* in his



Verse 2.

*Diatrise de mille annis Apocalypticis*, published about fixe yeares since, is of that opinion, as also that the thousand yeares mentioned in the 20 of the *Revelation* (during which time Sathan shall be bound) is yet to come; which assertion hee first builds upon a literall interpretation of the number, in as much as it is five severall times repeated within the compasse of seaven verses, and the foure last with a speciall article added τα χιλια ἔτη, *The thousand yeares*; Secondly upon a supposition that *Sathan* as yet hath not beene bound up a thousand yeares together, since the delivery of that Prophecie by the Angell to *S. John*, and by him to the *Church*; considering that ever since, much and grosse Idolatry hath reigned among the *Pagans*, obstinate blindness among the *Jewes*, since the rising of *Mahomet*, pittifull defection and seduction among the *Saracens*, strange errors and heresies, sects and scismes among the *Christians*, and since the rising of *Antichrist* wonderfull ignorance, superstition, and persecution of the *Saints*, together with a generall prophaneesse and corruption in matter of manners; all which (saith hee) cannot stand with the binding up of *Sathan*, (the principall actour of all these) for a thousand yeares, and consequently that the performance of that promise, is yet to be expected: and for the confirmation of this opinion (though the book it selfe be but little) he alleageth 66 passages of Scripture, inforceth many reasons, answereth 36 objections, produceth the testimonies of many learned men, either expressly defending it, or at leastwise favouring it; as namely *Du Moulin* in his *Christian Combate*, *Piscator* in his *Commentaries upon the Revelation*, & in a treatise which not long before his death he purposely composed of the future felicity of the *Church* even in this world, *Stephanus Pannonius de circulo operum & iudiciorum Dei*, *Michael Sendivogius tractatu de Sulphure*, *Iohannes Ferus in explicatione Gen. Seraphinus Firmianus enarratione in Apocal.* *Remacus de Vaulx in Harpocrate Divino*, *Martinus Cellarius tractatu de operibus Dei*, *Caecilius Secundus Curio de amplitudine regni beati Dei*, *Petrus Cunaeus de Repub. Iudaorum*, *Iohannes Dobritius in Chronomenytore*, *Christophorus Besoldus in Pentade*, but chiefly *Alfonsus Conradus Mantuanus*, and *Matthaeus Cotterius* in their severall expositions upon the *Revelation*. Yet two things I must profess there are, which in that discourse of *Alstedius* I cannot well approve of, the one that hee so stiffely maintaines a particular and corporall resurrection of the *Martyrs*, at least a thousand yeares before the generall, the other that hee so precisely and punctually sets downe the very time, (namely the yeare 1694) for the commencement of his happy and glorious *Millenary*.

Since this Section passed the Presse, two bookes came to my hands, which together with *Alsted*, and those other by him named, plainly maintaine that the thousand yeares mentioned in the 20. of the *Revelation*; for the binding up of *Satan* is yet to come: the one is written by *Carolus Gallus* a Professour of *Divinitie* in the *Universitie of Leyden*, published in the yeare 1592, and intituled *Clavis Prophetica nova Apocalypseos, Iohannis Apostoli & Evangeligraphi*. In his Epistle Dedicatorie to the Prince of *Orenge*, and the States of the *Neiberlands*, he professeth it was a worke, in quo (saith hee) jam inde à viginti quinque annis sudavimus,



darimus, legendo, meditando, indagando, scribendo, differendo, & in Ecclesijs ac Scholis publicè docendo, quærentes & nihil intermittentes quod videbatur conducere ad inveniendum hunc divinum thesaurum. Now this man after all this travell, search and study, thus concludes his eight observation upon the 20. chapter of that booke. Breviter, spiritus propheticus in hac Iohannis Apocalypsi vaticinatur de singulari adeoque mirandâ Ecclesiæ resurrectione, renovatione, ac restitutione, quod nimirum illa, hac novissimâ ætate ex Iudeis & gentibus, vivis ac mortuis conspicienda erit; & mirum in modum gloriosius quam unquam antea ex mortuis vel prima morte reviviscet, innovabitur, restaurabitur & reflorescet. The other booke maintaining the same opinion is *Clavis Apocalyptica*, ex innatis & insitis visionum characteribus eruta & demonstrata, printed in Cambridge, anno 1627; the Author of it is Mr Meade, a noted Divine of that Universitie, wherein hee hath (in my judgement) shewed himselfe an able man, specially in his *Synchronismes*, which in truth is a very exact peece, and such as gives a marvellous great light to the Prophecies of that booke. In the second part of his *Clavis*, *Synchronismo quarto, quinto, sexto, & septimo*, hee likewise endeavours to make it evident, that the thousand yeares destined for the binding of *Satan*, and as the text hath it, for the casting of him into the bottomelesse pit, and shutting of him up, and setting a seale upon him, that hee should deceive the Nations no more, till the thousand yeares should be fulfilled, is yet to come. And againe in his learned Manuscript, intituled *Specimina interpretationum Apocalypicarum ad amussim clavis Apocalyptica, cap. ult.* Hee confidently averres, and by many waighty reasons labours to demonstrate the same, yet with this modest reservation addressed to his Reader, *Tu rem omni semoto præiudicio in Dei timore expendas, mihi que sicubi erravero ex charitatis iudicio ignoscas.*

## CHAP. 13.

*That the world shall have an end by Fire, and by it be intirely consumed.*

## SECT. I.

*That the world shall have an end, is a point so cleare in Christian Religion, that it needeth not to be proved from the principles thereof, neither is hee worthy the name of a Christian who maketh any doubt of it.*

**H**AVING now by Gods assistance done with mine *Apologie* of his Providence in the preservation of the world, lest I should seeme thereby to undermine or weaken the article of our faith touching the worlds end; it remains that according to promise I endeavour to confirme it, not so much from Scripture which no true Christian can doubt of: And besides the passages thereof to this purpose, specially in the *New Testament*, are so many and cleare, as to bee ignorant of them were stupiditie no lesse grosse, then to deny them prophane impiety. In this chapter then I will propose three things to my selfe, first, to prove



by the testimonie of the *Gentiles*, that the world shall have an end. Secondly, that it shall have an end by fire. Thirdly and lastly, that it shall by fire be totally and intirely consumed. That the world shall have an end, is as cleare in *Christianity*, as that there is a Sun in the firmament: And therefore, whereas there can hardly be named any other article of our faith, which some *Heretiques* have not presumed to impugn or call into question; yet to my remembrance I never met with any who questioned this; & though at this day many & eager be the differences among *Christians* in other points of Religion, yet in this they all agree and ever did, that the world shall have an end, and that there shall be a resurrection from the dead, & a day of judgement. And surely as by the event of many things already false out, wee are sure that was true which the *Prophets* and *Apostles* foretold of them: so are we as certaine, that all other things, and this in particular shall come to passe, which they have likewise foretold, though happily wee cannot set downe the time or manner of their event. And in as much as we, who now live, have seene the accomplishment of many Prophecies foretold by the pen-men of holy writ, which our forefathers saw not, if wee stedfastly beleeve not the fulfilling of those which are yet to come in their due time, wee shall thereby be made the more guilty, and the lesse excusable before God. Howsoever if we beleeve (as wee all pretend) the Scriptures to bee the lively oracles of God, and to have beene indited by the divine and sacred inspiration of the holy Ghost; we cannot but withall beleeve that the consummation of the world shall most undoubtedly in due time, though to us most uncertaine, be accomplished. Now as the cleare light of this truth hath by Gods grace so brightly shined among *Christians*, that except they wilfully shut their eyes against it, they cannot but apprehend and imbrace it: so did it appeare to the *Jewes*, though not in so conspicuous a manner; yea, some sparkes of this truth have beene scattered even among the *Gentiles* themselves, so as it was a shame unpardonable for us *Christians* not to acknowledge it, or so much as once to doubt of it.

Evanderfius Synag. Iud. c. 1.

## SECT. 2.

*That the world shall have an end by the testimony of the Gentiles.*

Epist. 9. circa finem.

**S**eneca disputing this question, whether a wise man be sufficiently content with himselfe as he needs not the helpe of any friend, puts the case, *Qualis est futura vita sapientis?* how he would live being destitute of friends, if hee were cast into prison, or banished into some desert, or cast upon some strange shoare? his answer is, *Qualis est Iovis cum resolutio mundo, &c.* as *Iupiter* shall live when the world shall be dissolved, contenting himselfe with himselfe. And againe more clearely: *Quid enim mutationis periculo exceptum? non terra, non cælum, non totus hic rerum omnium contextus, quamvis Deo agente ducatur, non semper tenebit hunc ordinem, sed illum ex hoc cursu aliquis dies dejiciet, certis eunt cuncta temporibus, nasci debent, crescere, extinguui. Quacunque vides supra nos currere,*

Epist. 71.



*currere, atque hac quibus innixi atque impositi sumus velut solidissimis car-*  
*pentur ac desinent.* What is there which is priviledged from danger of  
 change? not the earth, not the heavens, no nor this whole frame of  
 Creatures, though it be guided by the finger of God, it shall not alwaies  
 observe this order, but some one day at last shall turne it out of his  
 course. For all things have a time, to be borne, to increase, and then a-  
 gaine to die & be extinguished. All these things which thou seest whee-  
 ling over our heads, and even those upon which we are seated and set-  
 led, as being most solide, shall be surprized and leave to be. And in  
 another place. *Si potest tibi solatio esse commune fatum, nihil constat loco*  
*stabili, & nihil quo stat loco stabit. Omnia sternet abducatq; secum vetustas, sup-*  
*primet montes, maria sorbebit.* If the common destiny of all things may a-  
 ny whit comfort thee, there is nothing settled in a stable course, nothing  
 shall alwayes remaine in that state it now stands in; time shall carry  
 downe all things with it, it shall levell the mountaines and swallow up  
 the Seas. And lastly, in his Naturall questions, *unus hominum genus*  
*condet dies,* one day shall bury all mankind. Yet it should seeme, that  
 withall he held a restoring of all things againe: *Omne ex integro animal*  
*generabitur, dabiturque terris homo inscius scelerum, & melioribus auspicijs na-*  
*tus: sed illis quoq; innocentia non durabit nisi dum novi sunt, cito nequitia sub-*  
*repet.* All Creatures shall againe be restored, and mankind shall againe  
 be sent to inhabit the earth; but a kinde voide of wickednesse & borne  
 to a better fortune: yet shall not their innocencie long endure neither,  
 but onely whiles they are yet fresh and new, afterward ungratiousnesse  
 will by degrees creepe upon them.

*De consolatione  
ad Mariam, 26*

*Lib. 3. cap. 19.*

*Cap. 30.*

*Cap. 11*

*Ælian*, as I have already touched to another purpose in the eighth  
 book of his History, telleth us, that not onely the mountaine *Ætna* (for  
 thereof might be given some reason, because of the daily wasting and  
 consuming of it with fire) but *Parnassus* and *Olympus* did appeare to be  
 lesse and lesse to such as sayled at Sea, the height thereof sinking as it  
 seemed, and thereupon inferres, that men most skilfull in the secrets of  
 nature did affirme, that the world it selfe should likewise perish & have  
 an end. His premises I have in another place sufficiently disproved,  
 but his conclusion inferred thereupon, I cannot but rightly approve, &  
 most willingly accept of, as a rich testimony for the confirmation of  
 our *Christian* doctrine (touching the end of the world) delivered from  
 the pen of a *Gentile*, nay hee positively affirms it to have beene the opi-  
 nion of the most skilfull in the secrets of Nature: And certaine it is, that  
 the greatest part of Philosophers before *Aristotle*; *Heracitus*, *Empedo-*  
*cles*, *Anaxagoras*, *Democritus* and others, as they held that the world  
 had a beginning in time, so did they likewise that in time it should have  
 an end: And since *Aristotle*, the greatest part (his followers onely ex-  
 cepted) have ever constantly maintained the same, in so much, that the  
 very *Epicures* herein accord with the *Stoickes*, though in other opinions  
 they differ as fire and water, as may appeare in *Lucretius*, by sect an *Epi-*  
*curean*, and for his wit much esteemed among the Ancients.

*Oecumenius in  
Collectaneis su-  
per 3. post Petri*

*Principio maria, ac terras, cælumque tæere,  
Horum naturam triplicem, tria corpora Memmi,*

*De rerum nat.  
lib. 1. 3.*

*Tres*



*Tres species tam dissimiles, tria talia texta,  
Vna dies dabit exitio, multosque per annos  
Sustentata ruet moles & machina mundi.*

Behold, O *Memmius*, first the earth, the sea,  
The heaven, the three-fold nature, bodies three,  
Three shapes so farre unlike, three peeces wrought  
And woven so fast, one day shall bring to nought;  
And the huge frame and engine of this all  
Upheld so many yeares, at length shall fall.

And *Ovid* speaking of *Lucretius*, seemes to have borrowed from him  
part of these very words,

*Carmina sublimis tum sunt peritura Lucreti,  
Exitio terras cum dabit una dies.*

*Lucretius* loftie rimes so long shall live,  
Till to this earth one day destruction give.

And *Lucan* as he differs not much from *Lucrece* in name, so doth he fully  
accord with him in this opinion.

--- *Sic cum compage soluta*

*Sacula tot mundi suprema coegerit hora;  
Antiquum repetens iterum Chaos, omnia mixtis  
Sydera Syderibus concurrent, ignea pontum  
Astra petent, tellus extendere litora nolet,  
Excutietque fretum, fratri contraria Phæbe  
Ibit, & obliquum bigas agitare per orbem  
Indignata diem poscet sibi, totaque discors  
Machina divulsi turbabit fœdera mundi.*

--- So when the last houre shall

So many ages end, and this disjoynted all  
To Chaos backe returne: then all the starres shall be  
Blended together, then those burning lights on high  
In sea shall drench, earth then her shores shall not extend  
But to the waves give way, the Moone her course, shall bend  
Crosse to her brothers, and disdaining still to drive  
Her Chariot wheele athwart the heavenly orbe, shall strive  
To rule the day, this frame to discord bent  
The worlds peace shall disturbe, and all in sunder rent.

### SECT. 3.

*That the world shall have an end by fire, proved likewise by the testimony of  
the Gentiles.*

**A**Nd as they held that the world should have an end, so likewise  
that this end should come to passe by fire. *Exustionis huius odor*  
*quidam etiam ad Gentes manavit*, saith *Ludovicus Vives*, speaking  
of the generall combustion of the world; some sent of this burning hath  
spread it selfe even to the *Gentiles*. And Saint *Hierome* in his comment  
on the 51 of *Isay*; *Quæ quidem & Philosophorum mundi opinio est, omnia quæ*  
*cernimus*

*In Eleg.*

*Lib. 1. Phars.*

*De ver. fid.  
Christi. l. 2.*

*Ante medium.*



*cernimus igni peritura*, which is also the opinion of the Philosophers of this world, that all which wee behold shall perish by fire. *Eusebius* is more particular, affirming it to be the doctrine of the *Stoicks*, and namely of *Zeno*, *Cleanthes* and *Chrysippus* the most ancient among them. Certaine it is, that *Seneca* a principall Scholler, or rather Master of that sect, both thought it and taught it: *Ita ignis exitus huius mundi est, humor primordium*; Thus shall fire be the end of this world, as moisture was the beginning: And againe, *Et Sydera Syderibus incurrent, & omni flagrante materia, uno igne quicquid nunc ex disposito lucet, ardebit*: The starres shall make inrodes one upon another, and all the whole world being in a flame, whatsoever now shines in comely and decent order shall burne together in one fire. *Panatus* likewise the *Stoicke* feared, as witnesseth *Cicero*, *ne ad extremum mundus ignesceret*, lest the world at last should be burnt up with fire. And with the *Stoicks* hercin *Pliny* agrees, *Consumente ubertatem seminum exustione in cuius vices nunc vergat avum*, the heat burning up the plentiful moisture of all seedes, to which the world is now hastening. *Numenius* also saith, good soules continue, *μεγίστης ἐστὶς πῦρ ἀναλύσεως τῶν πάντων*, untill the dissolution of all things by fire. And with the the *Philosophers* the *Poets* accord. *Lucan* as he held that the world should have an end, so in speciall by fire, where speaking of those whom *Cesar* left unburned at the battle of *Pharsalia*, hee thus goes on.

*De prepar. Evan. 3. 15.*

*Nat. quæst. l. 3. cap. 13.*

*De Consol. ad Mart. c. 26.*

*Ludov. Vives. de ver. fid. Christi. lib. 2. lib. 7. 16.*

*Hos Caesar populos si nunc non ufferit ignis,  
Uret cum terris, uret cum gurgite ponti:  
Communis mundo superest rogas, ossibus astra  
Misturus.*

*Lib. 7.*

If fire may not these corps to ashes turne,  
O *Cesar*, now, when earth and seas shall burne,  
It shall: a common fire the world shall end,  
And with these bones those heav'nly bodies blend.

And for *Ovid* he deduces it from their propheticall records.

*Esse quoque in fatis reminiscitur affore tempus  
Quo mare, quo tellus, convexaque regia cæli  
Ardeat, & mundi moles operosa laboret.*

*Mesamorph. 1.*

Besides he calls to minde how by decree  
Of fates a time shall come when earth and sea  
And Heavens high Throne shall faint, and the whole frame  
Of this great world shall be consum'd in flame.

Which hee borrowed, saith *Ludovicus Vives*, *ex fatis indubiè Sybillinis*, undoubtedly from the Oracles of *Sybilla*. And indeed verses there are which goe under the name of *Sybilla* to the very same purpose.

*Tunc ardens fluvius cælo manabit ab alto  
Igneus, atque locos consumet funditus omnes,  
Terramque, Oceanumque ingentem, & carula ponti,  
Stagnaque, tum fluvios, fontes, ditemque Severum,  
Cælestemque polum, cæli quoque lumina in unum  
Fluxa ruent, forma deleta prorsus eorum  
Astra cadent, etenim de cælo cuncta revulsa.*

*Lib. 2. Oraculorum.*

Then



Then shall a burning flood flow from the Heavens on high,  
 And with it's fiery streames all places utterly  
 Destroy, earth, ocean, lakes, rivers, fountaines, hell,  
 And heavenly poles: the Lights in firmament that dwell,  
 Loosing their beauteous forme shall be obscur'd, and all  
 Raught from their places downe from heaven to earth shall fall.  
 To which verses of *Sybilla*, doth the *Romane Missall* seeme to allude,  
 joyning her with the Prophet *David*, but by what warrant I know  
 not.

*Missal pro de-  
 functis.*

*Dies ira, dies illa,  
 Solvet sæclum in favilla,  
 Teste David cum Sybilla.*

*Heraclitus* and *Hippasus* the *Metapontine* were of opinion, that fire was  
 the principle and beginning of all things, and that the whole world,  
 and all the bodies therein contained, should one day bee consumed  
 by fire, as witnesseth *Plutarch* in his Treatise of the opinion of Phi-  
 losophers. It was likewise the opinion of *Hesiodus*, as the same  
*Plutarch* collecteth in his booke touching the ceasing of Oracles. *Stoicis  
 constans opinio est, quod consumpto humore mundus hic omnis ignescat, &  
 Epicureis de elementorum conflagratione & mundi ruina, eadem ipsa sen-  
 tentia est,* saith *Minutius Felix* in his *Octavius*. The *Stoickes* assuredly  
 beleieve that the moisture being spent, this world shall burne of a  
 light fire, and the very same opinion touching the Conflagration of  
 the elements, and dissolution of the whole world, doe the *Epicureans*  
 maintaine.

*Lib. de Monar.  
 pag. 82.*

To these testimonies borrowed from the *Gentiles* may bee added  
 those of *Sophocles* and *Diphilus*, quoted by *Iustin Martyr* and *Clemens  
 Alexandrinus*; whereof the first, as he is rendred by the Translatour  
 of *Iustin*, thus writes;

*Venient enim illa seculorum tempora,  
 Cum solvet imbres ignis ather aureus;  
 Cremabit ergo flamma vi grassans sua,  
 Et hic & illic summa & infima omnia.  
 Sic universitate cuncta perdit,  
 Vndis carebit omnis alveus suis.  
 Sedes requireret terra, nec posthac aves,  
 Gestabit aer igne vastatus levis.*

*Lib. 5. from.  
 cap. 7.*

The other thus; as he is rendred by the Translatour of *Clemens*.

*Erit na erit novum nam tempus saculi,  
 Quando ignis effundet refertas copias,  
 Auratus ather, flamma qua pasta & fuit,  
 Terrena cuncta cunctaq; & sublimia uret furens;  
 Sed universum ubi defecerit,  
 Totum profundum tunc peribit fluctuum,  
 Tellus manebit, & deserta; non enim  
 Pennata producet folia igne torrida,  
 Servabit at deinde cuncta qua perdiderat.*

Now he that yet desires farther satisfaction in this point may reade  
 Engu.



*Eugubinus* his tenth booke *de Perenni Philosophia*, & *Magius de exustione Mundi*. Yet by the way it shall not be amisse to observe, that (as *Censorinus* hath well noted in his 18<sup>th</sup> chapter *de die natali*) the *Gentiles* did not hold one onely Conflagration of the World, but diverse *periodicall* Conflagrations and Deluges at certaine times and by turnes succeeding each other: and in particular, this to have beene the opinion of the *Stoicks*, appears by *Laertius* in the life of *Zeno*. But in that *Censorinus* ascribeth it likewise to *Aristotle*, it was doubtlesse a mistake, in as much as he held such burnings and inundations to be fatall only to the parts of the earth, not to the whole, or to the whole by turnes, not at one time, this he holds ridiculous as may bee seene in his first booke of his *Meteors* and last chapter. So as either it must be acknowledged that *Censorinus* did not rightly apprehend the mind of *Aristotle*, or that instead of *Aristoteles*, *Aristocles* is in that passage to be read, who indeed held, as witnesseth *Eusebius lib. 15. De preparatione Evangelica. cap. 13. per fatalia quaedam & definita tempora mundum exardescere*. That the world had certaine fatall periods of burning. And among the *Christians* only *Origen* to my knowledge defends this opinion of the *Stoicks*, touching the existence of other worlds before this, and the future succession of others after this; as both *S. Hierome* reports it in his epistle to *Avitus*, and *Origen* himselfe in his third booke *de principijs* and fifth chapter makes it good. And so I passe to my third and last point proposed in the beginning of this Chapter, which is, that the whole world by fire shall *totally* and *intirely* be consumed.

## S E C T. 4.

*That the world shall bee by fire totally and finally dissolved and annihilated, proved by Scripture.*

I Am not ignorant that the opinions of *Divines* touching the manner of the Consummation of the world have beene as different, as the greatest part of them are strange and improbable; some imagining that all the Creatures which by Almighty God were made at the first beginning, shall againe be restored to that perfection which they injoyed before the fall of man. Others that the Heavens and Elements shall onely be so restored; others that the Heavens and onely two of the Elements, the Aire and the Earth; others againe, that the old world shall be wholly abolished, and a new created instead thereof; and lastly others which I must confesse, to mee seemes the most likely opinion and most agreeable to Scripture and reason, that the whole world with all the parts and workes thereof (onely men and Angels, and Devils; and the third Heavens the mansion house of the Saints and blessed Angels, and the place and instruments appointed for the tormenting of the damned excepted) shall bee totally and finally dissolved and annihilated: As they were made out of nothing, so into nothing shall they returne againe; In the proving whereof, I will first produce mine owne arguments, and then shew the weakenesse of the adverse.



14. 12. Man lieth downe, and riseth not, saith Iob, till the heavens be no more. Of  
 101. 25. 26. old hast thou laid the foundation of the earth, and the heavens are the worke of  
 thy hands; They shall perish, but thou shalt endure, saith the Psalmist: which  
 the Apostle in the first to the Hebrewes, & the 10 & the 11 verses, repeats  
 almost in the same words: Lift up your eyes to the heavens, and looke upon  
 51. 6. the earth beneath; for the heavens shall vanish away like smoake, and the earth  
 34. 4. shall waxe old as doth a garment, saith the Prophet Esay: And in another  
 place: All the host of heaven shall be dissolved, and the heaven shall be rolled to-  
 gether as a scroll, and all the host shall fall downe as the leafe falleth off from  
 the vine, and as a falling figge from the figge-tree. To the former of which  
 words S. Iohn seemes to allude: And the heaven departed as a scroll which  
 Revel. 6. 14. is rolled together: Heaven and earth shall passe away, but my word shall not passe  
 Mat. 24. 35. away, saith our Saviour. The day of the Lord will come as a theefe in the  
 night, in the which the Heavens shall passe away with a great noyse, and the E-  
 1. 3. 10. lements shall melt with fervent heate. The earth also, and the workes that are  
 therein shall bee burnt up, saith S. Peter. The world passeth away and the lust  
 thereof, but he that doth the will of God abideth for ever. 1. Joh. 2. 17. And  
 Revel. 20. 11. I saw a great white throne, and him that sat on it, from whose face the earth  
 and the heaven fled away, and there was found no place for them, saith S. Iohn.  
 Now I would demand, whether being no more, as Iob; perishing, as David;  
 vanishing away like smoake, dissolving, rolling together, falling downe as a  
 withered leafe, or a dry fig from the tree, as Esay; passing away, as our Saviour,  
 and S. Iohn; passing away with a great noyse, melting with fervent heate, bur-  
 ning up, as S. Peter; or lastly, flying away, so as their place be found no more,  
 as S. Iohn; doe not include an utter abolition, or at leastwise exclude a  
 restitution to a perfecter estate: once Beza, I am sure, is so evidently  
 convinced by the alleadged words of S. Peter, that he plainly confesses  
 the dissolution the Apostle there speakes of, to be a kinde of annihilation:  
 And both <sup>a</sup> Tilenus and <sup>b</sup> Meisnerus are confident, that those who hold  
 a restitution, will never bee able to reconcile their opinion with the al-  
 leadged Scriptures. Of the same opinion with Tilenus and Meisner, are  
 Aegidius Hunnius, Dr and Professour of Divinitie in the Universitie  
 of Witteberge, in his Treatise de Providentia, pag. 17. Gaspar Bartholinus  
 a famous Philosopher and Physitian of Denmarke, in his Enchiridion  
 physicum, Lib. 2. Cap. 16. Iohannes Chassanion, a learned French Divine,  
 in his Common places, Lib. 2. Cap. 22. And Vossius in his Disputation de  
 fine mundi, Thes. 3. though Compulsus autoritate Veterum, inforced by  
 the authority of the Ancients, he professe to follow the common opini-  
 on of the worlds Renovation, yet having well weighed the strength of  
 the arguments alleadged on both sides, together with the sufficiencie  
 of their answers, he warily annexeth this caution: Quocirca nec eorum sen-  
 tentiam praefractè reijcere audent, qui mundum secundum substantiam peri-  
 turum esse arbitrantur: praesertim cum nihil de eo antiquitus Synodo ullà sit  
 definitum. Wherefore we dare not peremptorily to reject their opinion,  
 who hold, that the world shall perish in regard of substance; specially  
 cōsidering, that nothing in that point, hath anciently bin determined in  
 any Synod. If we looke back to higher times before S. Hierome we shall  
 not easily find any who maintained the worlds renovation. S. Hilarie  
 in

in Rom. 8. 30

a De extremo  
Iudicio.

b In Sobria Phi-  
losoph. part. 1.  
sect. 3. cap. 3.  
quest. 5.



in his *Enarration* upon the 122. *Psal.* clearly expreſſeth himſelf to be of another minde: *Cælum hoc* (ſaith he) *quod viſibus noſtris per materiam ſui ſubiacet, quod tanquam fumus ſolidatus, firmamenti & naturam & nomen accipit, præteribit & non erit; ſedes autem domini, cælum ſcilicet in quo deus habitat, manet in æternum.* This heaven, which by reaſon of the matter thereof is ſubject to our ſight, and like a thickned vapour, hath received both the name and nature of the firmament, ſhall paſſe away and not be, but the ſeate of the Lord, that is the heaven in which God dwells, ſhall abide for ever. And certaine it is, that *Clement* in his *Re-*  
*cognitions*, or whoſoever were the *Author* of that worke, brings in *S. Peter* reaſoning with *Simon Magus*, and teaching that there were two Heavens, the one *Superius & inviſibile, & æternum quod Spiritus beati incolunt*: the higheſt, inviſible and eternall, which bleſſed ſpirits inhabite, the other *inferius, viſibile, varijs diſtinctum ſyderibus, corruptibile, & in conſummatione ſeculi diſſolvendum, & prorsus abolendum*, lower, viſible, diſtinguiſhed with diverſe ſtarres, corruptible, and at the worlds end to be diſſolved and utterly aboliſhed. Nay *S. Ierome* himſelfe in his *Commentaries* upon the 14<sup>th</sup> of *Eſay*, tells us that in his time, this opinion of *Hilarie* and *Clement* was approved by ſome being moved thereunto by thoſe words of the Apoſtle, 2 *Cor.* 4. 18. *The things which are ſeene are temporall, but the things which are not ſeene are eternall.* Now though that worke were not *Clements*, yet was it doubtleſſe very ancient, being quoted by *Clemens Alexandrinus*, and *Origen*, and remembered by *S. Hierome*, in his *Commentaries* upon *Eſay*, and is of ſufficient authority, againſt  
 thoſe who receive it: for my ſelfe I ſtand not upon his authority, but the rocke of Scripture and reaſon drawne from thence, and the force of naturall diſcourſe.

Lib. 2. c. 12.

Cap. 14. ante medium.

## S E C T. 5.

*The ſame farther proved by reaſon.*

**T**He firſt then, and as I conceive the moſt weighty argument is taken from the *End of the worlds creation*, which was partly and chiefly the glory of the *Creator*, and partly the uſe of man the Lord Deputy as it were, or *Viceroy* thereof. Now for the *glory* of the *Creator*, it being by the admirable frame of the World manifeſted unto man, man being removed out of the world, and no Creature being capable of ſuch a manifeſtation beſides him, wee cannot imagine to what purpoſe the frame it ſelfe ſhould be left and reſtored to a more perfect eſtate. The other *end* being for *mans uſe*, either to ſupply his neceſſity in matter of diet, of Phyſicke, of building, of apparell, or for his inſtruction, direction, recreation, comfort and delight, or laſtly, that therein as in a looking-glaſſe hee might contemplate the wiſedome, the power, and goodneſſe of God: when he ſhall attaine that bleſſed eſtate, as hee ſhall have no farther uſe of any of theſe, enjoying perfect happineſſe, and ſeeing God as he is, face to face, the ſecond or ſubordinate end of the worlds beeing muſt needs be likewise fruſtrate.

1. Cor. 13.

Bbb 2

And



Mat. 24. 3.

Catharinus in  
2 Pet. 3.Salmeron in e  
eodem locum.

And what other end can bee given or conceived for the remaining or restoring thereof, for mine owne part I must professe I cannot conceive. And to affirme that it shall bee restored, and withall to assigne no end wherefore, is ridiculous and unreasonable. An house being built for an inhabitant, as the world was for man; If it be decreed that it shall no more be inhabited, it were but vanity to repaire, much more to adorne and beautifie it farther. And therefore when mankind shall bee dislodged and remove from hence, hereupon shall instantly ensue the Consummation or End not the reparation or restitution, but *the End* of the world. So the Scriptures call it in plaine termes, and so I beleieve it. And in truth some *Divines*, considering that of necessity some end must bee assigned, have falne upon ends so absurd and unwarrantable, that the very naming of them were sufficient to make a man beleieve there was no such matter indeed. Some then, and that of our owne *Church*, and that in publique bookes, for the clearing of this objection, have fancied to themselves an intercourse of the Saints (after the resurrection) betwixt heaven and earth, and that full Dominion over the Creatures which by the fall of *Adam* was lost. Others are of opinion that the Earth after the day of judgement being renewed with fire, and more pleasantly apparelled, shall bee the mansion of such as neither by their merits have deserved heaven, nor hell by their demerits. And lastly others, that such as have died in their infancie without circumcision or Baptisme, might possesse it. Now what meere dreames these are of idle braines, if I should but indeavour to demonstrate, I feare I should shew my selfe more vaine in vouchsafing them a confutation, then they in publishing them to the World. And yet they are the best wee see that Learned men by the strength of their wits can finde out.

My *second reason* shall bee drawne from the nature of the world, and the quality of the parts thereof, which are supposed shall be restored to their originall integrity, and so in that state everlastingly remaine. I will begin with the *vegetables* and Creatures endued with sense, & concerning them would willingly learne, whether they shall be all restored, or some onely, namely such as shall be found in being at the day of Judgement: if all, where shall we find stowage for them? Surely we may in this case properly apply that which the *Evangelist* in another case uses figuratively, if they should all bee restored, even the world it selfe could not contain the things which should be restored. If some onely, the would I gladly know why those some should be vouchsafed this great honour & not all, or how these creatures without a miracle shall be restrained from propagating & multiplying, & that infinitely in their kinds by a perpetuall generatiō. Or lastly, how the severall individuals of these kinds, shall contrary to their primitive natures, live & dure immortally: But to make a good and sound answer to these demands, is a point of that difficulty, that the greatest parts of *Divines* rather choose to leave out the mixt bodies, and preferre onely the heavens & the elements to this pretended dignity of *restitution*, though about the number of the *Elements* to be restored they all agree not. But here againe I would demand



mand, whether the world without the mixt bodies, can truly be said to be more perfect and beautifull then before, whether the inbred and inseperable qualities of the Elements, as thickenesse & thinnesse, weight and lightnesse, heat & cold, moysture & drynesse shall remaine? if they shall not, how shall they remaine *Elements*? if they shall, how without a miracle shall they be suspended from a mutuall intercourse of working one upon another, and a production of Meteors & mixt bodies? And how shall the *Earth* disvested of the vegetables which apparelled her, & appearing with her naked and dustie face, be said to be more amiable then before? *Finally*, if the heavens according to their *Essence* shall remaine, how shall they naturally and without a miracle stand still, being now naturally inclined to a circular motion? Or how without a miracle shall the light be increased, & yet the warmth springing from thence be abated, nay wholly abolished? Or if the warmth shall remaine, how can it choose but burne up those parts of the Earth, upon which it never ceases to dart perpendicular beames? Or how can the Sunne stand still, and yet inlighten both the *Hemispheres*, or the starres of that *Hemisphere* which it inlightens, at all appeare? To these demands, *Pererius* makes a short answer, and in my judgement a very strange one, & unworthy the penne of so great a Clarke, that some of these things God hath already done, that wee might be induced the more readily to beleeve, that they both may, and shall be done againe: And for instance, he alleadgeth the standing still of the Sunne & Moone at the prayer of *Iosuah*, & the restraining of the burning force of the fire, in the *Babylonian* furnace, but withall foreseeing that those were miracles, for satisfaction thereunto he concludes: *Non agere autem inter se qualitates elementorum, nec lucem Syderum calefacere, quamvis nunc ingens esset miraculum, tunc tamen posita semel mundi renovatione non erant miracula.* It were now a great miracle, that the qualities of the Elements should not mutually worke each upon other, or that the light of the starres should not produce warmth, but then the world being renewed, they shall be no miracles. Indeed if the world were so to bee renewed as the former essence of it were to be destroyed, or the former qualities to be extinguished, then should I happily allow of his reason as probable & passable, but now granting the same *Identicall* forme and matter shall still continue, and that the former qualities shall not be abandoned but perfected, not altered in kinde, but onely in degree; I cannot see how it should be held & tearmed a great miracle heretofore, which shall not be so hereafter. And whereas it is said, that the bodies of the Saints shall then naturally live without meate, which now without a miracle they cannot doe, we must consider, that though the substance of their bodies shall remaine, yet the qualities of them shall be intirely changed, so farre as the *Apostle* is bold to call it a *spirituall bodie*. And besides we may be bold to challenge a *speciall priviledge* unto the bodies of the Saints, *the temples of the holy Ghost*, which without speciall warrant cannot be yeelded to any other Corporeall substance. And withall we must remember, that for the resurrection of the body, wee have an Article in our Creed, and most cleare proofes from Scripture, but for the restitution

1<sup>st</sup> Cor. 15:45



of the Creatures, no one such sufficient prooffe, as the minde of a Christian desirous to bee truly informed, can rest fully satisfied therein. Such as they are, I will not conceale them: These places then are to that purpose commonly alleaged.

## S E C T. 6.

*The arguments commonly alleaged from the Scriptures for the renovation of the world, answered.*

**W**Hom the heavens must containe till the times of the Restitution of all things. He layed the foundations of the earth, that it should not be removed for ever, saith David. And Solomon, one generation passeth, and another commeth, but the earth abideth for ever.

Behold I create new heavens and a new earth, and the former shall not be remembered, nor come into minde. To which words of the Prophet, S. Iohn seemes to allude: And I saw a new heaven and a new earth, for the first heaven and the first earth passed away, and there was no more Sea. And for the increase of the light of the Planets and other starres, that passage of the same Prophet is usually alleaged: The light of the Moone shall bee as the light of the Sunne, and the light of the Sunne seven fold: But the pretended proofes most stood upon, are drawne from S. Paules Epistles, The fashion of this world passeth away; the fashion not the substance. And againe, The Creature it selfe also shall bee delivered from the bondage of corruption, into the glorious liberty of the sonnes of God. And lastly, hereunto they adde the words of the Psalmist, Thou shalt change them, and they shall be changed: not abolished but changed: Which words are againe by the Apostle taken up and repeated, Heb. 1. 12. These are, I am sure, the strongest, if not all the pretended proofes that are commonly drawne from the holy Scripture and pressed for the maintenance of the adverse opinion, the strength of which I thinke I shall so put backe, as it shall appeare to any indifferent Iudge, that it is in truth but forced and wrested. The passages I will consider in order as they are alleaged, & severally examine their validitie to the purpose they are urged. First then whereas wee out of the Greeke read the Restitution of all things, the Syriake Interpreter hath it *usque ad Complementum temporum omnium*, to the end of all times, whereby none other thing can be understood then the final consummation of the world, but to take the words as wee finde them, The times of restitution are undoubtedly the same, which Saint Peter in the next verse save one going before, had termed times of refreshing, and by them is meant the actuall fulnesse and perfection of our redemption, *quoniam restitutio illa adhuc in cursu est adeoque redemptio, quando adhuc sub onere servitutis gemimus*, saith Calvin, because our restitution and consequently our redemption as yet is but imperfect, whiles wee groane under the burden of servitude. To the second it may be said, that in the course of nature, the earth should remaine for ever without decay or diminution, had not the Creator of it decreed by his almighty power to abolish it: But I rather chuse to answer with Iunius, who upon the first place

A.C. 3. 2.

Psal. 104. 5.

Eccle. 1. 4.

Esay. 65. 17.

Revel. 21. 1. &amp;

S. Pet. 2. 3. 13.

30. 26.

1. Cor. 7. 31.

Rom. 8. 21.

Psal. 102. 26.



place taken out of the Psalme, gives this note, *tantiſper dum ſaculum duraturum eſt*, as long as time ſhall endure: and upon the ſecond this, *hominis vani comparatione*, in compariſon of the vaniſhing eſtate of man. The earth then is ſaid to remaine for ever, as *Circumciſion* and the *Leviticall Law* are ſaid to be perpetuall; not abſolutely, but comparatively. Now for the new heavens and the new earth: it ſhould ſeeme by the places alleaged, that if it bee litterally to bee underſtood of the materiall heavens, they ſhall not bee renewed as the common opinion is, but new Created, (creation being a production of ſome new thing out of nothing) So as it ſhall not be a reſtitution of the old, but a ſubſtitution of new, in as much as the Prophet *Eſay* addes, *the former ſhall not bee remembered, nor come into minde*: And Saint *Iohn*, *the firſt heaven and the firſt earth paſſed away, and there was no more Sea*. And Saint *Peter*, *The heavens ſhall paſſe away with a noiſe, and the elements ſhall melt with heate, and the earth with the workes that are therein ſhall be burnt up*. And of this opinion, *Beza* in one place ſeemes to have beene: *Promittuntur novi Caeli ac nova terra, non priorum reſtitutio, ſive in eundem, ſive in meliorem ſtatum; nec ijs poſſum aſſentiri, qui hanc diſſolutionem ad ſolas qualitates referendum cenſent*. There are promiſed new heavens and a new earth, not the reſtitution of the old either unto their former, or a better ſtate, neither can I aſſent unto them, who referre this diſſolution to the qualities alone. But ſeeing belike the ſingularity and abſurditie of this opinion, hee recalls himſelfe in his annotations upon the very next verſe. But the truth is that by new heavens and a new earth is to bee underſtood in the Prophet *Eſay*, the ſtate of the Church during the kingdome of *Chriſt*: and in Saint *Peter* and *S. Iohn*, the ſtate of the Saints in the heavenly *Ieruſalem*. For the Prophet, that which I aſſirme will eaſily appeare to any underſtanding Reader that pleaſeth to peruſe that Chapter, ſpecially if thereunto we adde the latter part of the next, touching the ſame point. For as the new heavens and the new earth which I will make, ſhall remaine before me, ſaith the Lord, ſo ſhall your ſeed and your name continue, and from moneth to moneth, and from ſabbath to ſabbath ſhall all fleſh come to worſhip before me, ſaith the Lord; Upon the alleaged paſſage of the former chapter *Iunius* and *Tremelius* give this note, *Omnia inſtauraturus ſum in Chriſto*, I will reſtore all things in *Chriſt*: Referring us for the farther illuſtration thereof to that of the ſame Prophet in this 25 chapter at the 8 verſe. And for the expoſition of the latter paſſage in the 66 chapter, referres us to that in the 65 going before. So that as well by the drift and coherence of the text, as by the judgement of ſound Interpreters, materiall heavens and earth are not there underſtood. Which ſome of our *Engliſh Translatours* well perceiving, have to the firſt paſſage affixed this note, *I will ſo alter and change the ſtate of the Church, that it ſhall ſeeme to dwell in a new world*: And to the ſecond this, *Hereby hee ſignifieth the kingdome of Chriſt, wherein his Church ſhall bee renewed*. Yet I will not deny but that the Prophet may in thoſe words likewise allude to the ſtate of the Saints in the heavenly *Ieruſalem*. To which purpoſe, *S. Peter* ſeemes to apply them, according to his promiſe, ſaith hee, *wee looke for new heavens and a new earth wherein dwelleth Righteouſnes*, that is, by the conſent of the beſt expoſitours, righteous and juſt men;



men, who after the day of judgement shall dwell no longer upon the Earth, but in the heavenly *Ierusalem*. Which Saint *Iohn* more lively describes in the 21 of the *Revelation*; for having said in the first verse, *And I saw a new heaven and a new earth*, he presently addes in the second, as it were by way of Exposition of the former. *And I Iohn saw the holy City new Ierusalem, comming downe from God out of beaven, prepared as a bride adorned for her husband*; and by the sequele of that Chapter and the latter part of the precedent, it cleerely appeares (whatsoever *Brightman* dreame to the contrary) that he there describes the state of the Saints after the day of judgement, and the glory of that place which they are eternally to inhabite; being such, that it had no neede of the *Sunne* nor of the *Moone* to shine in it, the glory of God inlightning it, and the *Lambe* being the light thereof: And *Iunius* thus begins his Annotations on that chapter: *Nunc sequitur historia prophetica pars secunda, de statu futuro Ecclesie celestis post Iudicium ultimum*: Now followes the second part of his propheticall history of the futute state of the Church triumphant after the day of Judgement: And with him therein accord the greatest part of the soundest and most judicious Interpreters.

The other passage alleaged of the Prophet *Esay* touching the increase of light in the *Sunne* and *Moone*, is likewise undoubtedly to bee understood of the *restauration of his Church*; according to the tenour of the chapter, and the annotation of *Iunius* annexed thereunto, *Illustrissima erunt & gloriosissima omnia in restitutione Ecclesie*, all things shall then bee more beautifull and glorious in the restitution of the Church. And with him fully accord our English notes, *when the Church shall be restored, the glory thereof shall passe seaven times the brightnesse of the Sunne*. For by the *Sunne* and *Moone* which are two excellent Creatures, hee sheweth what shall bee the glory of the Children of God in the kingdome of Christ.

Now for the words of the *Apostle*, *The fashion of this world passeth away*, what other thing intends hee, but that in these worldly things, there is nothing durable and solide, elegantly thereby expressing the vanity of them, in which exposition, both *Iunius* and *Calvin* agree.

That of the same *Apostle* in the 8 to the *Romans*, touching the delivering of the Creature from the bondage of corruption, into the glorious liberty of the *Sonnes of God*, is I confesse in appearance more pressing. But this passage the great wit of Saint *Augustine* found to be very obscure and perplexed, in so much as not a few understand those words of Saint *Peter* of this particular, that in Saint *Pauls Epistle* some things are hard to bee understood. It were then in my judgement no small presumption upon a place so intricate and difficult peremptorily to build so uncertaine a doctrine. But because it is so hotly urged as a testimony unanswerable, let us a little examine the parts and sense thereof. First then it is cleare, that the Creature may be delivered from the bondage of corruption, and yet not restored to a more perfect and beautifull estate, in as much as being annihilated, it is thereby freed from that abuse of wicked and ungratefull men, which heere it is of necessity still subject unto. But all the doubt is, how the Creature shall bee made partaker of the glorious liberty of the *Sonnes of God*. I hope no man will dare to affirme that they shall



shall be with them *Cohaires of eternall blessednes*, as the words seeme to import, how then are they made partakers of this glorious liberty? But in as much as when the sonnes of God shall be made partakers thereof, the Creature shall be altogether freed from the bondage of corruption: So as that, *into the liberty of the sonnes of God*, is no more then *together with* the liberty of the Sons of God, or, by reason of the liberty of the Sons of God, as Saint *Chrysostome* hath expounded it. They which maintaine any other future liberty in the Creature by way of restitution or bettering it, are bound soundly to answer all the arguments before alleadged, and withall to yeeld a sufficient reason why some Creatures are to be restored and not all, since the name of Creature is equally attributed to all and not to some only. Surely S. *Ambrose* in his *Expositions* upon that place, durst goe no farther then we doe, *habet enim in labore posita Creatura hoc solatium quoniam habebit requiem, cum crediderint omnes quos scit Deus credituros*: the Creature travelling in paine hath this comfort, that it shall rest from labour, when they shall all beleeue, whom God knowes are to beleeve. And in truth this is as much as wee neede beleeve, and as the words being favourably interpreted doe in force.

The last testimony mustred against us was taken from the Psalmist, *Thou shalt change them and they shall bee changed*: But since in the same verse he like wise tells us, *They shall perish*; what *change* shall we there understand? Surely for the same thing to bee said to bee *changed* into a better and more perfect estate, and yet withall at the same time to *perish*, cannot properly be verified. *We shall not all sleepe but we shall all be changed* saith the *Apostle*, now if by changing, there wee should understand *perishing*, it might very well seeme a very hard and harsh interpretation. We are to know then that a thing may be changed, not only by *alteration*, which is a change in the quality, but by *augmentation* or *diminution*, which is a change in the quantity, by *corruption*, which is a change in the substance; or lastly, (though in a larger, and perchance somewhat unusuall acceptation) by *annihilation*, which is a totall abolishing of substance: And this in truth is the greatest change that may be, it being *ab ente ad non ens simpliciter*, from a being to a not being wholly. And of such a change must the Psalmist of force bee understood, if wee will reconcile him with himselfe, and the passages before alleadged; And thus doth *Bellarmino* in his Commentaries upon that psalme expound that place. *Deum solum esse immutabilem probat ex eo, quod ipse idem semper manens mutavit celos de non esse ad esse, & rursus mutabit de esse ad non esse, & quod de caelo dicitur de toto mundo intelligitur, cujus maxima & nobilissima pars est caelum*. From hence he proves, that God alone is unchangeable, because himselfe remaining one and the same, hee changed the heavens from no beeing to a beeing, and will againe change them from a beeing to no beeing; and that which is spoken of the heavens is to be understood of the whole world, the greatest & noblest part whereof the heavens are. Besides *Bartholinus* in the second booke and sixteenth chapter of his *Enchiridion* hath observed that *mutation* in many places of Scripture, and namely *Can. 2. 11. Esay. 2. 18. Dan 4. 25.* is taken for

Psalm 2. 26.  
where the word  
used by the  
psalmist is *Balah*  
which properly  
signifies  
to be brought  
to nothing.  
1 Cor. 15. 51.



an utter *abolition*; or ( if this satisfie not ) we may say ( as some doe ) that the heavens shall bee changed in regard of us; instead of visible and materiall heavens, ( the use of which we now enjoy ) we shall be translated to an heaven immateriall and invisible, the *Cœlestiall Paradise*, the *heavenly Ierusalem*, which in *holy Scriptures* is likewise tearmed a *new heaven*. Notwithstanding all this ( for the reverence I beare antiquity ) I will not be peremptory in the point: But truly methinkes, that a few obscure places should rather be expounded by many cleere, then the cleere wrested to the obscure. Since the first publishing hereof, a very deare and learned friend of mine, not finding himselfe fully satisfied with mine answere to the objection taken from the eight to the *Romans*, sent me his doubts, which I here present in the next Section, together with my reply in the Section following therupō: his doubtēs I have cast into 13 parts, which by so many figures I have marked out & shaped mine answere accordingly.

## S E C T. 7.

*Doubts presented me by a worthy friend touching mine answere to the former objection taken from the 8<sup>th</sup> to the Romans.*

**A**lthough I must needs confesse that the reasons you have rendered for the finall Annihilation of the Creature, partlie in your printed Apology, partly in your manuscript against *Suares*, may very much have moved me: yet must I withall professe, that as yet they have not altogether removed me from my former station, touching the perpetuitie and continuance thereof. That which still holds me fast thereunto, is the authority of *S<sup>t</sup> Paule* in the eight to the *Romans*. A place which as to your appearance, so to me seemes in truth very pressing: neither can I see ( such may bee my dulnesse ) how you have any way sufficientlie answered it. Wherin I conceive the insufficiencie lies, I shall freelie and ingenuously declare, if I may intreat your leave and patience briefly and in few words to examine it.

1<sup>o</sup> In generall you charge the text with *Obscuritie*, both for that *S<sup>t</sup> Augustines* great witt found it intricate and perplexed, as also for that others not a few understand those words of *S<sup>t</sup> Peter* of this particular place, where he saith, that in *S<sup>t</sup> Pauls* Epistles some things are hard to be understood. Whence you infer, that it is no small presumption to build such a doctrine upon so uncertaine a foundation. Wherunto I reply.

1<sup>o</sup> Suppose the text be *Obscure*: yet not every *Obscuritie* makes it a fandie and uncertaine foundation, but that only the meaning whereof either is not, or cannot certainly be knowne. Now such *Obscuritie* I deny to bee in this text: and I hope in the sequeale clearly to manifest the meaning thereof,

2<sup>o</sup> Though *S<sup>t</sup> Augustines* wit were great: yet great wits see not all things. And I presume you will not deny that many texts which to the Ancients seemed darke and obscure, are now to us through Gods blessing upon the industrie of latter writers, most cleare and evident, your selfe, have both truly & ingenuously acknowledged, that you see  
not



not but the wits of this present age may produce as great effects as those of the Ancients: nay greater, in as much as wee have the light of their writings to guide us. You might well have added, & sundry other great helps which they wanted: you know the saying, a dwarfe standing on the shoulders of a Giant, may see farther then the Giant himselfe. And yet are wee not dwarfs neither, but of equall stature, if *Vives* mislay not.

3<sup>o</sup> Grant this particular place be intended by *St Peter*, yet doth it not follow that this text is intricate or perplexed. For he speaketh not of *St Pauls* phrase, but of the points handled by him. This appeareth by the Relative *ἐν οἷς*. For, if hee had meant that *St Pauls* Epistle were *ἐν οἷς* he would have said *ἐν οἷς*. But saying *ἐν οἷς* it is manifestly referred unto the points disculled in them. Now these, although they may be difficult unto the naturall man, as being supernaturall and transcending the pitch of reason: yet to the faith of him that is Spirituall, the Apostle may have expressed himselfe in termes so liquid and perspicuous, as no doubt can bee made of his meaning, or what hee would have us to beleewe.

2<sup>o</sup> In particular, you quarrell with the words of the text, as subject to diversitie of constructions, and not necessarily enforcing a continuance or Reparation. These namely, *Creature, Hoping, Groining, Travelling, and Deliverance into glorious liberty of Sons*. Let us therefore examine them severally.

1<sup>o</sup> By Creature *Theodoret, Origen*, others, you say, understand the Angels: *Augustine, Anselme, Lira*, the Naturall man: *Gregorie, Cajetan, Catharin, Salmeron*, the Regenerate man: *Aquinas* admits all three. Hence you conclude, first uncertaintie, then no necessitie the dumbe Creature be understood. Whereto I answer,

1<sup>o</sup> If diversity of interpretations alwayes argue uncertainty of sense, I marvell much what text can be certaine. For as the Proverbe saith, so many men so many minds. Howbeit among many Expolitions I hope it is not impossible but some one may be convincing and infallible. And upon such variety ever to build uncertaintie, is but to induce a Scepticall and *Pyrrhonian* Divinity.

2<sup>o</sup> The text it selfe Demonstratively controlleth all these Interpretations: resolving only upon the dumbe Creature: and humane authority must give place to divine Demonstration. Thus therefore out of it I argue and conclude;

1<sup>o</sup> Angels are not meant: for neither the Blessed nor the Sinfull. Not the Blessed: for they are not subject to vanity & corruption, neither doe they groane and travell to be freed from it, as the Creature is here said to doe. Not the Sinfull: for they hope not for, but envy and greeue at the full Adoption of the Sons of God. Neither doe they waite and groane for their owne finall deliverance, but utterly dispaire of it as being certaine of their everlasting rejection.

2<sup>o</sup> Neither is Man meant: for then either the Regenerate or Vnregenerate. Not the Regenerate: for they are plainly distinguished from the Creature, where it is said, *And not onely they, but our selves* also



also which have the first fruites of the Spirit. Nor the unregenerate: for the Creature is subject unto vanity, not of its owne will: but these wittingly and willingly subject themselves thereunto. Againe, the Creature longeth for its freedome: these being without faith have no hope thereof. To say nothing that they are so farre from desiring the Adoption and Redemption of the Sons of God, that they rather delight in persecuting and afflicting them,

3. If neither Angels nor Men, then undoubtedly the dumbe Creature alone is meant, for there is no third. Yet neither the Emphyreall heaven, nor Hell. Not that: for being the throne of God, and the seat of blessed Saints and Angels, nor made for our use while we are here *in via*, but reserved to bee our Mansion when wee shall dwell in *Patria*, it is neither defiled by our Sin, nor subjected unto vanity. Nor this, because it is the place of endlesse torment, the receptracle of damned fiends and men, and consequently the sinke of all corruption from which it shall never bee freed. In regard whereof, it may well be said to groane for the actuall damnation of the wicked, but never to long for the Salvation of the Iust, as on whom it neither hath, nor ever shall have power.

4. It remaineth therefore that by the Creature, the dumbe Creature onely be understood which against its will is subject unto vanity, and longeth with a fervent desire to be delivered from the bondage thereof: such as are the nether Heavens, the Aire, the Earth, the Sea, and what may be of like nature.

4. Hoping, Groning, Travelling, are words, say you, hardly appliable to the dumbe Creature. For doubtles not Properly, unles we will allow it freedome of will. And if wee flie to Figure, somthing must be conceived proportionable thereunto, which what should it be? Adde hereunto, that Scripture no where besides attributeth such qualities unto the brute Creature in respect of any Supernaturall Object. Which as you further say caused *Augustine* and *Hierome* warily to avoid expounding them of Unreasonables. To all which I answer.

1. We have already demonstrated out of the Text, that not the Reasonable, such as are Men and Angels, but the dumbe Creature onely is understood. Which demonstration being grounded upon Divine testimony may not be prejudicated either by *S. Hieromes*, or *S. Augustines*, or any other humane authority.

2. It shall readily be yeilded, that Hope and Desire is not here used properly. For it is not grounded upon any knowledge the Creature hath, either of the redemption of the Sons of God, or of its own future liberty, neither doth it proceed from electiō or any freedome of will that it hath. So to elevate them above their Nature, were indeed to turne them out of their Nature. For as an Vnity by addition of another number, ceaseth to be what it was, and is advanced to an higher number: so if yee adde to the brute Creature Knowledge & Election, it is now no longer what it was, brute, but raised to the condition and degree of Men or Angels. Wherefore.

3. By these termes wee understand no other then that naturall appetite



appetite or Desire, which Philosophie it selfe allowes those Creatures: whereby they affect Perfection in their kinde if they want it, and the continuance of their Perfection if they be already possessed of it. Which seeing they once had, namely in their first creatiō, but that now through mans fall and Gods curse, it is much impaired and decayed, no marvell if here they bee said to desire the repairing and recovery thereof. Neither is this manner of speaking so strange and unusuall in Scripture as you pretend. For it affirms that the beasts not only seeke their meate, which is naturall unto them; but also that they seeke it of God, and wait upon him that he may give it them in due season, which in proper sence is above their nature. Wherefore in like manner, seeing the creature cannot recover its perfection, untill the Saints have obtained theirs, mee thinks it should not seeme harsh to say that they hope and waite for that time.

3. To that of *Deliverance from the bondage of corruption into the glorious liberty of the Sons of God*, you answered three things. 1. That the Creature may be delivered by Annihilation without Restitution. 2. That in proper sence it cannot be partaker of this glorious liberty. 3. That into the liberty, is no other then together with, or by reason of the liberty, as *Chrysostome* saith *εἰς*, being put for *διὰ*. Whereunto I reply.

1. That freedome imports not a privation only, but some positive thing also. For that which is not, is neither Bond nor Free: so that which is, Free is, yea and is in a better state then when it was Bond. Adde hereunto that the Naturall desire of the Creature is for the continuance of its Being: how then can it be imagined that it should long for its finall abolishment and annihilation? specially if you consider the forciblenes of the words *συσπνάζειν, συνασπνάζειν, σπορά ερδοχάιν*, all signifying vehemence and intentions of Hoping and Longing. For that the Creature should groane and travell, and with stretched out neck wait onely, and that against its naturall inclination, for a Not being, is incredible. And if after Being not to bee, bee a Vanity, as indeed it is: it would follow that to bee freed from vanity, it longs for vanity, which is absurd.

2. Beatifically to behold the face of God, in the fulnesse of wisdom, righteousness and peace, is a Blessednesse I confesse no way incident unto the Creature beneath Man. Howbeit throughly to bee freed from vanity, and to be restored either to its primitive or a better perfection, which is a glorious liberty, I suppose you will not deny but if God will, it is capable of. Which because it shall be conferred upon them for the Saints sake, to whom they have done continuall service: I see no reason but it may well be called the glorious liberty of the Sons of God, even as at the inauguration of a Prince, the pompe and state of his nobles and followers, is a part of the kings glory, and they bee said to partake of the kings glory.

3. That the Preposition *εἰς* may be so used I deny not, neither will I elevate the authority of *S. Chrysostome*. Nevertheless it is to be observed, that the Apostle having first said *ἀπο τῆς δουλείας*, and presently adding *εἰς τὴν ἐλευθερίαν*, plainly intimateth two termes of their deliverance,



rance, from which, & into which. And this is so cleare, that all Interpreters translate it neither together with, nor by reason of, but into the liberty. Whole generall authority so according with the Text, should more have prevailed with you then the single opinion of one man whatsoever. Yet this I say, not as if *S. Chrysostome* made for your Annihilation: for you cannot be ignorant how peremptory he is that for the Saints sake the Creature shall be brought into a glorious liberty, and with what golden eloquence and choice similitudes after his manner hee paints it forth.

8. 3. You seeme to bind all those that maintaine any other liberty then you doe, either by restitution or bettering, soundly to answer all your arguments: as if it were necessary either to doe so, or to disclaime that opinion. But

1. There is no such necessity. For if *S. Paul* affirme it, I am bound steadfastly to beleieve it though I meete with a thousand objections, never a one of which I am able to assoile. It is the glory of Christian Faith firmly to adhere unto a revealed conclusion, not only above Reason, but if need be against Reason also. In the article of the Trinity, how many difficulties are there which the wit of man can never cleare? And must I therefore doubt whether there be three persons subsisting in the unity of the same Godhead? He was a great Clerke who held it impossible by reason to accord the decree of God with the liberty of mans will: and yet I suppose you will not deny but they agree together, and though the one may necessitate the effect, yet the other may concur and worke freely. Revealed truths therefore are not forthwith to be renounced, if all arguments be not thoroughly answered.

9. 2. As for your arguments I thinke they are not unanswerable but that convenient solutions may be found for them. That taken from Scripture, it seemes your selfe hold it not to be Demonstrative, seeing you conclude so doubtfully, either an utter abolition, or at leastwise a restitution to a better state. And in truth if you answering our objections may *Psal. 102. 26.* expound changing by perishing or annihilation, though by your owne confession that acceptation of the word bee somewhat unusuall: I see no reason but I may as well expound your perishing by changing in the usuall acceptation. Especially seeing changing in that verse is set after perishing, & it is the manner of the *Psalmist*, as indeed is more fitting, to explaine the former by the latter, and not the latter by the former. The rest of your Scripture arguments I omit. For the chiefeft of your strength lying in the word *Perishing*, this being answered, the rest fall of themselves.

10. 3. Your weightiest argument also drawn from reason & the end of the worlds creation is soone answered. For although Man, as you say, be then removed out of the world, yet is he not so removed, but that he may behold whatsoever remaineth of the world to the manifestation of Gods glory. Neither doth it follow, because the eyes of the mind in that blessed estate see God as he is face to face, therefore there is no need by the eye of the body to contéplate God in the creature. For me thinks variety of wayes & means to know God & glorifie him, should  
in



in no state be hurtfull. And if while we are here *in viâ*, faith take not away reason and the sight of the eye, but leaving unto us the use of both, elevates us beyond them: what should let but vision may leave some employments for our eyes, though it advance our mind to the intuitive sight of God? what? Because wee see God face to face, shall not our eyes bee blessed in beholding the Humane Nature of Christ? If they shall, may they not therefore glorify God by the sight of those glorious Saints that are the members of Christ? If they may, what should barre them to descend yet a little lower, and to glorifie God by beholding the glorious liberty of those inferiour creatures, which sometimes have bin our nurses and done great service unto us? To answere all in two words, I say first that an end may bee assigned to the worlds continuance, namely to stand as an everlasting trophee or monument of the Power and Wisedome of God in creating and governing it. Secondly, though I could assigne no end, yet might it continue for ends knowne only to God, and as yet unrevealed to me.

4. And lastly you demand seeing the name of Creature is equally attributed to all and not some only, whether all the Creatures shall bee restored and continue? If not, why some onely, and what those some are, whether the simple or those that are mixt? whereunto I answere.

1. As in this, so in sundry other points of Divinity, a curious head may easily move more questions then the wisest man living will ever bee able to satisfie. For my part I confesse I cannot perfectly resolve all your demands. The best of us while we are here shall know but in part. Neither is it necessary, seeing all is not revealed. It sufficeth mee therefore simply to belceve what the Apostle affirmeth, namely that the Creature shall bee emancipated from their bondage, and brought into the glorious liberty of the Sons of God. As for other scrupulous niceties I inquire not after them, but leave all unto God; and unto that day when such mysteries shall fully bee discovered.

2. Nevertheles if you will heare what to me seemeth not unprobable (for certainty, I have none) it is to be observed that the word used by the Apostle is *κτίσις*, not *πρόημα*. Now *κτίσις* properly signifieth that Creature which by the omnipotent power of God was immediatly educed out of nothing to be what it is. But *πρόημα* is that which is compounded and framed of that which is already something: whence it may seeme that that Creature only shall continue which was created of nothing: such, as is above said, the Heavens, the Aire, the Earth, the Sea are, and if there be any other of like nature.

3. If you demand farther, as indeed you do, why these rather then the rest? I answer because Mā being made the sixth day could not behold them as they were in their primitive & simple nature: but only as they were invested & apparelled with the works of the former five daies. And this seemeth abundantly enough for the use of man in that blessed estate. For as for those mixt & compound bodies wee see and behold them daily. And although in that day they shall be abolished & consumed: yet may wee by remembrance call them to minde, & so in them contemplate the greatnesse of their Maker. Besides, if after our



glorification wee shall be like vnto the Angels, & the Angels upon the knowledge of a Proposition intuitively behold all conclusions that may bee deduced from it: it may be that wee also beholding the first principles of things, shall in them be able to see whatsoever in the beginning God educed out of them. But these are may bees, you will say. They are so indeed, & perhaps Idle dreams of a sicke braine. The safest way therefore is, without answer to passe by all these quarrels and curious queries of humane reason, & firmly to adhere unto S. Pauls doctrine, that the Creature shall bee delivered into a glorious liberty.

And thus have I beene bold briefly to examine your answers unto this passage of S. Paul to the Romans, and by my scales finde them some few graines too light. More happily might have beene said: but being off from my bookes, you have what I was able to forge out of mine owne head. The censure whereof I leave unto your wisdom: praying you to remember that of I know not what moderne Poet

*Non eadem sentire bonos de rebus iisdem.  
Incolumi licuit semper amicitia.*

I. D.

## S E C T. 8.

*My reply to these preceeding doubts.*

1. **T**O the first, not onely the Ancients, but the Moderne Expositours and all that I haue read, commenting on that place, with one generall consent acknowledge it to bee very obscure; which should argue that the true sense of it either cannot or at leastwise as yet is not certainly knowne to be any such convincing, infallible, divine demonstration, as you would afterward seeme to make it.

2. To the Second, this obscurity is to be understood not onely in regard of the capacite of the Naturall man, but of the Christian Belcever, for so they held themselves, and so I presume you hold both S. Augustine and the rest to have beene.

3. To the third, I undertake not to defend their interpretations, who by the word [ Creature ] understand the Angells, either blessed or sinfull; or Man, whether Naturall or Regenerate, but leave the Authors to maintaine their owne expositions. And though I might quarrell at some things in your refutation of them, yet for quietnesse sake I am content with you by it to understand the dumb Creature, and withall to exclude both the Emphyreall Heaven and Hell; but then you must remember that having made your exception, all the rest which are not excepted are by the rules of Law, and Reason, and Logicke to bee included, and not onely the nether Heavens, the aire, the earth and the sea, as you seeme to say in the very next Section: For what you meane by those which are of like nature I know not, there being beside those no more elements but the fire, and for mixt bodies they cannot bee of like nature with the Elements.

To the fourth, being already of accord with you, that those words,

*Hoping,*



*Hoping, Groining &c.* are to be understood of the dumb creature, I will presse it no farther how they are applyable thereunto: but yet to affirme that by these termes we understand none other then that naturall appetite which Philosophie it selfe allowes those Creatures I cannot allow, since Philosophie allowes them none other perfection then what already they have: And besides to waite for the manifestation of the Sonnes of God, or to be sensible that they cannot recover their perfection untill that be done, is a matter farre above the reach of the greatest Philosophers; much more above the naturall apprehension of the unreasonable and sencelesse Creature; it must of necessity then be some *supernaturall* instinct which what it is, or how it is infused, or how the Creature is capable of it, I must professe for mine owne part I hold it a point undeterminable: And for the passage out of the Psalmes which you alleage as paralell to this of the Apostle, mee thinkes it might without any straying be thus expounded, that *they seeke their meate of God*, because God provides it for them, and by his providence directs them in the seeking and finding of it, though they know it not,

To the *fifth*, it is true that *freedom* sometime imports not onely a privative, but a positive act, but *deliverance from the bondage of corruption*, may import onely a privative, and though the thing delivered remaine not after such deliverance, yet can it not be denyed to be delivered, for the remaining of it afterward, is meerly accidentall in regard of the deliverance, and no way essentiall thereunto. And whereas you adde that the naturall desire of the Creature is for the continuance of its being, and consequently cannot be for its finall abolition, you may be pleased to call to minde that in the creature is a double inclination, the one for the continuance of its particular being, the other for the preservation of the Univerfall, as when the water to avoide that *vacuum* or discontinuity which otherwise would ensue in the parts of the world, mounts upward, so the creature may desire by *abolition* to bee delivered from the *bondage of corruption*, that is all kinde of sinfull abuse, because then man for whose sake the world was made, shall bee glorified, and God the worlds maker thereby honoured: In relation whereunto both *Moses* wished himselfe to bee *raised out of the booke of life*, and *S. Paul* to bee *separated* or accursed from *Christ*, which was a degree farther then *abolition*; the creature then doth not long for abolition that it may bee abolished as you suppose, but that by abolition it may be delivered from all sinfull abuse, which the Apostle calls a *bondage of corruption*, and is doubtlesse a greater vanity then the abolition thereof, in as much as by the one, God is more dishonoured, then by the other hee can be; And so I hope there is no such absurdity in mine assertion as you would inferre.

To the *sixth*, you say that the *Creatures shall partake of the glorious liberty of the sonnes of God*, in as much as that glorious liberty which they shall be invested with shall be conferred upon them for the Saints sake; to whom they have done continuall service: but here I would first demand, whether the heaven and consequently the aire and water [injoy not now as much liberty as they did before the fall of man? indeed wee



reade that Gods curse was upon the earth, (and yet how that likewise is to be understood good Divines make a doubt) but that it reached to these wee reade not. And with the Schoolemen to affirme they shall then stand immoveable is upon the matter to destroy their natures, and in reason rather tends to the restraint then the enlargement of their liberties. My second demand is, that if these *Creatures shall partake of this glorious liberty*, because they have done service to Gods Saints; why they should not likewise partake of hellish sufferings, because they have done service to Devils and reprobates, and have beene often and much abused by wicked men (and perchance by the Saints themselves before their calling) to the great dishonour of God, and the infinite wrong and grieve of good men: as in the *Leviticall Law* the beast which was abused by man or woman to unnaturall lust, though it were not guilty of sinne because not capable of reason, yet was it by Gods prescript to suffer with him or her who so abused it. My third demand is, that if these *Creatures shall partake of this glorious liberty* because they have done service to the Saints, how it comes to passe that all of them which have performed this service partake not of this liberty, and some perchance which have performed no such service, shall notwithstanding partake thereof; but in truth how the involuntary service of the unreasonable creature whether good or bade should either merit reward, or demerit punishment, for mine owne part I must professe I conceive not. Lastly your similitude of the pompe and state of Noble-men at the inauguration of the King, holds no proportion with the matter in question; since they by their personall presence mutually adde and receive grace and lustre to and from each other, which how the creatures here on earth shall be able to performe to the Saints in heaven, or the Saints to them I cannot comprehend, and much lesse how the globe of the Earth can appeare in greater pompe, being devested of all the mixt bodies, and shewing her selfe with her naked and dusty face, then now it doth, being decked and garnished with such wonderfull, plentifull, and singular variety in all kindes.

7. To the *Seaventh S. Chrysostome* doth not onely affirme that *eis* may be put for *eis*, but that it is so put in that place, and whereas you say that the two prepositions there used by the Apostle plainly intimate two tearmes *from* and *into*, it is true that in your sense they happily may so do, but not in *S. Chrysostomes* who doubtlesse understood the proprietie of Greeke words better then either of us both. And whether all Interpreters so translate it as you pretend, some doubt there is, considering there are in some languages many translations, and in all languages (I thinke) some which neither of us both have seene; and many times they follow one another rather then the Originall: Howsoever, I translate it no otherwise then usually I finde it: but yet I see no reason I should be denied the liberty to expound it, as the best of the Greeke Interpreters understand the word, specially since thereby those absurdities may more easily be put off which in my judgment the other opinion is subject unto: And though it be true that *S. Chrysostome* himselfe stand for the renovation of the world, yet he accords not in all points with you, and



and I should thinke that hee tooke it up rather upon trust and the current of the times ( wherein the error of the *Millenaries* was very rife ) then due examination, neither doth his golden eloquence so much move mee as forcible arguments should haue done. And for his similitudes, you know, *Theologia Symbolica non est argumentativa*.

To the *eight*, there is as great necessity that the aduerse part should answer my objections, as that I should answer theirs: and in matters which are not *de fide*, I see no reason but the best arguments should carry it, if there be no expresse Scripture against it, and many Scriptures in expresse termes for it. In this case I thinke I am bound though not peremptorily to imbrace, yet to incline to that opinion which I hold to be most probable and subject to the least and fewest absurdities: And though I am bound stedfastly to beleeeve what S. *Paul* affirms, yet am I not bound to beleeeve your affirmation that Saint *Paul* affirms it, and for any such convincing infallible demonstration ( as you speake of ) that he so doth, I must professe as yet I cannot finde it. That the *Creature* shall bee made partaker of the glorious liberty of the sonnes of God you doe not, you cannot expound it in a proper sence, and according to a literall construction; why then shall it not bee as lawfull for me to leave the letter too, and following the originall to put upon it such an exposition as is without all controversie subject to lesse inconveniences, and more consonant to other Scriptures? Your instance in the article of the *Trinity*, is ( as I take it ) impertinent and unfutable, in as much as by the confession of all good *Christians* it is necessary to Salvation to bee beleevd; and I trust you will not affirme the restitution of the world so to bee; we may then I hope more safely dispute the one then the other. And as for that great Clerke who held it impossible to reconcile the necessity of Gods decrees with the liberty of mans will and yet held both, his reason so to doe was because the Scripture expounded by the Church, assembled in lawfull Councells had so declared it, & if in this point it had likewise so done, I should have held it sufficient to impose silence.

To the *ninth*, I never yet affirmed the arguments brought in defence of mine opinion from Scripture to be *demonstrative*, I thought it sufficient if they were alleaged as *probable*, and whereas I professe that I will not be peremptory for the reverence I beare antiquity, I thought you would rather have commended my modesty then blamed my doubtfulness: And for my selfe I had rather undertake lesse and performe more, then undertake much & finally fall short in the prooffe. A man may easily promise convincing infallible demonstrations, but when it comes to tryall it is not so easie a matter to make them appeare so to bee. The onely particular passage you insist on is my expounding of *changing* by *perishing*; whereas you say you see no reason but you may as well expound *perishing* by *changing*: for that, we shall easily agree, conditionally you still maintaine a *perishing*: but to say that a thing shall perish and yet withall to affirme that it shall in substance still remaine the same both in matter and forme, and for the qualities be advanced to a more excellent estate, implies in my judgement a manifest and irreconcilable



contradiction. And yet I hold not with you that the chiefeft strength of my Scripture arguments lies in the word *perishing*, that of *Iob*, *till the heavens be no more*; and of our Saviour, *heaven and earth shall passe away*; and of S. Peter, *the day of the Lord will come as a theefe in the night in the which the heavens shall passe away*; and of S. Iohn, *the earth and the heavens fled away, and there was found no place for them*; in my minde make more evidently for an annihilation: and so is my meaning that these alleadged passages seeme more clearely to inferre an *abolition*, and the rest at leastwise to exclude a restitution to a perfecter estate.

10.

To the *tenth*, whether the carnall eye of a man though glorified, bee without a miracle able from the highest heavens to discern the globe of the earth and water, I should make a great doubt. For if those light-some bodies which are bigger then the earth, appeare unto us but as candles in a lesser distance; how shall the proportion of the earth bee discernable in a distance farre greater? And though variety of wayes & meanes to know God in that state of perfect blessednes be not hurtfull, yet it may be needlesse: nay the *Apostle* tels us in plaine tearmes, that *when that which is perfect is come, then that which is in part shall be done away*: Diverse wayes then to know God which are but in part may well enough stand together, as faith and reason, and the sight of eyes: but when that which is perfect is come, when we shall see him as he is, face to face, and by intuition know him as we are knowne of him, God shall then be all in all, wee shall then no more need those other wayes which are but in part, then hee who stands by his friend and fully beholds him present, shall, to take a view of him in a picture or looking-glasse. Neither doth the beholding of the humane nature of Christ, or of the glorified Saints, inferre any necessity of beholding these inferiour Creatures; since the one is the Authour, and the other are the Coheirs of our glory: but these inferiour Creatures being made onely for the use of the Church militant, can no more conduce to the happinesse of the Church triumphant, then the light of a candle to reade by can to him that stands in the Sun-shine: And in the fulnesse of that light of the infinite treasures of the power and wisdom of God, which wee shall then discover in him, these poore beggarly Elements shall no more serve as trophies or monuments of his greatnesse, then the rattles of a childe can serve for the setting forth of the magnificence of some great Monarch.

11.

To the *eleventh*, your best way then, if you thinke my objections insoluble, had beene to passe them over in silence, and not to have offered to make solutions to them; for by these you have now made, you begin to make me thinke they are *insoluble* indeed: yet to make such objections in questions which are not *de fide* hath alwayes beene usuall, and for any thing I know is justifiable enough; And for that which the *Apostle* affirmes I simply beleieve it, as you do, but not in that manner and sense as you expound it.

12.

a Rom. 8. v. 39.  
the word *κτίσις*  
is take generally  
for all Creatures  
both corporall and  
spirituall.

To the *twelfth*, to let passe your distraction (whereof notwithstanding I finde no sufficient warrant) I alwayes conceived that of material Entities onely the first matter had beene by God created out of nothing,



thing, and the Elements out of it, and out of them the mixt bodies, and consequently that being so, the world should in your opinion be againe resolved into the first *Chaos*, and yet why that should remaine I finde as little reason as for any of the rest; what monument of wisdom and power shall wee call that where the hangings, and furniture, and household-stuffe are all removed, onely the bare wals or foundation are left to be seene? And I pray consider if ever any interpreter who commented on the place, and understood it of the inferiour Creature, upon any sufficient ground excluded the mixt bodies, once of this I am sure that the text hath it <sup>b</sup> *Every Creature*, and our last Translatours render it *the whole creation*, which cannot well stand with your distinction. And truly hee that shall interpret *every Creature* to be onely the heavens and the Elements, and from the whole creation shall at one blow cut off all the mixt bodies, cannot but acknowledge that hee takes to himselfe a large scope of interpreting: specially considering that the mixt bodies and amongst them the living and sensible Creatures (as the horse and the ox) are more properly said to groane and travell in paine under the bondage of Corruption, then the Elements and the Heavens. And here I would willingly learne to what end you thus mangle and imbroile the text to exclude the mixt bodies, but only to put off those absurdities which you fore-see would necessarily ensue thereupon; and why should you then debarre mee from excluding the Elements likewise from a restitution, there being no lesse absurdities which follow upon the admittance of these, then of them. Let us then agreeably to the letter of the Text either admit all and cry down all arguments that can be brought against it as curious and scrupulous niceties, or by a favourable construction and agreeable to other Scriptures exclude all from a restitution.

To the *Thirteenth*, if by the primitive and simple nature of the Elements you understand their pure integrity, as that the Earth should be dry and cold without any mixture of moisture or warmth, for mine own part I thinke it was never so existent nor any of the other elements, the fire only excepted, in as much as so being, they could not have been so behoofefull for the use of man and beast (for whom they were created) as now they are, but if thereby you understand (as it seemes you do) their nakednesse and voidnesse of all mixt bodies, good Divines as namely *Philo*, *S. Augustine*, *Procopius*, *Gazarus*, and *Cajetan* are of opinion that the worke of the Creation of the world was not in it selfe distinguished by dayes, but onely is so in the historicall relation thereof by *Moses*, the better to descend to our capacity and apprehension: And though they bring for themselves their arguments as well from Scripture as reason, yet herein am I willing not to dissent from you; as also in that which you adde, that the sight of these simple bodies seemeth abundantly enough for the use of man in that blessed estate, because hee then shall be so farre from wanting the sight of any other, as in truth he shall in no sort want them: but whereas you exclude the mixt bodies because wee see them dayly, you might as well, and by the same reason must have excluded the heavens too, nay and the very Elements themselves.

b Beza trans-  
lates it *Mundus*  
*hic conditus*, &  
*Tremelius* out  
of the *Syriack*,  
*Universa crea-*  
*tura*.



selves. And to me it seemeth strange that you should speake of contemplating the greatnesse of their maker in them, when wee shall perfectly contemplate him and his perfections in himselfe. And that which you adde touching the knowledge of the Angels is to no better purpose, considering we shall intuitively behold all concludious in the principle of all those principles, the first roote and fountaine of all beeing; but here againe I must put you in minde that whereas you promised convenient solutions to my objections, you passe over in silence those which I presse in particular touching the Heavens and the Elements, and must professe that for mine owne part I know not which way to finde our convenient solutions to them. And therefore I joyne with you, & conceive indeed your safest way had beene without answer to passe by all these quarrels and queries of humane reason: for the more you meddle with them, the more will you intangle your selfe in an inextricable Labyrinth: but if you will firmly adhere to the letter of S. Pauls doctrine, as you pretend without consulting with humane reason in this busines, you will be forced to take in all the beasts, and fowles, & fishes, and vegetables as well as the Heavens & Elements, for in grammaticall construction I am sure that *every Creature* or the *whole Creation*, infoldes as well the latter as the former: And I will be bold to say it, if you thorowly weigh all the circumstances of the text, you will finde that the latter are rather to be understood by the *Apostle*, then the former: but because the restitution of the one seemes at first blush to bee more repugnant to humane reason then the other, therefore (and for none other cause that I know) hath it pleased the Schoolemen and other Divines following them to exclude the one, and admit the other.

And now S<sup>r</sup> I cannot but yeeld you most hartly thanks as well for imparting me your labours and minde so friendly & freely, as likewise for awakening my wits by this occasion more thorowly to consider of the sense of that Scripture, then before I did: which if it have given you any satisfaction I shall be glad thereof.

*Et in conversus confirma fratres.*

## CHAP. 14.

*Of the uses wee are to make of the Consummation of the World, and of the day of Iudgement.*

### SECT. 1.

*That the day of the worlds end shall likewise be the day of the generall Iudgment thereof, and that then there shall bee such a Iudgement, is proved as well by reason as the testimony of the Gentiles.*

**W**Hatsoever be the manner of the worlds end, most certaine it is, an end it shall have, and as certaine that then wee shall appeare before the Iudgement seate of Christ, that every man may receive according to that which hee hath done in his body, whether it be good or evil.



will. If we yeeld that there is a God, and that this God is *Almighty* and *just* (which of necessity he must be, or otherwise he may not be God) it cannot be avoyded, but that after this life ended, he administer justice unto men, by punishing the wicked and rewarding the righteous: Since in this world the one commonly live in ease and prosperity, and the other in misery and persecution. *Shall not then the Iudge of all the world doe right? doubtles hee shall and will.* Some therefore he punisheth exemplarily in this world, that we might from thence have a taste or glimpse of his *present justice*: And others he reserveth to the next, that from thence wee might have an assurance of a *future judgement*, which is either *particular*, as wee are single persons at the day of the separation of the soule from the body, which we may call the *Privy Sessions* of the soule; or *universall*, as we are parcels of mankind, at the last day, which we may call the *generall Assise* both of soule and body.

Gen. 18. 25.

And that there shall be such a *generall judgement*, besides the particular, we have these reasons to induce us to beleieve it. *First*, that the body of man rising from his sepulchre at that day may be partaker of eternall punishment or glory with the soule, even as in this life it was participant of the vertues or vices which the soule did execute; as they either sinned together, or served God together: So is it most fit that they should receive the sentence of eternall life or death together. Yet because the soule both may, and often doth, either sinne or serve God without the body, but the body of it selfe can doe neither without the soule; therefore is it as requisite that the seperated soule should either suffer paine or injoy blisse, whiles the body rests in the grave: And being reunited and married againe unto the body, should partake more either of blisse or paine then it.

See Raimundus  
Sebundus his  
naturall Theo-  
logie.Et Raimundus  
Lullius in de-  
monst. art. fidei.

As this first reason is taken from the *Essentiall parts*, so the *second reason*, that there shall be an universall and publique judgement, is drawne from the *Actions* of the persons to be judged & their rewards. Though it be true then, that if men were rewarded in secret both in soule and in body according to their actions, the *justice of God* might by that meanes be preserved, yet could it not be sufficiently manifested, unlesse this judgement were acted in the publique view of the whole World. Many good men have here beene openly oppressed and trodden under foote; and on the other side, the wicked have flourished in abundance of outward peace and temporall felicitie, which hath made the best of Gods servants at times to stagger and stand amazed thereat: But then shall they and all the world clearely see, and confidently professe to the honour of *Divine justice*, *Verily there is a reward for the righteous, doubtles there is a God that judgeth the Earth.* And in regard of this conspicuous manifestation of Gods justice and full accomplishment thereof at the last day, not a few of the *Greeke & Latine Fathers*, as also the holy *Scriptures* themselves in sundry places seeme to say, the retribution of our workes in the flesh shall be deferred till then. Now besides this honour which shall accrew to the *justice of God*, both wicked sinners and the blessed Saints of God shall then receive their rewards and finall payments openly in the sight and hearing of each other, to the end, that the grieve and shame

Psal. 58. 11.



shame of the impious, and the triumphant joy of the vertuous and religious, might thereby be the more increased. For what greater heart-breaking and confusion can there bee to the one, then to have all their secret faults layd open, and the sentence of Condemnation passed upon them in the presence of them whom they derided and vilified? or what greater comfort or content to the other, then to be justified and rewarded in the view of them who were their professed enemies?

Lastly, as our blessed Lord and Saviour Iesus Christ (who shall then appear as Judge) at his first comming into this world was contemptible in the eye of wordlings, and dishonoured *publiquely* both in his life and death: So was it convenient, that once in this world he should shew his power, and Majesty, and that in the sight of all his Creatures, but specially of his wicked enemies, who after that day are never to see or behold him more.

Eusebius de praeparatione. 11.  
18. 20. & 12. 3.

To these reasons may bee added the testimony of the very Gentiles, of Hydaspes, Hermes and Sybilla; whereof the first having described the iniquity of the last age, sayes that the godly and righteous men being severed from the unrighteous, shall with teares and groanes lift up their hands to heaven, imploring the helpe of *Iupiter*, and that thereupon *Iupiter* shall regard the earth, heare their prayers and destroy the wicked:

Lactan. 17. 18.

*Quæ omnia vera sunt, præter unum, quod Iovem dixit illa facturum quæ Deus faciet*, saith *Lactantius*, all which things are true, save one, which is, that he ascribes that to *Jupiter* which God shall doe. And besides (saith he) it was not without the cunning suggestion of *Sathan* left out, that then the Sonne of God shall be sent from the father, who destroying the wicked, shall set the righteous at liberty. Which *Hermes* notwithstanding dissembled not. Part of *Sybilla's* verses alleaged by *Lactantius* in Greeke, may thus be rendred in Latine and English:

*Huic luci finem imponent cum fata supremum,  
Iudicium æthereus Pater exercebit in omnes,  
Iudicium humano generi imperiumque verendum.*

When God shall to this world its fatall period send,  
Th'immortall, mortall men in judgement shall arraigne,  
Great shall his judgement be, his Kingdome without end.

And againe,

*Tartariumque chaos tellure hiscente patebit  
Regesque ætherij sistuntur iudicis omnes  
Ante thronum.*

Tartarean Chaos then Earth opening wide shall show,  
And then all Kings before Gods judgement seat shall bow.

And in another place.

*Cælum ego convolvens penetralia cæca recludam  
Telluris, funètique & fati lege soluti  
Et mortis stimulo exurgent, cunctosque tribunal  
Ante meum iudex statuam, reprobosque, probosque.*

Rolling up Heaven I will Earths secret vaults disclose,  
Deaths sting also, and bonds of fate will I unloose:

Then



Then shall the dead arise, and all both small and great,  
Both good and bad shall stand before my judgement seat.  
Over and above these Prophets & men of learning, *Peru* the South part  
of *America* doth yeeld to us an ignorant people, who by the light of SATISMA IN CORR. AN. 1558.  
nature & a generall apprehension (for God knoweth they have nothing  
else) doe beleieve that the world shall end, and that there shall be then  
a reward for the good and for the evill according to their deserr.

## S E C T. 2.

*The consideration of this day may first serve for terror to the wicked, whether  
they regard the dreadfulnesse of the day it selfe, or the quality of the Iudge  
by whom they are to be tryed.*

**T**He certainty then of this universall Judgement at the last day, be-  
ing thus clearly proved, not onely by the Scriptures of the Old  
and New Testament, but by the light of *Reason* and the testimo-  
nies of the *Gentiles*, the consideration thereof may justly serve for *terror*  
to the wicked, it being to them a day of *wrath* and *vengeance*; for *Com-  
fort* to the Godly, it being to them a day of *refreshing* and full *Redempti-  
on*; and lastly for *admonition* & *instruction* to both. First then it may justly  
serve for matter of extreame *terror* to the wicked, whether they regard  
the *dreadfulnesse of the day* in which they shall be tryed, or the *quality of  
the Iudge* by whom they are to be tryed, or the *nature or number of their  
accusers* that shall bring in evidence against them, or the presence of  
such an *assembly of men and Angels* before whom they shall be arraigned,  
or their *owne guiltinesse* and *astonishment*, or lastly the *sharpenesse and seve-  
rity of the sentence* that shall passe upon them. The very *Face and counte-  
nance of that day* shall be *hideous & dismall* to looke to, it shall be apparel-  
led with *horror* and *affrightment* on every side: *That day is a day of* Zephany 1. 15-16.  
*wrath, a day of trouble and heavinesse, a day of destruction and desolation, a day  
of gloominesse and darknesse, a day of clouds, stormes and blacknesse, a day of the  
trumpet and alarme against the strong cities, and against the high towers.* Then  
shall the Sun be darkned, and the Moone shall be turned into bloud, and  
the starres shall fall from heaven as it were withered leaves from their  
trees, and the powers of heaven shall be shaken, and the graves shall vo-  
mit up their dead bodies, the heavens shall passe away with a noise, and  
shrivell together like scorched parchment, the elements shall melt and  
dissolve with heat, the sea and fouds shall roare, and the Earth with the  
works that are therein shall be burnt up, there shall be horrible claps of  
thunder and flashes of lightning, voyces and earth-quakes, such as ne-  
ver were since men dwelt upon the earth: such howling, such lamenta-  
tions, such skriches shal be heard in every corner, that the hearts of men  
shall tremble and wither for very feare and expectation of those things  
which at that day shall befall the. And now tell me what mortall heart  
can choose but ake & quake at the remembrance of these unspeakeable  
incomprehensible terrours? The *Law* was given with thunder & light-  
nings, and a thicke cloud upon the mount, with an exceeding loud and  
shrill



shrill sound of the trumpet, so that all the people were afraide, yea so terrible was the sight, that *Moses* said, *I feare and quake*. Now if *Moses* the servant of the Lord quaked to heare the first trumpet at the giving of the Law, how shall the wicked condemned in their owne conscience, tremble and quake to heare the second at the execution thereof?

Specially being arraigned at the barre of such a Judge, apparrelled with Robes of Majesty, and attended with millions of Angels: A *Image* so soveraigne as there lies no appeale from him; so wise as nothing can escape his knowledge; so mighty as nothing can resist his power, so upright as nothing can pervert his justice, who neither can bee deceived with sophistry, nor blinded with gifts, nor terrified with threats. They shall looke upon him whom they have wounded and goared with the speare of their blasphemies, with the nailes of their cursings and cursed oathes; whom they have buffeted and spit upon with their impiety and prophanesse; whom they have againe crucified to themselves by their devilish and damnable actions, trampling his pretious Bloud under foot by their impenitencie, putting him to open shame by their infidelity, making a mocke of him by their obstinacie, and turning his grace into wantonnes by their presumption. Holy *Augustine* in one of his *Sermans of the last Iudgement*, brings in this *glorious Iudge* thus expostulating the matter with these miscreants at that day. O man! with mine own hands  
 'did I fashion thee out of the slime of the earth: into thy earthly mem-  
 'bers did I infuse a spirit: I vouchsafed to bestow upon thee mine owne  
 'Image: I placed thee among the delights of *Paradise*: but thou con-  
 'temning the vitall efficacie of my commandements, choosedst rather  
 'to listen to the *tempter*, then thy *God*. And when being expelled out  
 'of *Paradise*, by reason of sin thou wert held in the chaines of death, I  
 'was inclosed in the Virgins wombe, I was laid in the cratch, I was  
 'wrapped in swathing cloathes, I endured the scorne of infancie, & the  
 'griefe of manhood, that so being like unto thee, I might make the like  
 'unto my selfe. I bore the buffetting and spittings of scorers, I dranke  
 'vineger mixed with gall, I was scourged with whips, crowned with  
 'thornes, nailed to the crosse, goared with a speare, & that thou mightest  
 'be freed from death, in torments I parted with my life: Looke upon  
 'the print of the nayles, behold the skarres of my wounds: I took upon  
 'me thine infirmities, that I might impart unto thee my glory. I under-  
 'went the death due to thee, that thou mightest live for ever. I was buried  
 'in a Sepulchre that thou mightest raigne in Heaven. Why hast thou  
 'wilfully lost that which I by my sufferings purchased for thee? Why  
 hast thou spurned at the gracious gift of thy Redemption? I complaine  
 'not of my death, only render unto mee that life for which I gave mine.  
 'Render mee that life which by the wounds of thy finnes thou dayly  
 'killest. Why hast thou polluted with more then beastly sensuality that  
 'Temple which in thee I consecrated to my selfe? Why hast thou stay-  
 'ned my body with filthy provocations? Why hast thou tormented  
 'me with a more grievous crosse of my finnes, then that upon which I  
 'sometimes hung? for the crosse of thy finnes is more grievous (in as  
 'much as unwillingly I hang upon it) then that other which taking pit-  
 'ty



thy upon thee, & to kill thy death, I willingly mounted. I being impassible in my selfe vouchsafed to suffer for thee: but thou hast despised God in man, salvation in mine infirmity, pardon from thy Judge, life from my crosse, and wholesome medicine from my sufferings. Now what flinty or steely heart in the world could choose but resolve it selfe into teares of bloud upon such an exhortation, were it moistened with any drop of grace? But hereunto might be added, that thou hast often joyned with his enemies against him, turned the deafe eare to the ministry of his Word, jesting at his threatnings, neglected his gracious invitations, quenched his holy inspirations, abused his Sacraments, and his patience, which being long abused, at length is turned into fury. This *Lambe of God* therefore shall then shew himselfe as a *Lyon*, he shall then put on righteousness as a brest-plate, & take true judgement instead of an helmet, then shall he put on the garment of vengeance for cloathing, & be clad with zeale as with a cloake; Then shall he come in strength as a storme of haile, & as a whirlwinde breaking and throwing downe whatsoever standeth in his way, as a rage of many waters that flow and rush together. The mountaines shall melt and fly away at his presence, a burning fire shall goe before him, and on every side of him a violent tempest. And if *Felix* himselfe a *Judge* trembled to heare *Paul* (who as a prisoner was arraigned before him) disputing of this Last Judgement, how shall the guilty prisoners tremble before the face of this *Judge*, being both the *Judge* and the party offended? If the *Jewes* who came to attach him fell backward at the hearing of his voyce in the dayes of his *humility*, how shall the wicked stand amazed & confounded at his presence when he comes to judge them in glory and *Majesty*? Surely for them to endure the fiercenes of his angry countenance will be intollerable, and yet to fly from it impossible, & the more intollerable will it be in regard of the nature and number of their accusers.

## S E C T. 3.

*Of the nature and number of their Accusers.*

**T**He *Creatures* shall accuse them whom they have abused to vanity, to luxury, to drunkenness, to gluttony, to covetousness, to ambition, to revenge, and being then freed from their bondage, they shall freely complaine of this unjust usurpation. *Good men* shall accuse them, as having bin most disdainfully scorned, wronged, oppressed, and troden under foot by them. Their *Companions* shall accuse them, as having bin drawne into sin by their wicked intisements and examples. Their *Teachers* and *Governours* shall accuse them, as having beene irreverent toward their persons, and rebellious against their instructions & commands. Their *Children* and *Servants* shall accuse them, as having beene negligent of their education in vertue and piety. The *Prophets* and *Apostles* shall accuse them as having beene careless in the observation of their writings. The good *Angels* shall accuse them, whose directions they have refused to follow. The *Devils* shall accuse them, in that they



have betrayed their Lord and Captaine to march under their banners. *Their owne Consciences* shall bitterly accuse and upbraid them: the body shall accuse the soule as being the principall agent, and the soule the body as being a ready instrument. *The Appetite* shall accuse reason as being too sensuall & indulgent; & *Reason* the appetite, as being irregular & inordinate: all the *faculties* of the soule, all the *senses* and *members* of the body shall accuse each other: nay which is worst of all, the *Judge himselfe* shall be thy accuser, representing those transgressions to thy memory, & laying them close to thy charge which either thou hadst forgotten and cast behinde thee, or didst perchance not know, or not acknowledge to be sinnes; *Sweet JESVS!* which way will the poore Sinner turne himselfe in the midst of all these accusers and accusations? To confesse them then will serve but to increase his shame; to deny them, but to aggravate his fault, and consequently his punishment: nay deny them hee cannot, being convinced by two evidences against which there can be no exception, the booke of the *Law*, and the booke of his owne *Conscience*, the one shall shew him what he should have done, and the other what he hath done, against the booke of the *Law*, hee shall be able to speake nothing; his *Conscience* telling him that the commandments of the Lord are pure and righteous altogether: and for the booke of *Conscience*, against that hee cannot possibly except, it being alway in his owne keeping, so as it could not be falsified, and whatsoever shall then be found written therein, he shall freely acknowledge to have been written with his owne hand: Silence then shall bee his safest plea, and astonishment his best Apologie.

The rather, for that all these accusations shall be brought in and laid against him *in the presence of the blessed Saints and glorious Angels* which shall then be unto him a terrible and fearefull spectacle, as well in regard of their infinite number, as their irresistible strength. We reade of diverse holy men, who upon the sight of an *Angell* have beene cast into such pittifull fits that their spirits have failed them, their breath hath forsaken them, their joynts have bin loosed, and for the time they have bin as dead bodies without all appearance of sense or life. Now if holy men have beene so much moved with the sight of one *Angell*, bringing them good tidings and conversing familiarly with them, into what inconceivable gulphes of horror shall the reprobate be plunged upon the sight of so many millions, all armed with indignation against them, and desire of the full and finall execution of their *Creators* will? If an army of men marching with banners displayed bee terrible to behold, how dreadfull shall that innumerable hoste of heavenly souldiers appeare to the face of their enemies? and if one of them slew fourescore and five thousand in one night, what mortall wight shall conceive any hope of standing before such multitudes? who as they are now sent forth to minister for their sakes that are heires of salvation, so then shall they separate the just from the unjust, and shall execute vengeance upon them that shall bee heires of damnation, casting them into a furnace of fire, where shall be wayling and gnashing of teeth. So as they shall not be bare *Spectatours* but principall *Actours* in that lamentable tragedie. We find



find that when but one of them descended to roll away the stone from our *Saviours* Sepulchre, there was a great *Earth-quake*, and for feare of him the keepers of the Sepulchre were astonied, and became as dead men: Into what extremity then of confusion and perplexity shall the wicked be driven, when they shall perceive such troupes of these mighty and glorious Creatures assembled not onely to be witnesses of their shame and just condemnation, but agents in their execution? Besides all this, it shall bee acted in the presence of those *blessed Saints* whom they alwayes held their greatest enemies; and what greater bitterness can be imagined, then to bee laid open and reproached in the sight of a mans enemies, and to see them in the meane time advanced to honour, triumphing and insulting upon his miseries, as the Saints then shall doe upon impenitent sinners, admiring and applauding the justice of their *Creator*, and as *assistants* approving the equity of that sentence which he shall pronounce, and which the condemned themselves likewise cannot but justifie?

In as much as then in an instant shall be represented unto themselves, and discovered in the open view of the whole world, all the horrible, fowle, bloody, crying, roaring sins that ever they committed, together with all the circumstances of time, and place, and persons, and manner, and measure. Then shall they give a particular strict account of all the *blessings*, of all the *gifts and graces* which God hath bestowed upon them, of all the *faculties* of their soules, of all the *senses and members* of their bodies, as it were of so many talents committed to their charge, how they have used or rather abused them. Then shall they give an account, how they have profited by all those *wholsome lessons* they have heard, and fatherly *chastisements* they have beene corrected with, how they have entertained those good *motions* that God hath put in their hearts, how they have withstood the *Suggestions* of *Sathan*, & the temptations of the *world* and the *flesh*. Then shall they give an account, not onely of their greivous, haynous sinnes of *presumption* and *malice*, committed against the light of their *Conscience*, wittingly, willingly, & wilfully, with an high hand and stiffe necke; but of filthy rotten *speeches*, prophane *writings*, unsavory *jests*, nay of every *idle word*, nay of every loose and lewd *thought*; not only of outward, publique, notorious transgressions; but of secret practises, mischievous plots & projects, knowne only to *God* and their owne soules. Lastly, not only of sins of *Commission*, but of the *Omission* of good duties, and of their pretious time mispent, passing the greatest part thereof in eating, and drinking, & sleeping, and dancing, & gaming, in haunting Taverns, and play-houses, and dicing-houses, and brothell-houses, which should have beene spent in the workes of *Charity*, of *Piety*, or those of their *private calling*. Good God, what shall the poore sinner now say, what shall he doe for the levelling and clearing of those accounts? shall hee call for mercy? he hath already shut that doore against himselfe. Shall hee fly to his *Saviour*? hee is now become his Judge. Shall he implore the intercession of the *Saints* and *Angells*? neither will they intercede if they might be heard, nor shall they be heard, though they would intercede. *O hard distresse!* saith



devout *Anselme*, on the one side will be his *sinnes* accusing him, on the other side *Iustice* terrifying him, under him the *gulf* of *hell* gaping, above him the *Iudge* frowning, within him a *Conscience* stinging, without him the *world* burning. Finding no way then to relieve or excuse himselfe, hee shall seeke to hide himselfe in dens and among the clefts of the rockes, and shall say unto the hills and mountaines fall upon mee and cover mee from the presence of him that sitteth upon the Throne, and from the wrath of the Lambe, for the great day of his wrath is come, and who can stand? and if the righteous be hardly saved, where shall the impenitent sinner appeare? Yet no remedie, stand forth and appeare they must at the open Barre of Gods justice, and there receive their last doome, Depart from me yee Cursed into everlasting fire prepared for the Devill and his Angells.

## S E C T. 4.

*Or lastly the dreadfulness of the sentence which shall then bee pronounced upon them.*

**O** Mercifull Lord! what a dolefull, what a dreadfull sentence is this? Depart from thee O *Christ*? why thou art all things, and therefore the losse of thee is an universall losse of all things. Thou art the greatest good, and therefore to be deprived of thee is the greatest evill. Thou art the very Center and perfect rest of the soule, and therefore to bee pulled from thee is the most cruell separation that can be. It was the richest promise that thou couldest make to the penitent theefe, and the sweetest voyce that he could heare, *This day thou shalt be with me in Paradise.* Lord whither shall we goe from thee? saith one of thine *Apostles*, and the other only wisheth to be dissolved, that hee may be with thee. The *Wizards* of the *East* when they recovered the sight of the starre that but led unto thee, being yet in the state of infirmitie and humilitie, rejoyced with an exceeding great joy: and thy fore-runner the *Baptist* at the voyce of thy blessed mother sprang for joy, being yet in the wombe; how then would they have beene replenished & ravished with joy to have seene thee in thy Kingdome of glory, and tormented with griefe to have beene commanded out of thy presence? specially considering, that *with thee is the Well of life, in thy presence is the fulnes of joy, and at thy right hand there are pleasures for evermore.* By parting from thee then, we part from the blisfull vision of the face of God, from the fruition of the happy fellowship of the holy *Angels* & society of *Saints*, and consequently from happinesse it selfe. What remaines then, but that parting from happinesse, wee should indeede become most miserable and accursed Caitifs. Depart from me yee Cursed. Men sometimes curse where God blesses, and blesse where God curses: They can only pronounce a man cursed, they cannot make him so; but here it is otherwise: for with this powerfull and righteous Judge, to pronounce is to make: when he cursed the fig-tree, it instantly withered: And as these impenitent Sinners loved cursing, so shall it come



come unto them; and as they loved not blessing, so shall it be farre from them. As they cloathed themselves with cursing like a rayment, so shall it come into their bowels like water, and like oyle into their bones; it shall be unto them as a garment to cover them, and for a girdle wherewith they shall bee alway girded. Cursed shall be the day of their conception, and cursed the day of their birth: Cursed they shall be in their soules, and cursed in their bodies; Cursed in their thoughts; & cursed in their desires; cursed in their speeches, and cursed in their actions; Cursed in the haynousnes of their sinne, and cursed in the grievousnesse of their punishment: cursed in their punishment of losse, for their aversion from the Creator, depart from me; and cursed in their punishment of sense, for their conversion to the Creature, Depart from me into everlasting Fire. Of all the Creatures appointed by Almighty God, to bee instruments for the execution of his vengeance, water and fire are noted to have the least mercy: And therefore with fire and brimstone consumed he the filthy Sodomites, a type of this helish fire, as Sodom was of hell it selfe. If creating an Element here for our comfort, I meane the fire, hee made the same so insufferable as it is, in such sort, as a man would not hold his onely hand therein one day to gaine a Kingdome; what a fire thinke you hath hee provided for hell, which is not created for comfort, but onely for torment? Our fire hath many differences from that, and therefore is truely said of the holy Fathers, to bee but as a painted or fained fire in respect of that. For first our fire was made to comfort, as I have said, and that onely to afflict and torment: Our fire hath need to be fed continually with wood and fewell, or else it goeth out, and burneth eternally without feeding, and is unquenchable; for that the breath of the Lords owne mouth doth blow and nourish is. Our fire worketh onely upon the body, immediately upon the soule being a spirit it cannot worke, that worketh upon the soule separated from the bodie, as it likewise doth upon the Apostate Angells, and upon both soule and bodie rejoyned. Our fire giveth light which of it selfe is comfortable, that admitteth none, but is full of dismall darkenesse. Our fire may be extinguished, or the rage of it abated with water, that cannot. Ours breedeth weeping, that not onely weeping but gnashing of teeth, the ordinary effect of cold. Such a strange and incredible fire it is, that implies contraries, & so terrible is this Judge to his enemies, that he hath devised a wonderfull way, how to torment them with burning heate and chilling cold both at once. Lastly, our fire consumeth the foode that is cast into it, and thereby in short space dispatcheth the paines, whereas that afflicteth and tormenteth, but consumeth not, to the end, the paines may be Everlasting as is the fire.

O deadly life! O immortall death! what shall I tearme thee? Life? and wherefore then dost thou kill? Death? and wherefore then dost thou endure? There is neither Life nor Death but hath something good in it. For in life there is some ease, and in death an end, but thou hast neither ease nor end: What shall I tearme thee? even the bitterness of both. For of death thou hast torment without any end, and of life the continuance without any ease, so long as God shall live, so long shall the damned die,



and when he shall cease to be happy, then shall they also cease to be miserable. A starre which is farre greater then the earth, appeareth to be a small spot in comparision of the heavens, much lesse shall the age of man seeme; yea much lesse the age and continuance of the whole world in regard of this perpetuity of paines. The least moment of time if it bee compared with tenne thousand millions of yeares, because both tearmes are finite, and the one a part of the other, beareth, although a very small, yet some proportion. but this or any other number of years, in respect of endlesse eternity, is nothing, lesse then just *nothing*: For all things that are *finite* may bee compared together, but betweene that which is *finite*, and that which is *infinite*, there standeth no comparision. O, saith one holy *Father* in a godly meditation, if a sinner damned in hell did know that hee had to suffer those torments no more thousand yeares then there be sands in the sea or grasse leaves on the ground, or no more thousand millions of ages then there be Creatures in heaven, hell, and in earth, he would greatly rejoyce, for that hee would comfort himselfe at the leastwise with this cogitation, that once yet the matter would have an end: But now, saith this good man, this word *never* breaketh his heart, considering that after an hundred thousand millions of worlds (if there might be so many) hee hath as farre to his journeyes end, as hee had the first day of his entrance into those torments. And surely if a man that is sharply pinched with the gout, or the stone, or but with the toothach, and that they hold him but by fits, giving him some respite betweene-whiles, notwithstanding doth thinke one night exceeding long although hee lie in a soft bed, well applied and cared for, how tedious doe we thinke *eternity* will seeme to those that shall be *universally* in all their parts, *continually* without intermission, *perpetually* without end or hope of end scorched in those hellish flames, which besides that they are everlasting, have this likewise added, that they are *prepared for the Devill and his Angells*?

*Prepared*, by whom? surely by the *Iudge himselfe*, who gives the sentence. Now if but *mortall Iudges* should set and search their wits to devise and prepare a punishment for some notorious malefactor, what grievous tortures doe they often finde out, able to make a man tremble at the very mentioning of them? what kinde of punishment then shall wee conceive this to be which this *immortall King* of Heaven & Earth, this *Iudge* both of the quicke and dead hath prepared? Surely his invention this way is as farre beyond the reach of all mortall wits (were they all united in one braine) as is his power. It must needs bee then a torment insufferable, unspeakeable & incomprehensible, which he hath set himselfe to prepare: But for whom? *for the Devill and his Angells*, that is, for the *Arch-traitour*, the chiefe rebell that stands out against him, and hath stood out against him since the first *Creation* of the world. *How art thou fallen from heaven O Lucifer sonne of the morning! thou saydst in thine heart, I will exalt my throne above, beside the starres of God, & I will bee like unto the most high: Therefore hath he cast thee downe to the bottomlesse pit of hell, there to be imprisoned in everlasting chaines under darkenesse to the judgement of this great day of the generall asseise, then and there shalt thou receive thy*



thy compleat and finall sentence : and then shall those miscreants who have chosen rather to harken to thy intisements, to yeeld to thy temptations, to march under thy banner, and with thee and thine *Angels* to stand out in open rebellion against their Liege Lord, then to yeeld their due obedience to him, who by so many obligations might deservedly challenge it from them : Then I say, shall they who have thus sinned with thee, suffer likewise with thee : & as thou labouredst by all meanes to make them like thy selfe in sinne : so shalt thou then as earnestly labour to make them like thy selfe, as in the kinde, so likewise in the degree of thy *punishment* : that as the *Saints* shall resemble the blessed *Angels* in heaven, so they may in all respects resemble thee and thy *curst Angels* in hell. And thus have wee in part heard the *terroure* of this *last day* in regard of the obstinately wicked ; Let us now heare what *Comforts* the remembrance and meditation thereof may justly afford *the righteous*, that is, such as by *Gods grace* endeavour to live a *vertuous and religious life*.

## S E C T. 5.

*Secondly, the consideration of this day may serve for a speciall comfort to the godly, whether they meditate upon the name and nature of the day it selfe in regard of them, or the assurance of Gods love and favour towards them, and the gracious promises made unto them.*

**T**Hese *Comforts* then arise first from the name and nature of the day in regard of them: *Secondly*, from the assurance of Gods love and favour towards them, & from the gracious promises made unto them: *Thirdly*, from the quality and condition of the *Iudge* by whom they are to betryed : and *lastly*, from the sweetenes of the sentence which shall be pronounced on their behalfe. *First* then, this day howbeit it shall bee very terrible to *impenitent* sinners, yet to the Servants of God shall it be a day of joy & triumph, a day of *Iubilee* & exultation, or as the Scriptures tearme it a day of refreshing and redemption. Neither ought this to seeme strange, since the same *Sun* which melteth the wax, hardneth the clay, the same beams exhale both stinking vapours out of the dunghills, and sweet savours out of flowres ; the beame is every way the same which workes upon them, only the difference of the subjects which it workes upon, is it that thus diversifies the effects. When the *Iudges* in their *Affises* come to the bench or place of judgement apparelled in skarlet robes, invironed with holdbards, attended on with great troopes, assisted by the principall knights and gentlemen of the Country, all this is a pleasing sight to the innocent prisoner, because he hopes that now his innocency shall appeare in the face of the Countrey, and that the day of his deliverance is come : whereas to the guilty it is a dreadfull sight, because he knowes that the day of his tryall, & consequently of his condemnation and execution cannot be farre off : in like manner when the gibbet or gallows is set up, the ladder, the halter, the hangman and all in readiness for the execution, this to the good subject and true man is a pleasing spectacle, because it is for their peace and safeguard: but a spectacle full of horreur to the condemned theefe or murtherer who are there in-  
of



stantly to be executed. To such as are straitly besieged in a *Castle* or *City*, when a powerfull Army is raised to rescue them, and draweth neere to the place and is come within sight, the neighing and trampling of the horses, the glittering of the armour, the clashing of weapons, the beating of the drumme, the sounding of the trumpet, yea the roaring of the cannon to them are as sweet musicke, because they know all this to be for their succour and reliefe: but to the besiegers the noyse is terrible, because they know it is to assault, remove and vanquish them: and this surely shall be the difference betwixt the faithfull and the unrighteous at the *day of judgement*. The *Majesty* and *Glory* of *Christ*, the traine of innumerable *Angels* attending on him, the shrill sound of the trumpet summoning all flesh to appear before his *Tribunall* at this great and general *Assises*, and all other solemnities belonging to the pompe and magnificence thereof, as it shall utterly daunt and confound the one, in as much as they know themselves guilty of all those enormities and outrages wherewith they shall be charged, so shall it cheere up the other, for that they are then fully to bee cleared in the presence of men & *Angels* from those unjust aspersions and imputations which their enemies have cast upon them, they are to be freed from all those wrongs & oppressions they have sustained, they are to bee rescued from that narrow siege, that fierce assault, that long & strong battery, which by *sinne*, the *world*, the *flesh*, & the *Divell* hath beene laid to their soules, so as all those fearefull signes fore running the last end, as the trembling of the earth, & the shaking of the powers of heaven, shall be unto them as the *Earthquake* was to *Paul* & *Silas*, which served to loose their fetters and manacles, and to open unto them the prison doores, and set them at liberty.

Neither can it in truth be otherwise, considering the love & favour which *Almighty God* beares them. Hee hath redeemed them with the pretious Blood of his deare Sonne, hee hath begotten them by the incorruptible seed of his word, hee hath illuminated and sanctified them with his Spirit, he hath sealed them by his Sacraments, he hath pacified their guilty Consciences with his grace, delivered them out of dangers, supported them in their temptations, relieved them in their distresses, resolved them in their doubts, made all things to worke together for the best unto them, and will he forsake them at this last tryall? no, no *herein* he setteth out his love towards them, seeing, that while they were yet sinners, *Christ* died for them, much more being now justified by his Blood, shall they bee saved from wrath thorow him. For if when they were enemies they were reconciled to God by the death of his Sonne, much more being reconciled shall they bee saved by his life: if they were pardoned thorow his death when they were enemies, they shall much more be saved by his life now that they are friends. For how incredible is it, nay how impossible, that he who pardoneth an enemy should condemne a friend? He loved them whiles they yet bore the image of the *Divell*, and will he not much more love them now since he hath in part repaired his owne Image in them? They were deare unto him when there was in them no goodnesse, & can hee now abandon them being made partakers of that goodnes which himselfe hath wrought in them? Being then pluckt out of the power of darkenesse,



darkenesse, let them never feare to be rejected by the *Father of light*; having the blessed *Angels* sent forth to minister for their sakes, let them never feare to be delivered over unto, or in the final sentence to be joyned with, the *Divell* and his *Angels*. What shall we then say to these things? if God be on our side who can be against us, who spared not his owne Sonne, but gave him for us all to death, how shall he not with him give us all things also? Who shall lay any thing to the charge of Gods chosen? it is god that justifieth: who shall condemne? it is Christ which is dead or rather which is risen againe. Who shall separate us from the love of Christ? shall tribulation or anguish, or persecution, or famine, or nakednesse, or perill, or sword? nay in all these things wee are more then conquerours thorow him that loved us. And we are perswaded that neither death, nor life, nor *Angels*, nor *Principalities*, nor *Powers*, nor things present, nor things to come, nor height, nor depth, nor any other creature shall bee able to separate us from the love of God which is in Christ *Iesus* our Lord.

And as the love and favour of God in Christ doth thus arme his children against the terrour of the day of Iudgement, so do likewise the gracious promises made unto them, which imbolden them to say againe with the blessed *Apostle*, *I have fought a good fight, I have finished my course, I have kept the faith, from henceforth is layd up for me the Crowne of righteousness* which the Lord the righteous Iudge shall give me at that day, & not to me only, but unto all them also that love that his appearing. If I shall then receive a Crowne of righteousness I need not feare hell fire: if the righteous Iudge himselfe will give it mee, I neede not stand in awe of his severity if he shall give it to all those that love that his appearing, I neede not tremble at the thought thereof; nay I have rather great reason to bee glad and rejoyce thereat, and when I see those things come to passe, to looke up and lift up mine head, as being well assured, that my redemption draweth neere. And not only my redemption, but mine advancement to honour, even in that very act of Iudgement: the bench rather then the barre being my place there, and my selfe being ordained not to stand forth as a prisoner, but to sit as a Judge. Verily I say unto you, that when the Sonne of man shall sit in the Throne of his Majesty, yee which followed me in the regeneration shall sit also upon twelve thrones, and judge the twelve tribes of *Israell*, saith Truth it selfe. Which priviledge lest wee should thinke to be restrained onely to his *Apostles*, one of them by good warrant extends it to all the faithfull. Do yee not know, saith he, that the *Saints* shall judge the world? that is, wicked men who have oppressed us: And againe, Know yee not that we shall judge the *Angels*? that is, wicked spirits who have tempted or assaulted us. Now what folly is it to be afrayde of that judgment where wee our selves shall be Iudges, and that of our greatest enemies? nay what encouragement should it bee to receive if need were, the sentence of death for Christs sake, since it is certaine, that as Christ himselfe shall Judge *Pilate* before whom hee was arraigned, & by whom he was wrongfully condemned: so also shall we in some sort, at leastwise as *Assessors* with him, and approovers of his sentence, judge our Iudges. For although Christ our head principally and properly shall be the Judge, yet wee that are his members shall have a branch of his authority, and shall be as it were ioyned in commission with him.



## S E C T. 6.

*Or the quality and condition of the Iudge in respect of them by whom they are to bee tryed: or lastly, the sweetnesse of the sentence which shall then bee pronounced on their behalfe.*

**B**Ut setting this *Commission* aside, what a comfort will it bee to the Godly to be summoned, to be assembled, to be separated from the goates by the ministry of those very *Angels* who were appointed to bee their guardians, to pitch their tents round about them; and to beare them up with their hands that they might not dash their foote against a stone? nay what joy unutterable, with their eyes to behold and looke upon that *Saviour* of theirs (appearing in *Majesty* as a *Iudge*) who redeemed them with his heart blood, and gave his life as a ranfome for them, in whom they have trusted, on whom they have beleaved, to whom they have prayed, for whom they have suffered, with whom they shall be glorified? Their Father, their Husband, their Master, their Head, their Physitian, their Advocate and Intercessour: and can the father condemne the sonne, the husband the wife, the Master his faithfull servant, the head his member, the Physitian his patient, the Advocate his Client? How happy is our case then, that he must be our Iudge that was himselfe judged for us, and our assurance is, that hee will not condemne us, that hath already beene condemned for us: No, hee will be so farre from condemning us, that then and there hee will fully acquit us in the sight of the whole world, and pronounce that favourable sentence on our behalfe, *Come yee blessed of my Father, inherit a kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world?*

A judicall sentence shall I call it, or rather a brotherly & gracious invitation? *Come yee blessed of my Father: Come*, that where the husband is, there may the wife be; that where the father is, there may the sonnes be; that where the Master is, there may the servant bee, that where the Captain is there may the souldiers be; that where the king is, there may the subjects be, that where the head is, there may the members be. *Come*, it was thy voice sweet *Saviour* whiles thou wert yet in the state of humility, *Come unto me all ye that are weary & heavy laden & I will refresh you:* & dost thou still retaine the same sweetnes and familiarity, being now in glory, and that whiles thou art sitting upon the throne of justice? *Good Lord*, how dost thou at the same instant shew thy selfe terrible as a *Lyon* to thine enemies, and yet gentle as a *Lamb* to thy friends? frowning upon the one, and yet smiling on the other, commanding the one out of thy presence with an *Ite, Goe*, and inviting the other to approach neere with a *Venite, Come. Come, come my deare hearts*, now is the time that you must rest from your labours, that your teares must bewip'd off, that your long expectatiō & longing hope must be turned into fruition: your race is at an end, you must now receive the prize, your wrestling at an end, you must now receive the garland, your combating at an end, you must now receive the Crowne, *Come yee blessed of my Father. Blessed in your*



your lives, and *blessed* in your deaths; *blessed* in your election, *blessed* in your vocation, *blessed* in your adoption, *blessed* in your justification, *blessed* in your sanctification, and now for accomplishment of all, most *blessed* in your glorification. And the fountaine of all this your blessednesse, is none other then the very *Father of blessings*, my *Father* and your *Father*, mine by nature, yours by grace, mine by eternall generation, and yours by spirituall regeneration: And whom the *Father* blesses, the Son cannot but most lovingly and tenderly imbrace. *Come yee blessed of my Father*, what to doe? *to inherit a Kingdome*. Lest my words should seeme to be but winde, lest my promises should seeme to be vaine, and your patience and beleeving vaine; *Come* and receive that which I have promised, and you have beleevd; *Come* and take actuall possession of it; yet not as a purchase of your owne, but as an *inheritance*; not as wages, but as a reward; not as bought by the value of your merits, but conferred upon you by the vertue of my sufferings, and the benediction of my *Father* as the cause, and your sonne-shippe and obedience as the condition. Your title is good, your evidence faire, so as no exception can be taken to your right, nothing so much as pretended or pleaded to disinherit you. *Come* on then chearefully, make hast and enter upon it, my selfe will leade you the way, follow mee. But what may it bee gracious Lord that wee shall possesse? surely no lesse then a *Kingdome*. This reward is sometimes set forth unto us under the name of a pleasant garden of *Paradise* of delight; sometime of a stately magnificent palace; sometime of a large and beautifull City: but here of a *Kingdome*, a glorious, a spacious, a secure, a durable *Kingdome*, whose King is the *Trinity*, whose Law is *Divinity*, whose measure *eternity*; as farre beyond all the *kingdomes* of this world, and all the gilded pompe, the glittering power and riches of them, as the greatest earthly *Monarch* is beyond the King in a play. *Earthly Monarches* have their secret pressures and pinches, they have their feares, and cares, and griefes, and envy, and anger, and sicknes mixed with their joyes and contents, or at least by turnes succeeding them: Somewhat is ever wanting to their desires, and full of doubts and jealousies they are, that their dominions may be either impaired or invaded: And if they were free from the possibility of all these, yet may they in a moment, and that by a thousand wayes bee arrested by death, and then all their honour lies in the dust, all their thoughts perish: But now with them that inherit this heavenly *Kingdome* it is not so: they have joy and content at full, without the least intermission or diminutiō, without the least mixture of any feare, or care, or griefe, or envy, or anger, or any other troublesome passion whatsoever. They are out of all doubt and jealousie of loosing that which they possesse, either in whole or in part; they are confident and secure that neither this *Kingdome* can be taken from them by rebellion or inuasion, nor they from it by death or deposition. And herein againe doth this *Kingdome* excell all other *kingdomes*, that it is of *Gods* speciall preparing. And such happinesse he hath prepared in it for them that shall possesse it, as eye hath not scene, care hath not hard, tongue cannot utter, neither hath at any time entred into the heart of man; Such as his imaginati-



on cannot apprehend, nor his understanding possibly conceive. O my Lord ! if thou for this vile body of ours hast given us so great and innumerable benefits from the firmament, from the aire, from the earth, from the sea ; by light, by darknesse, by heate, by shadow, by dewes, by showers, by windes, by raines, by fishes, by beasts, by birds by multitude of hearbes, and variety of plants, and by the ministry of all thy Creatures : O sweete Lord ! what manner of things, how great, how good, and how innumerable are those which thou hast prepared for us in our heavenly Kingdome, where we shall see thee face to face, and raigne with thee eternally ? If thou doe so great things for us in our prison, what wilt thou give us in our palace ? If thou givest so many things in this world to good and evill men together, what hast thou layd up for only good men in the world to come ? If thine enemies and friends together are so well provided for in this life, what shall thy only friends receive in the life to come ? If there be so great solaces in these dayes of teares, what joy shall there be in the day of marriage ? If our jayle and prison containe so great matters, what shall our *Kingdome* doe ? O my Lord and God, thou art a great *God*, and great is the multitude of thy magnificence and sweetenes ; & as there is no end of thy greatnes, nor number of thy mercies, nor bottome of thy wisdom, nor measure of thy beauty : So is there no end, number, or measure of thy rewards to them that love and serve thee.

## S E C T. 7.

*Thirdly, the consideration of this day may serve for admonition to all.*

**S**eing then that all these things must bee dissolved, what manner persons ought we to be in holy conversation & godlines, looking for, and hastning unto the comming of that day, in which wee all shall appeare before the judgement seate of Christ, that every man may receive according to that hee hath done in his body, whether it be good or evill. Truly I know not (saith S. Chrysostome) what others doe thinke of it, for my selfe, it makes mee often tremble when I consider it. And holy Hierome, whatsoever I am doing, saith he, whether I be eating, or drinking, or sleeping, or waking, or alone, or in company, or reading, or writing, me thinkes I ever heare the shrill sound of the Archangels trumpet, sommoning all flesh to appeare, and crying aloud, *Surgite mortui & venite ad judicium*, arise yee dead & come away to judgement. The remembrance hereof is like a bitter pill, to purge out the malignity of many wanton and vaine humours, or like a strainer, all our thoughts, and speeches, and actions which passe thorow it, are thereby cleansed and purified. As the bird guideth her body with her traine, and the shippe is steered with the rudder, so the course of a mans life is best directed with a continuall recourse unto his last end. It is hard for a man to thinke of that and to thinke evill, or not to thinke of it and thinke well. Therefore when Solomon had spoken of all the vanities of men, at last he opposes this memorandum as a counterpoise against them all, *Remember for all these things thou shalt come to judgement* : as if he should say, men would never speake



as they speake, nor doe as they doe, if they did but thinke that these speeches & deedes of theirs should one day come to judgement. *Whatsoever thou takest in hand then, remember the end, and that finall account which thou art to make, and thou shalt never doe amisse.* S. Augustine I remember in the entrance of one of his sermons touching the day of Judgement, makes a kinde of *Apologie* for himselfe, that he treated in their hearing so often of that subject, telling them, that hee did it for the discharge of his owne dutie, and for their good: it being better (saith he) here to indure a little bitternes, and hereafter to enjoy eternall sweetenes, then here to be tedde with false joyes, & there to indure reall and eternall punishments: But he might have justly excused himselfe (had any excuse needed in such a case) by the example of our blessed *Saviour*, who in his *Gospells*; and his *Apostles*, who in their *Epistles*, beate upon this point no one more frequently: The knowledge and publishing whereof to the world hath in all ages beene held so necessarie, that not the *Prophets* alone, whose writings are read in our assemblies at this day, plainly foretold it, but *Enoch* the seaventh from *Adam* prophesied thereof, nay *Adam* himselfe, if we may beleeve *Iosephus*. And that no man might plead ignorance herein; the light of this truth (as hath already beene touched) shined among the very *Gentiles* before the incarnation of *Christ*.

A great shame were it then for us *Christians* not to beleeve it, but a greater shame to our selves, and to our profession a disgrace, and a scandall to infidels, to professe that we beleeve it, and yet to live worse then *Infidels*, *Mahometans*, and *Iewes*, and *Pagans* shall rise in judgement against a number of *Christians* and shall condemne them, for that standing up in the *Congregation*, and with their mouths openly professing this article, that they beleeve that *Christ* shall come againe to judge both the quicke and dead; yet their thoughts, their desires, their passions, their actions, their words are such and so foule, as it evidently shewes they beleeve not, or they understand not, or they remember not what they professe. Shall I thinke that the common *drunkard* and *glutton* doth beleeve and remember, that at this day he must give an account of the abuse of *Gods* *Creatures*, of making his belly his *God*, his kitchen his *Chappell*, and his Cooke his *Priest*? Shall I thinke that the prophane *swearer* and *Blasphemer* doth beleeve & remember, that at this day he must give an account of every idle word, much more then of his hellish oathes and damnable blasphemies, wherewith he teares in peeces the name of *God*, & infects the very aire he breaths in? Shall I thinke that the *Hypocrite*, who seekes to bleare the eyes of the world, doth beleeve and remember, that at this day he must give an account of his glozing & shifting, and that then his hypocrisie shall be uncased & laide open to the view of the world? Shall I thinke that the *Parasite* doth beleeve and remember, that at this day he must give an account of preferring the favour of men before the love and service of *God*? Shall I thinke the *Slanderer* doth beleeve and remember, that at this day he must give an account of wounding and killing his brother in his good name by his tongue, or pen, or both? Shall I thinke the *Adulterer* doth beleeve and remember, that at this day he must give an account of giving the reines of his unbridled appetite



rite without any checke or controll? Lastly, doth the *malicious man* beleeve and remember, that at this day hee must give an account of his bloody practises or plots; the *ambitious man*, of making his honour his *Idoll*, the *covetous*, of his oppression and extortion? Let themselves a little consider of the matter, and they will easily grant it to be unreasonable, that any man should beleeve it to be a part of their believe.

## S E C T. 8.

*As likewise for instruction.*

**L**et us then either strike it out of the Articles of our *Creede*, or let us so endeavour to live, as it may appeare, that we doe not only professe it with our mouthes, but assuredly beleeve it with our hearts. Let the *Civill Magistrate* shew that he beleeves it, by forbearing to make his will a law, & by a conscionable care in the governing of those who are committed to his charge, and providing that they may *live under him a quiet and peaceable life in all godlinesse and honesty*. Let the *Divine*, the *Messenger of the Lord*, who preacheth it to others, shew that he beleeves it himselve, by forbearing base and indirect meanes to rise to honour, (which he is most uncertaine how long, or with what content he shall hold) and by *feeding the flocke of God which depends upon him, caring for it, not by constraint, but willingly, not for filthy lucre, but of a ready minde, not as Lording it over Gods heritage, but as being a patterne to the flocke; & when that chiefe sheeheard shall appeare, he shall receive an incorruptible Crowne of glory*. Let that severe call ever ring in his eares, *Come give an account of thy stewardship*. There shall *Andrew* come in with *Achaia* by him converted to the saving knowledge of the truth: *John* with *Asia*, *Thomas* with *India*, *Peter* with the *Iewes*, and *Paul* with the *Gentiles*; and what shall wee then say for our selves, if wee cannot bring forth so much as one soule converted by us in the whole course of our ministerie? Let the *Counsellour* shew that hee beleeves it, by giving counsell rather wholsome then pleasing, not for faction but for *Conscience*, and by forbearing to make the good of the state the stalking horse of his private ends. For though he digge never so deepe, yet he who now searches and shall then judge his heart diggs deeper. Let the *Courtier* shew hee beleeves it by using his favour to the countenancing and advancing of vertue and suppressing of vice, and by forbearing to varnish & guild over foule projects, or smother honest motions with faire semblances, looking rather at the worths and necessities of petitioners, then to their purse and power. Let the *Militarie* man shew that hee beleeves it by forbearing to thinke, that a prophane oath is an ornament of speech, or that violence, rapine, & out-rage, are the best *Characters* of a souldier; or that unjust effusion of blood & *Duells* shall then passe for man-hood, or that his stoute lookes or brave resolutions shall then any thing availe him. Let the *Nobility* and *Gentry* shew that they beleeve it, by forbearing to make marchandise of *Church* livings committed to their care onely in trust, to strippe the backes of the poore, that they may apparell their walls, and to snatch their meate from their mouthes, that they



they may give it to their hawkes and dogges. For if they shall stand among the goates on the left hand and heare the dolefull sentence, *Goe ye cursed*, who cloathed not the naked and fed not the hungry; tell me what shall become of them, who by extortion and oppression, by unconscionable racking of rents, and wresting from them excessive fines, make them naked & hunger starved; nay grinde the face of the poore, and eate their flesh to the bare bones? Let the *Judges* shew that they beleeve it, by forbearing to give sentence for feare or favour, much lesse for gold or gifts, as well knowing & remembring, that themselves must one day give a strict account to this *supream Iudge*, from whose sentence lyeth no appeale. Let the *Lawyer* shew that he beleeves it, by forbearing to spin out the suites of his *Clients*, to whip him about from *Court* to *Court*, and to let his tongue to sale for the bolstring out of unjust causes, which his owne Conscience tells him to be such, lest that cause which here perchance he gained to his *Client* and got credit by, prove there to be his greatest shame and utter ruine, where all his sophistrie & subtil quirks will not serve his turne. Let the *Merchant* shew that he beleeves it, by forbearing *lies* as well as oaths, by putting his confidence in *God*, not in his wedge of gold, and by often calling to minde that whither soever he travell, or what bargaine soever he make, Hee stands by him as a *witnes* who shall hereafter be his *Iudge*. And what folly were it for a theefe to steale in the presence of the *Iudge*, before whom hee must be arraigned? Let the *Farmer & Countryman* shew that they beleeve it, by their just laying out of the Lords portiō to his Ministers, as knowing that though they haply deceive his Ministers, yet the Lord himselfe they cannot deceive, & that the double dammages then of their bodies and soules will be infinitely more grievous then their *treble dammages* here. Finally, let all sorts make it appeare, that they indeed do not professe it only but beleeve it, by shewing that reverence and respect to the word, to the Sacraments, to the Ambassadors, to the house, to the day, to the servants, to the members of him who then shall bee their *Iudge*, that they may with comfort & confidence appeare in his presence. The least good worke now done for his sake & to his honour, shall then steed us more then the treasure of both the *Indies*, then all the *kingdomes of the world and the glory of them*. Then our indignation and revenge upon our selves, our compunction and contrition for our sins committed against this *Iudge*, shall refresh us and cheare us. For if we should judge our selves we should not be judged. Then shall our resisting of alluring temptations, our patient induring bitter afflictions & chastisements, our sufferings, losses, disgraces, banishments for the Truths sake, serve unto us as so many soveraigne and pretious Cordials: for when we are judged wee are chastened of the Lord, because we should not be condemned with the world. Let us heare the end of all, Feare God and keepe his commandements, for this is the whole duty of man: For God will bring every worke to judgement with every secret thing, whether it be good or evill. Even so, come Lord Iesus, come quickly. How long Lord, how long, Holy and True?

Not unto us, O Lord, not unto us,  
but unto thy name give the glory.

Ecc 3

ROETH:



BOETHIUS Lib. 1. Metr. 7.

---Tu quoque si vis

Lumine claro cernere verum,

Tramite recto carpere cælum,

Gaudia pelle, pelle timorem,

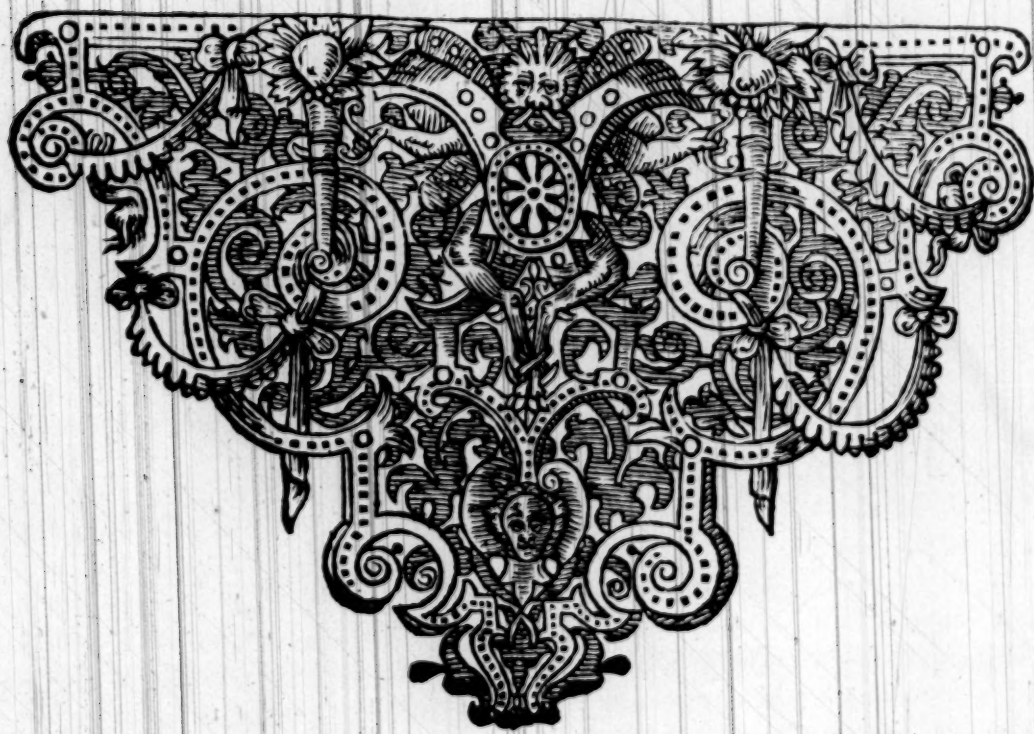
Spemque fugato, Nec dolor adsit.

Nubila mens est, vinetaque franis

Hac ubi regnant.

If with cleare eye thou wilt see  
 Truth, and in the right way treade,  
 Joy and hope chase farre from thee,  
 Banish sorrow, banish dread.

Cloudy, fettered fast with Chaines,  
 Is the minde where passion raignes.



N. In the Edition of 1627, after the above-mentioned translation of Boethius, are added the following Words, viz. Whosoever is written in his original the book, I humbly submit to the censure of the Church of England.



B. IV





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TO  
THE CHRISTIAN  
READER.

G. G.

**G**ood Reader, it may seeme strange unto thee, that a man of my yeares and place should interpose in a controversie of this nature, with a man so eminent for his learning and worth, as Mr Archdeacon *Hakewill* is knowne to bee; the truth is I did not begin the Controversie, but some twenty yeares since I set forth a small Pamphlet, wherein I did declare my opinion then to bee as still it is, wholly *against the eternity of the world*; it pleased Mr Archdeacon to confute some passages in my booke, whereof my selfe taking notice, and a little complaining, Mr Archdeacon did invite me very lovingly to reply; now a worne being trodden on will turne againe. But truly Mr Archdeacon and my selfe, wee have beene *pij Adversarij*, contending not for victory, but truth, and no way provoking each other. Neither have I neglected my better studies, but allotted for this exercise onely the houres of my recreation. My request is, that notwithstanding the Sections which Mr Archdeacon hath made in my arguments (which caused mee to adde marginall notes, and these not sufficing) that you would read a full entire argument, before you come to the confutation; and then not regarding any exceptions which are not pertinent to the cause, that you would indifferently judge of both, and I desire God to direct thee in the truth.

A a a a

G. H.





G. H.



W<sup>H</sup>at undeserved titles soever it hath pleased his Lordship to conferre upon me, I most willingly confesse that he hath highly honoured me by stooping so low, as to enter the lists with a man of my ranke; yet is it not a matter so strange as his Lordship pretends, for a Prelate to shew an Archdeacon his errors; I must ingenuously acknowledge, that I have learned many things from his Lordships bookes, and papers; and some things upon the reading of them I have reformed in mine owne: but for the maine point in question, I am yet where I was, neither doe I know any argument of moment which I have not fully satisfied.

Those passages of his Lordships booke by me confuted, were not so much against the *eternity of the world*, as for the *universall and perpetuall decay thereof*, whereby hee would prove the fall of man; neither did I ever maintaine the worlds eternity as his Lordship would fasten it upon mee, but onely a possibilitie thereof in the course of nature, had not the God of nature by his supernaturall power decreed to set an end to it, when there shall bee no farther use of it. And that this is not my opinion alone, but of the soundest both Philosophers and Divines, grounding themselves as well upon Scripture as reason; I presume I have made it sufficiently to appeare in these ensuing bookes.

I for my part cannot understand how his Lordship should conceive himselfe to bee *lovingly invited* by mee to reply, and yet to be *trodden on as a worme*; Truly I should not by my good will tread so on any man, much lesse on my betters: And for my invitation, it was onely that his Lordship would be pleased to acquaint mee with my mistakes, which I intended only in private; and in my Answers to his Lordships arguments brought for the worlds decay.



decay, considering I had not named either the Authour or the booke from whence I tooke them; but hereof his Lordship taking no notice, about twelve moneths after this invitation, and neare about the time that my second impression was finished, sent mee a long treatise insisting upon many objections, with an intent and desire to have them published, which I undertooke to satisfie as my leisure would serve, but these, when I had made some good progresse in mine answer, it pleased his Lordship to cancel as being of little moment, and to send me fresh supplies three or foure severall times; whereunto I replied still, hoping at last to give his Lordship satisfaction, and whether I had reason or no so to hope, I leave that to the indifferent Reader to judge, specially considering I had out of his owne writings presented to his view such cleare passages against the worlds decay, as then I know not, nor in very truth doe I yet know, which way hee can possibly reconcile them to his arguments brought against mee for the decay thereof.

His Lordships arguments which I now publish, when I had shaped mine answers to them, I alwayes returned to him; neither had I now published them, but by his Lordships invitation for some, and consent to all: then which I cannot imagine what fairer course could bee taken with a professed Adversary.

The Sections were not so much cut out by me as by his Lordship, for the most part, where hee had made a full pause, and began the line againe with a great letter, there is the Section made; And this I tooke to be the clearest way to lead along the Reader, that so hee might not runne himselfe out of breath, till he had received some answer to that which was past; yet because his Lordship would have it so, his Digressions I set downe at large before I came to my Reply, but therein no doubt will the inconvenience appeare, the Reader being to seeke my Answer so farre off, that either he will not take the paines to seeke it, or misse it in seeking, which to the Opponent is an advantage, but disadvantage to the Respondent.



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What I have heere omitted was either by speciall warrant from his Lordship, or by vertue of a generall Commission, which is not much, and what it is I am sure is of little moment to the maine question.

To conclude, I have herein dealt with his Lordship none otherwise then I should bee well content that hee should deale with mee; nay, I will not expect that hee should set downe my text at large, but if his Lordship please to answer mine arguments as I have done his, I doubt he will finde it a harder taske then onely to object; to make knots is no hard matter, but to untie them not so easie. As it is I desire nothing more then a judicious and unpartiall Reader; *ignorance* cannot well understand what is said, and *præjudice* will not.

I beseech God so to direct us all both in this and all other Controversies, that wee may seeke the *truth*, and seeking finde it, and finding imbrace it, to his glory and our owne comfort.

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These

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These two ensuing encouragements for the publishing of the greatest part of the two ensuing bookes, were sent me from two Worthies of eminent note, to whom upon speciall occasion they were imparted; The one from a Reverend Prelate of this Church, well knowne for his many and excellent workes published to the view of the world: the other from a Noble Knight, famous aswell by his acts abroad in forraine parts, as by his learning & late bounty to the publique Librarie at Oxford.

**W**orthy and much revered M<sup>r</sup> D<sup>r</sup> Hake-  
will, with my loving remembrance, &c.  
*I doe much honour your worthy papers, and shall not faile every where to professe my thankefull acknowledgements of Gods gifts in you. I durst not longer detain these your elaborate and excellent discourses, which you have reason to account deare; so would the world esteeme them, might they enjoy them to the light; with my many thanks and lovingst remembrance, I take leave and am*

Your very loving friend  
and fellow-labourer

*J. E.*  
Aaaa 3      WORTHY



WORTHY SIR,

**I** Am very much obliged unto you for your courtesie and favour in affording me the sight of these excellent and learned discourses, &c. Once reading to my capacitie, serveth not for such refined notions; therefore with longing I shall expect their publishing in print, that I may at full and at leasure quench my thirst. Truly you are much beholding to your Adversary, that hath given you meanes to shew unto the world your acutenesse in disputation, as well as your profunditie in science; I will not longer hold you from your better employments, but rest

Most ready to doe you service

K. D.













LIBER V.

AN  
ANSWER TO FOVRE  
ARGVMENTS, FROM G. G.

A REVEREND PRELATE,

Touching the decay, or preservation of  
the world from decay.

G. G.

*Arguments taken out of Naturall Philosophie.*



Aristotle and <sup>1</sup> all other Philosophers assigne three principles, matter, forme, and privation; <sup>2</sup> and these are not onely the principles of individualls, but even of <sup>3</sup> nature herselfe, and therefore before the heavens, elements, and other <sup>4</sup> generall bodies, Aristotle first treates of those principles: The Philosophers and Schoolemen demand why privation should be a principle, when it seemes to put <sup>5</sup> nothing positive; the answer is, that in privation there is likewise implied <sup>6</sup> potentia, a <sup>7</sup> just proportion, or a due correspondencie betweene matter and forme, which is not improperly termed privatio, as having some reference to that <sup>8</sup> non ens in the creation; and likewise to betoken that <sup>9</sup> nature being placed betweene generation and corruption, shee stands not indifferently affected to both alike, but indeed <sup>10</sup> wholly inclines to corruption; and thereby implies a <sup>11</sup> generall decay, not unlike the heart of man, which being placed in the midst, yet doth a little incline to the left, <sup>12</sup> to the weakest and worst side.

Corruption is  
inbred, and if-  
sues from the  
roote and prin-  
ciples.

G. H.

Aristotle indeed and his followers assigne three principles, matter, forme, and privation, but of any other sect not so much as one, and some of them (as namely Plato his master) in expresse termes deny Privation to be a principle.

Matter and forme are the principles of individualls, if they bee naturall

Bbbb



turall bodies, but for Privation it is onely *principium generationis*, not *rei generatae*, a principle of the generation of generable bodies, not of the bodies themselves, or of their constitution.

3. That these three should be said to be the principles of *nature her selfe* is very improper, for that according to *Aristotle* matter and forme are nature herselfe, though the one bee improperly the other properly so termed, and not onely in his Philosophie, but in common reason, *nihil potest esse principium sui ipsius*. Againe, Nature hath her place in the celestiall bodies, where undoubtedly privation hath none.

4. Any other generall bodies beside the Heavens, and the foure Elements, *Aristotle* acknowledgeth none; the Heavens being so in regard of their universall efficacie, the Elements as being ingredients to the composition of all mixt bodies.

5. Though privation put nothing actually and absolutely positive, yet it implyes somewhat positive in the first matter, which is a capabilitie or aptitude; and not onely so, but an appetite or propension to the introduction and imbracements of a new forme.

6. There is indeed in the matter a complication of *potentia* with privation, but in privation *potentia* cannot be said to be.

7. If your Lordship understand *privation* to be a proportion or correspondencie betweene the matter and forme in *possession*, it is utterly mistaken and may not be allowed, but if betweene the matter & forme in *expectation* or disposition it may passe.

8. The *non ens* before the creation included rather a pure negation, then a relative privation; as a stone is said to bee blinde negatively, not privatively, because there is in it no inclination or preparative disposition to sight.

9. If by nature placed betweene generation and corruption you understand the matter and forme of these sublunarie bodies, the assertion is in some sence true, if of the celestiall, false; or rather matter is not nature properly so termed, and under whatsoever forme is still the same, and so not at all inclining to corruption; forme indeed is properly nature as being onely *principium motus & quietis*, but desires its preservation and perfection, not corruption; and so the assertion in regard of neither is true.

10. That privation betokens nature wholly to incline to corruption, is a position most unwarrantable, not onely thwarting the writings of all Philosophers, but overturning the grounds and principles of Philosophie it selfe; as well because nature is found in the celestiall bodies, which incline not at all to corruption, as because privation hath reference to the bringing in of a new forme, and not to the casting out of the old, and by meanes thereof nature inclines wholly to generation, and to corruption not at all; but onely as it makes way for generation: then which a stronger argument cannot possibly be found out to prove the worlds preservation from decay. And besides, did nature incline wholly to corruption, and not at all to generation; no doubt but the world had long since in the course of nature bin brought to a finall period and dissolution.



A generall decay it cannot imply except you first prove privation to be in the Heavens, which *Aristotle* I am sure allowes not.

11.

Whether the left side bee in nature the weakest and worst I much doubt, considering wee see as well with the left eye, and heare as well with the left eare, and smell as well with the left nostrill, as with the right; and might no question finde the left legge and the left arme, or hand, as usefull as the right, save onely for want of use: And the inclining of the heart that way should in reason rather argue it to bee by nature the better and stronger, then the weaker and worser side; howsoever if nature incline wholly to corruption, and the heart but a little to the left side, the comparison holds not; but herein undoubtedly it holds that the heart was so placed by Almighty God at the first creation of man, in his integritie, and hath so continued without any variation or farther inclination to the left side, then at first in a constant manner; and so was nature (sublunarie I meane) set betweene generation and corruption, as it inclined and still inclines by vertue of the first infused power, to generation rather then corruption; and as long as privation remaines to be a principle of generation (of generation I say, and not of corruption) inherent in the first matter, it cannot possibly in the course of nature bee otherwise; which is no doubt the very principall reason that induced *Aristotle* to maintaine the worlds eternitie: And yet your Lordship would bring his principles to overthrow his tenets, as if hee understood not so well himselfe what hee meant by *privation* as your Lordship can teach him: Nay if *privation* were a principle in *puris naturalibus*, before the fall of man, as both *Divines* and *Christian* Philosophers grant, and yet bee the cause that nature inclines wholly to corruption; I much wonder how your Lordship will avoide it, but that even from the originall creation, and in the state of integritie Nature was so wholly inclined, which how unsafe and how unsound a position it is I leave to your Lordship to judge.

12.

G. G.

**T**his is proved by many reasons, as to instance in <sup>1</sup> man, there is but one way for his birth and conception, but diverse and infinite wayes lead to his death and destruction. <sup>2</sup> Secondly, many moneths are required for his conception, many yeares for his full growth and perfection, but in an instant he is suddenly dissolved. <sup>3</sup> Thirdly, if the least part of a man were corrupted, unlesse presently incision bee made, it would undoubtedly by degrees corrupt all the sound parts of his body; but why rather should not all the sound parts recover this one corrupted member. <sup>4</sup> Fourthly, there is but one state of health, but diseases are numberlesse and infinite. <sup>5</sup> Fifthly, there are more poysons then Cordials, those are more pernicious and destructive, then these are soveraigne and preservative.

That nature is not indifferent to generation and corruption alike.

Bbbb 2

G. H.



G. H.

**Y**Our instance in *man*, is no sufficient reason to prove that nature wholly inclines to corruption, in as much as nature is of a farre larger extent then man, and man of too narrow a compasse to claspe and incircle universall nature; Neither can it bee proved that those many wayes (for infinite they are not) which bring a man to his end, are more now then they were many ages since, and those which are, seeme for the greatest part rather to bee violences offered to nature, then to proceed from the *inclination* of nature her selfe; there being but one naturall way for his dissolution, as there is but one for his birth and conception: Some are drowned, some burnt, some flaine with the sword, some die of the feaver, some of the pestilence, some of the stone, or the cholike, and will your Lordship call these the inclinations of nature? or rather violences offered to nature? Moreover that which nature hath many and diverse wayes to effect, shee doth not alwayes most encline unto; many more wayes there are for the production of Monsters in what kinde soever, whither of man or beast, then to bring either of them forth perfect in their kinde, (as there are more wayes to misse the marke then to hitt it) yet is not nature therefore most inclined to the production of Monsters; whither wee take inclination for the intent of nature, or for her impotencie; if so it were in either of these, Monsters then would not then be such wonders as now they are. Lastly, mee-thinkes it should rather argue the strong inclination and power of nature to generation, in that having but one way leading thereunto, and on the other side so many which tend to dissolutions, yet are generations at leastwise as frequent as dissolutions; and were it not so, the world had long since beene utterly dispeopled.

2. Your Lordship tells us that many moneths are required for mans conception, wherein I presume your meaning is not amisse; but sure the termes are improper and must bee reformed: And touching the suddennesse of mans end, if wee take generation and corruption in the strictest sense, for the meere introduction or ejection of the forme they are both in an instant; if for the forerunning and prævius dispositions towards them, his approaches to dissolution often take up more time then his growth to perfection; for as there passe many yeares before he come to his full ripenesse, so if he live out his time in the due course of nature, there are many more in which he declines; and let his dissolution bee as sudden as it will, the generation of somewhat else out of him must needs be as sudden, so as though a man bee dissolved, yet in the universe nothing is thereby lost: Whereunto wee may adde that his dissolution is not more sudden now, then formerly it hath beene; neither is nature more impotent or lesse tender and carefull then heretofore she hath beene in his preservation and defence.

3. To the third reason, how often are light soares and hurts healed by the force of nature, and by meanes of the sound parts without any incision



incision or the helpe of Chirurgie; and though in more dangerous ulcers and wounds, the sound parts cure not the diseased, but rather the diseased corrupt the sound, yet will it not follow that nature herselfe rather inclines to corruption then to generation, for certainly the parts that are whole have a greater inclination to keepe themselves sound, then to be corrupted; onely their corruption proceedeth from accidentall and externall causes, both which are preternaturall, either beside or contrary to nature: And this their inclination well enough appeareth, in that they are not at all corrupted but by these causes; and being thus corrupted by adventitious causes, nature (as being a nurse no lesse carefull then a tender mother) hath provided adventitious remedies to cure them, and those no lesse either in number or power then in former ages.

To the fourth, there is but one truth, but numberlesse errors opposed to this one truth, which notwithstanding is more potent to preserve it selfe then they to destroy it, and concerning the number of diseases; these diseases are not made by nature, saith *Chrysippus* in *Gellius*, but the health of man requiring such an excellent finenesse and curiousnesse of temperature, there could not chuse but bee many wayes of distemperring and impairing it: whence spring those many diseases, yet herein also hath nature shewed her care, and her inclination to preservation rather then corruption, in that shee hath provided so many severall kindes of medicines for the cure of each disease which are knowne, besides those which are unknowne, such I meane as were never discovered, or having beene discovered are lost. Neither can wee finde that the multitude or danger of diseases is any way increased by the duration of time and age of the world; and if in some places they be increased by the luxurie of men, this is neither perpetuall nor universall, but as some new come in, some old goe out, or their strength is abated: And truly mee-thinkes this reason also as well as the first (which is in a manner the same) may well be retorted on your Lordship, seeing that to one state of health such an infinite company of diseases are opposed, and most men so often and so many wayes offer violence to nature, and thereby give occasion of impairing or indangering their health, yet the greatest part continue longer in health then they are in sicknesse.

Fifthly, whereas your Lordship affirmeth that there are more poysons then Cordials, I shall crave better prooffe thereof then your bare assertion ere I subscribe unto it, in as much as all nutritives and restoratives may in some sense be termed Cordials, though we usually terme them so which are the most excellent and soveraigne in that kinde: And againe, that poysons are more destructive then Cordials preservative I cannot allow, for if so, how came it to passe that *Mithridates* by use of his antidote had so armed his bodie, that he could not poyson himselfe when hee most desired it, and tooke the most ranke poysons to that end, but to no purpose: Yet nature it should seeme never brought forth these poysons to the end they should destroy, (though *Pliny* would have it so, that men forsooth might thereby



at their pleasures ridde themselves out of paine,) for that the deadliest of them being duely corrected, concur as ingredients to the composition of the most admirable Cordialls. Nay those very vegetables, which to men are deadly poyson, to some beasts serve for wholesome foode.

Lucretius.

*Quippe videre licet pinguestere saepe cicuta  
Barbigeras pecudes, homini quæ est acre venenum.*

Lastly, it cannot be proved that Cordialls are lesse preservative, or poysons more destructive now, then they were in former ages.

G. G.

Corruptions  
exceed as in in-  
dividuals so in  
propagation.

**A**ND as it is in mans owne person, so in the propagation of his kinde, <sup>1</sup> for one hereditarie perfection there are an hundred hereditarie diseases, if then you will suppose corruptions to exceede so much in number, so much in power, it must needs follow that if nature be not a <sup>2</sup> stepmother, and wholly inclines to corruption; yet in her owne impotencie shee cannot prevent, but by the mixture of seedes there must needs be a mixture of corruptions, and by the long continuance they must get growth and dayly increase in number, and tend to the disabilitie of bodies, the weakening of faculties, the shortning of lives, and so to a <sup>3</sup> generall decay. And as it is thus in naturall Philosophie, so in Logick: (for our notions and conceptions doe ever follow some ground-worke of truth in nature) <sup>4</sup> Conclusio semper sequitur deteriorem partem.

G. H.

**T**HAT there are an hundred hereditarie diseases for one hereditarie perfection, is (as I conceive) wonderfully mistaken, the cleane contrary thereunto being doubtlesse most true, that there are an hundred hereditarie perfections for one hereditarie disease; in as much as every sence, and member, and part and particle of the body, their severall uses and tempers and proportions and connexions, are all and every one of them so many hereditarie naturall perfections, beside the severall faculties of the soule if it bee *ex traduce*, as your Lordship seemes to hold; And for hereditarie diseases, I am perswaded they appeare not to be such in one man of an hundred, to proceed I meane from the seedes of his parents, and not rather from his owne distempers or disdiets perchance in imitation of his parents, and these diseases by a temperate diet and exercise, and the use of Physicke often weare out againe: And by the mixture of seedes, hereditarie diseases arising from contrary causes, and qualities, are rather cured then ingendred, or increased as Physitians teach us.

2.

That nature should bee a *Stepmother*, favours somewhat of the disposition of him who would take upon him to censure and amend her workes, or of those Philosophers who were alwayes complaining of her, but through her sides shot at and wounded (though perchance unawares) the author thereof, undoubtedly shee is in her selfe and by his appoint-



appointment a most indulgent mother, and if to any shee become a stepmother, it is through their owne folly and default.

---*Natura Beatis*

*Omnibus esse dedit si quis cognoverit uti,*

So the Poet, and the Oratour *Si naturam sequamur ducem, nunquam aberrabimus.*

That the pretended infirmities or imperfections of mankind, should inferre or imply a generall decay in the course of universall nature, is an argument very imperfect and infirme.

The Logick rule [*Conclusio semper sequitur deteriorem partem*] serves onely for the framing of syllogismes, and to shew how one proposition followes out of another, as that the consequence is not good from a negative to an affirmative, or from a particular to an universall, but *è converso*; and therefore are negatives and particulars called *partes deteriores*, because they are of lesse force in argumentation, and consequently this rule makes nothing to this busines, or if it doe I am sure it cannot bee proved that the conclusion is more inclined to the weaker and worser part now, then it was in *Aristotles* time or a thousand yeares before him; And the very truth is that if this Logick rule make any thing to the purpose, all things considered, it rather makes against you then for you.

G. G.

**A**S in logicke & in our inward notions, so in our Lawes & outward expressions, primogeniture hath ever had the precedency; In judicature our books of reports must direct us, which argues the great wisdom of the Ancients in respect of ours; but for posterity and succession wee say, *Partus sequitur ventrem*; which is to bee understood in respect of imperfection and weakeness. Thus in nature it hath, even beene observed, that there were more females then males; if then the world should bee infinite in continuance, needs they must at length exceede in an infinite proportion. Thus the world is now growne effeminate considering our idlenesse and delicacy in respect of the hardnesse and labours of former times. And not to make any farther particular instances, what is the scope and intent of all arts, but only this *Perficere naturam*, which must needs argue natures stronge inclination to deficiency.

G. H.

**H**OW primogeniture hath the precedency in Logicke, you shew not, neither doe I understand.

That in our lawes and outward expressions it ever had the precedency it doth not appeare, in as much as *Gavel-kind* yet retained in *Kent*, shewes what our ancient lawes were in that point, and at this day in some places of our Kingdome; the youngest brother in regard of inheritance hath the precedency of the eldest; so as the rule is not generall, and besides must bee referred rather to civill then naturall endowments (which the title of this section pretends) it being most certaine

Bbbb 4

that



that the younger brother is many times either stronger, or wiser, or both then the elder; God in his Providence so dividing the wealth and the wit, as both may live; Nay in holy Scripture in matter of grace & supernaturall gifts, wee shall often finde the younger to bee preferred before the elder. But should I freely grant that primogeniture hath and ever had the precedency in all respects, nations and ages, yet I see not (such may bee my dulnes) what your Lordship can from thence inferre, to conclude the worlds decay; Once I am sure that those fruits which trees beare at first, are commonly not so good as those which they bring forth in the succeeding yeares.

As the ancient bookes of reports serve us for direction so doe likewise the moderne; and no doubt but if our bookes had bin extant in their times, they would have made as much use of them as we doe now of theirs. And yet I see not how this argument can bee reduced to naturall philosophie: that *axiome Partus Sequitur ventrem*, I take to bee *legall*, rather then *naturall*; the certaintie of the issue depending rather upon the mother then the father.

That there are more females then males, may perchance bee true, considering men are many wayes more exposed to hazard then women, save only in the case of childbirth, but that more women are borne then men I much doubt, and that it hath ever beene so observed I am confident you will never make good; Neither is it true that the females are in vigour either of bodie or minde alwayes inferior to the males; it being most certaine that in all kinds of haukes (which are not a few) the females are by experience found to bee the most vigorous, & the like some great Bee-masters write of them. Nay in mankind what noble and notable exploits the *Amazons* atcheived in former ages, ancient historie sufficiently informe us; and for our owne times wee may truly say that *Queene Elizabeth* in some things went beyond all the Kings her predecessors;

*Vos etenim juvenes animos geritis muliebres  
Illeque virgo Viri,*

May not unfitly be verified of her and some of them. Yet to yeeld that all women are in all things inferiour to all men, and withall that more women are in all countreys borne then men, yet that more women should now bee borne in comparison of men, is more then your Lordship hath proved or I thinke can prove; for my selfe I have often observed that in the London bills of the number of births, christnings and burials within that cittie, the number of males in the list of births exceeds that of the females, and I see no reason but we may as well suppose the like in other citties.

That the world is now generally growne effeminate, in respect of the hardnes and labours of former times, is easily said but not so easily proved; it being certaine that our long navigations and fishing trades require more hardnes then our predecessors were in an ordinary course acquainted with; And their many festivalls beyond ours, should in reason argue that they loved their ease as well as we. \*There is now at this present a victorious King, in action as able I thinke, and as willing upon  
occasion

\* This was  
Written before  
the death of  
that noble  
King.



occasion to indure hardnes as any of the ancient Commanders either *Christian* or *Pagan*; God blesse his pious endeavours, and crowne them with a chaine of victories, and his victories at last with an honourable and settled peace.

The scope and intent of the arts is not only *perficere* but *imitari naturam*, and imitation for the most part falls short of the originall; yet it may not bee denied but that almighty God in his wisdom hath so ordained and ordered nature, that in some things shee should receive a farther perfection for mans use and that from mans wit and industry, that so hee might the more admire the power, and adore the goodnes of him, who hath endued him with those intellectuall faculties; & take the greater comfort in the creatures. but were nature let alone to her selfe, and never perfitted by art at all, I can never beleve that she would so farre degenerate, as to runne her selfe out of breath, by bringing her worke either to nothing or utter confusion. The reason whereof is, for that to the perfection of the primarie and principall workes of nature, as namely the motion of the celestiall bodies, (upon which all the rest depend) art neither doth, nor possibly can contribute any thing. And for the rest they are all doubtlesse in their severall kinds supported, guided, and maintained by an higher and stronger power then humane art can reach unto.

## G. G.

**T**O this reason I will adde an example; Consider the first 2000 yeares after the creation, and you shall find that scripture doth scarce mention any disease, any infirmity, any untimely death, which certainly it would never have omitted, if there had beene such, when it relates things of farre lesse moment; And diseases beings Gods owne chastisements, noe doubt but they might bee of speciall use for Gods people; this is my first argument consisting of a reason and an example annexed.

The perfection  
of the first ages

## G. H.

**T**O your Lordships example, which is not taken from naturall Philosophy as in the title you promised, but from Scripture, I reply with another Logick rule, and I thinke more properly applyed *Argumentum ab autoritate ductum negativè non valet*; many other things besides diseases no question fell out in the first two thousand yeares, which in holy Scripture wee find not recorded, and if it record things which to us perchance may seeme to bee of lesse moment, yet doth it not therefore follow that indeede and in themselves they are so; Gods wayes being not like our wayes, nor his thoughts as our thoughts, and if diseases be Gods owne chastisements, as your Lordship here affirms (which seemes to imply that all come immediately from his hand) I wonder how their supposed multiplication in latter ages can inforce the declination of nature; and againe if diseases bee the chastisement of sinne; and sinne abounded as much or more before the flood



floud then since it hath, we may well conceive notwithstanding the scriptures silence, that diseases were likewise more rife. But the truth is, I beleeve, that in the first ages of the world, at leastwise in that place where the Patriarchs lived, diseases were not so rife as afterwards they became; and that by the same meanes and for the same reasons as their lives were drawne out to a longer period then ours now are; so as this argument taken from their freedome of diseases, being altogether coincident with that which is borrowed from the length of their lives (there being a reciprocall complication betweene them) I have already satisfied both in mine Apologie, and in the last papers which I sent you in answer to a part of your long letter; and how it concludes, that because mankind in the first ages was freer from diseases therefore in universall nature there is a perpetuall decay I cannot understand, but am sure that in the time of *Moses*, if not before were such strange leprogies found among Gods people, as are now no where to bee heard of in the world; and other pestilentiall diseases have beene both more contagious and more dangerous then now they are, as I have sufficiently proved in mine Apologie; which your Lordship takes no notice of.

G. G.

*I thinke I shall not neede to reduce mine arguments into syllogismes which as you know may easily bee done, viz. If nature have so many strong inclinations to evill, If all inclinations must be reduced into act, or otherwise be vaine needlesse and frustra.*

*Then But Ergo.*

G. H.

**Y**OUR Lordship thinks you shall not need to reduce your arguments into syllogismes, whereas in truth (as I conceive) there is very great need they should be so reduced that the feeblenes of them may thereby the better appeare; The point by you to bee concluded is, that in universall nature there is a perpetuall decay; this you undertake to prove by arguments drawne from the body of man, which how they can bee extended to the heavens, the elements, the fowles, the fishes, the beasts, the vegetables, the mineralls, and againe what strength the arguments have in themselves being compared with my answers to prove a decay in mankind, I leave to your Lordship to judge.

G. G.

**T**O your answere of my arguments God willing I shall never reply, but leave it to the judgement of indifferent men whither they are satisfied or not; onely here give me leave to prevent one answer; If you say that nature is hindered in these her inclinations by some obstacle and impediment which interrupts her in her owne naturall course, and keepes her from a precipice, and that is Gods providence. Sir if you will not ascribe meanes by which this providence



dence doth worke, and whereby this providence may bee knowne unto us you doe not answere like a Philosopher, but meanes I suppose you will find none, for I have alreadie instanced in nature in generall.

G. H.

**I**F your Lordship would be pleased to reply upon mine answers, it would both give me better content, and much helpe to the clearing of that truth which you pretend to seeke in this question; and for that imaginarie answer of mine which you undertake to prevent, I presume that by this time you cannot but see it needed not; fithence there needeth not the calling in of any extraordinary providence for the preservation of Nature in her course, in as much as of her selfe and by the ordinarie providence, shee wholly inclineth to generation and to corruption not at all, but onely to make way for generation; and therein I am sure I speake as a philosopher; but your Lordship telling us that nature enclines wholly to corruption, I am as sure doth not so, there being never any philosopher besides your selfe that ever yet I met with who durst bee so bold as once to suppose, much lesse peremptorily to deliver so unjustifiable an assertion; which though you would draw to nature in generall, yet have you not insisted in it but only in mankind.

G. G.

Out of the Metaphysicks the first argument.

**L**OGICK and the Metaphysicks have a great affinity betweene themselves, onely with this difference that one lookes to <sup>1</sup> predication, the other to entities; predication followes entitie, as our speech is squared according to some ground worke in nature. <sup>2</sup> In Logick this is a rule that Quicquid prædicatur de specie, prædicatur de omnibus individujs ejusdem speciei simul sumptis & è converso; this simul sumptis must not be in succession because genus and species have no existence in nature but onely in their individualls, if then genus and species should bee said to exist by succession they should exist in them which have no existence, a <sup>3</sup> strange fancie implying a contradiction, when as succession is so farre from giving eternity as that it is indeed an earnest of corruption; as the severall degrees of mans æge, infancie, youth, old age, all tend to the grave, here then is as great incongruitie to fasten that on the species whereof no individuall is capable as if they were not all of the same nature.

White is collected out of individualls & only subsists in individualls must partake with them in all there passions.

G. H.



G. H.

*Metaphysicks.*

1. **T**HAT there is a greater affinity betwixt Logick and *Metaphysicks*, then betwixt it and other sciences cannot bee justified, nor that the onely and greatest difference betweene them is that the one lookes to predication and the other to entities, neither doe the *Metaphysicks* looke at all to *entities* but to *ens quatenus ens*, and Logick is referred rather to ratiocination then predication, that comming in but upon the by to helpe us in the art of reasoning.

2. Now your first argument is said to be borrowed from Logick (whereas notwithstanding the title points us onely to the *Metaphysicks*) and is drawne from this rule, *Quicquid predicatur de specie predicatur de omnibus individuis ejusdem speciei simul sumptis & e converso*, which rule though I might quarrell in divers respects as namely that all the individualls are immediately under the *species*, but the *species* it selfe immediately under the *genus*, and againe that all the individualls are necessarily tied to *hic & nunc* as Logicians speake, to which the *species* is not tied, and the like; yet for quietnes sake I am content to grant that it is indeed true of all the individualls not severally taken but collectively, that is of all such as both have beene and are and shall bee, and therefore it is added *simul sumptis*, or as your Lordship hath expressed your selfe in your letter of the fourteenth of October, *generaliter sumptis*; whereas your Lordship then would *exclude* the individualls to come or in succession from this predication, you might as well by the same reason have *excluded* them that are past, and then shall we haue three species of mankind, one past, another present, and a third to come; nay by the diminution or addition, the loss or gaine of every individuall, wee should have a new species or at leastwise a new existence.

With mankind then or any other *species* it fares as with a river, which varies every moment one part driving out another, yet is it still the same river which it was an hundred yeares since, though in that compasse of time it have perchance emptied every drop of water above a thousand times: in like manner, time it selfe in regard of the parts thereof instantly passeth away and utterly ceaseth and yet in regard of the whole, it never ceased to bee since the first creation, nor till the last consummation of all things shall cease to bee, it being one and the same threed of time spunne out from the beginning and caried along to the last end; And this is the inseparable propertie of all things consisting in succession, as all sublunarie things doe, not unfitly expressed by these two verses, set under a picture, taken by stealth; and made by him whom the picture was made to represent.

Quid



*Quid facis o demens? Cur ora fugacia pingis?  
Aut novus aut nullus cras mihi vultus erit.*

Such a fugitive face hath every man and mankind it selfe, but with this difference that the face of mankind is daily decayed and daily renewed but the face of individuall man decayes daily without any compensative renewing and in respect of this renovation by degrees chaining one part as it were one linke to another the *species* is still the same and hath still the same existence but in relation to the different parts thereof in a different manner transitively, in regard of those which are past, in the present actually, potentially in the future, successively in all, compleatly or adequately in the whole, but permanently in none. And were it not so one of the two must needs follow that every moment either a new species must bee brought forth or a new existence thereof, in as much as every moment there is a change of the individualls, some falling and others rising in their stead; as then it falls out in the individualls themselves which though they never stand at a stay but change every moment at leastwise in their *fleshy* and *Fluid* parts, yet keepe the same existence from the birth to the grave: Soe is it with the *species*, the individualls holding the same proportion to it as the *fluid* parts doe to every individuall. To speake properly then, neither the *species* nor the individuall have any permanent existence, this being an attribute peculiar to immateriall and incorruptible substances, the Angells the soules of men and the heavens; or rather being considered in an absolute manner the prerogative of the Creator himselfe in whom is no variableness nor shadow of change; and yet (which may happily seeme strange but is undoubtedly true) both the individuall and the species have the same existence from the first date of their being to their uttermost expiring; and were it not so it could not in reason be denominated the same *species* or individuall, both of them receiving their identicall denomination from the identitie of their existence, which being once lost they leave to bee the same.

The summe of all is this that whereas your Lordship holds it a strange fancie implying a contradiction to say that the *species* exists by succession, it is certaine that the contrarie position thereunto is none other then a meere *chimera* of your owne braine, in as much as the being of the *species* perpetuated by succession; cannot possibly otherwise exist but by succession; but as by this meanes the same element of fire, of aire of water of earth now exists which was first made though by perpetuall transmutation changed many thousand times over; so by the same meanes the same *species* of hawkes, of horses, of whales, of oakes, of men exists at this very present which was created in the beginning; neither doth the same *species* onely exist but it hath now the same existence that then it had, though the countenance as it were or copie of it be altered every moment.

From which undeniable grounds being thus laid downe, it most infallibly followes, that succession is so farre from being an earnest of corruption

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corruption



*corruption* as you affirme, as it is it, and it alone which gives eternity to the *species*. It is indeed an earnest of corruption to the *individualls* which in their turnes succeed and give place one to another, but to the *species* of continuation, and so of eternity in as much as nothing can stopp nature in this course of succession but onely the hand of him who set her wheelles agoing and by succession paies home her losses with an equivalent compensation. Which is not so in the succession of the severall degrees of mans age, which your Lordship most improperly compares with this of the *species*, telling us that his infancie his youth, his old age, all tend to the grave; whereas of infancie and youth it can no otherwise bee said that they tend to the grave, then wee can say of a man who goes up the hill and as soone as hee hath gained the top is to come downe againe, that hee is descending even while hee is ascending, which is an improper speech, but herein stands the maine difference betwixt the succession in the severall degrees of mans age and the *Individualls* in the *species*, that man declineth from youth to old age and so to the grave, but the *species* by an equivalent compensation of *individualls* succeeding each other never declines nor growes old, but still remaines fresh and flourishing as in youth.

Which being so it is noe incongruity (as your Lordship pretends) to fasten that on the *species* whereof no *individuall* is capable, but rather it were so both in *Logick* Philosophie and common reason, to fasten all that on the *individuall*, which the *species* is capeable of; for to grant that the *species* is not æternall, yet hath it now lasted above five thousand yeares which no *individuall* is capeable of, and againe the *species* by your owne confession in the *Logick* rule here brought may and doth *predicare de omnibus suis individuis*, which I trust you will not say any *individuall* is capable of, and a number of the like instances might easily bee brought; Though then the *species* and *individuall* bee both of one nature yet they differ as the whole and the parts; no part can subsist without the whole but the whole may without the particular parts; as a tree may subsist without any particular branch but the branch cannot being cut off from the tree, and many things may be verified of the whole tree which cannot of any branch thereof, no nor of all the branches now actually existing therein.

For a finall close to this section and a full answer to your *Logick* rule, your Lordship supposeth the *predication* of the *species* to be confined to the present or actuall existence thereof, which may in no case be admitted, for then the definition of the *species* of mankind arising out of principles thereof should reach onely to the present *individualls*, and consequently wee should make not only our posterity but our forefathers unreasonable creatures: which I presume your Lordship will not allow of.



## G. G.

**E**SPECIALLY seeing it is an axiome in the *Metaphysicks*, that corruptibile & incorruptibile differunt plus quam genere; But Master Archdeacons opinion doth, so wholly overthrow and oppose this axiome, as that it concludes cleane contrarie; that genera & species are incorruptibile, and all their individualls corruptibile, whereby one and the same species may bee said to bee both corruptibile and incorruptibile, incorruptibile in it selfe and corruptibile in its individualls, as if species had any other being but what it hath from individualls, as if you would ascribe reall and naturall existency in themselves to words of the second notion in Logick.

The difference betweene corruption and incorruption is such, as that it must imply two different natures.

## G. H.

**W**E are now come at last to the Metaphysicall axiome [Corruptibile & incorruptibile differunt genere] so sayes Aristotle, it at least wise the axiome bee his; but your Lordship outvies him and will needs have it *plusquam genere*, upon what warrant I know not, Now this axiome (as your Lordship would beare us in hand) Master Archdeacons opinion doth so wholly oppose, as that it concludes cleane contrarie, because forsooth it makes the same species incorruptibile in it selfe, but corruptibile in its individualls; Whereas Master Archdeacon never yet made the species to bee corruptibile at all, but therefore makes it incorruptibile in the individualls, because the chaine of their succession is inviolable, and what is impaired by the death of one, is repaired by the life of another; neither doth this opinion ascribe reall existence to words of the second notion, as you would inferre, but makes indeed the universalls to bee both reall & eternall, reall because they exist in reall individualls, eternall because the succession of these individualls is perpetuall, which I am sure is the common opinion of philosophers, and if Master Archdeacon err in this, he erres not alone;

But how if these two which your Lordship makes thus to differ *plusquam genere*, may bee verified of the same individuall? then may it much rather I trust bee verified of the species; yet is it on all sides confessed that every particular man, is both corruptibile and incorruptibile, corruptibile in regard of his bodie, incorruptibile in regard of his soule; nay the same body is both corruptibile by death and incorruptibile by the resurrection from the dead, what will you say to this? doth the same man differ from himselfe, or the same bodie from it selfe *plusquam genere*? Again you tell us that this world in which wee now dwell is corruptibile, and that the same world by renovation shall bee made incorruptibile, and doth the same world differ from it selfe *plusquam genere*? For the axiome then wee must find out another sense, which I take to bee this,

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that



that two individualls whereof the one is corruptible in it selfe, and the other in it selfe incorruptible, as God and the creature, spirituall and materiall substances, cælestiall and elementarie bodies, are distinguished each from other by a genericall difference, yet for as they are all comprehended under the same *summum genus*, which is *ens*; and being so understood it is no way applyable to the purpose your Lordship hath brought it.

G. G.

And therefore  
should they be-  
long to two  
severall worlds

**W**hen as indeed the difference betweene corruptible and incorruptible is such that it is the very proper difference betweene the two worlds, for the 2<sup>d</sup> Metaphysicks discerne the two worlds, wee see the limits bounds and skirts of this world, the heavens serve for the 3<sup>d</sup> circumference; why then may not the 4<sup>th</sup> convexity as well as the concavity serve for habitation? when wee cannot admit a vacuum; wherein then consists the difference between these two worlds? some will say that one is spirituall, the other is 5<sup>th</sup> materiall; this is true indeed, but it is not the proper difference; for even in spirituall creatures there is potentia which hath some 6<sup>th</sup> analogie to our matter, but corruption and incorruption implying the existence supporting all other qualities, and being the most generall, therefore the likeliest to distinguish the two worlds, and in them most properly consists the difference.

G. H.

**I**F corruptible were the very proper difference of this world, then should the fountaine of all the properties thereof bee corruption, and consequently life, and sence, and motion should all flow from corruption, the proper difference being indeed none other then the forme which serves as to give the name and being to the thing it possesseth & informes, and to set all the faculties thereof on worke, so essentially to distinguish it from all other things.

In what sence the Metaphysicks may be said to discerne two worlds I must professe for mine owne part I cannot discerne; true indeed it is that the physicks discerne two though improperly so termed, the cælestiall, and sublunary or subcælestiall, which to speake properly are but one; but that the Metaphysicks should discerne two worlds, the one materiall and the other spirituall I cannot finde; Aristotle I know, both in the physicks and Metaphysicks speakes of a *primus motor* and *intelligences*, serving for the perpetuities of cælestiall motion, (which notwithstanding by many Christian Philosophers and Divines are rejected as ridiculous) but of any spirituall world, to my remembrance he no where speakes.

That the heavens are the circumference of this world wee see, (though not by the Metaphysicks) but that this circumference is in it selfe and of its owne nature corruptible wee have not yet seene it proved, and if this lower part of the world bee governed by it



it (as is the opinion of all philosophers, and the dictate of sense and reason it selfe) the heavens being incorruptible in themselves, they cannot but by their *quickning virtue* and vitall efficacie impart likewise an incorruptibility to these inferior bodies governed by them, though in a different kind, namely by transmutation and succession.

That the *convexity* of the utmost heavens (if under it you include *Celum Empyreum*) should bee habitable, is a very strange position; in as much as nothing in a naturall course and by a created power can possibly have any abode there, where is neither *locus* nor *vacuum*; Whereas your Lordship then seemes to hold that *datur locus quia non datur vacuum*, it is true in spaces capable of *localitie* and *vacuitie*, whereas that space *extra calum* is capable of neither; *locus* being that space which is taken up by a body, and *vacuum*, though it bee not actually taken up by a body yet is capable of a body: Whereas *spatium extra calum* is neither taken up by any body, nor is naturally capable of any body, and consequently is neither *locus* nor *vacuum*: as a stone is neither *videns* nor *cacius*, because it is not a subject capable of sight, and if neither bodie nor created spirit because *finitis*, can remaine in *vacuo* much lesse in a space imaginary which is neither *locus* nor *vacuum*; and if wee should imagine habitation in the *convexitie* of the utmost heavens, why not beyond that againe and so in *infinitum*? Which both philosophy and divinitie abhors; onely the creator infinite in himselfe not onely fills all places but extends himselfe throughout all imaginarie space what ever it bee, somewhat resembling that imaginarie time or rather duration which was before the creation, his center is every where, but his circumference noe where.

---Vt tota per artus

*Corporeos mens una subit, sic unus in una  
Mundi mole deus, mundo tamen amplior ipso  
Tendit in immensum, nulloque includitur arcu  
Sphæra deus vivens, centri tumor occupat omnem  
Curvatura locum nescit.*

But in truth it is but a follie to dispute of these things so farre beyond the reach of our shallow understandings; *Pliny* goes farther and is bold to call it madnesse, writing of the entire globe of the universall world in the first chapter of his second booke, *Furor est* (saith hee) *profecto furor est egredi ex eo, & tanquam ejus cuncta planè jam sint nota ita scrutari extera, quasi vero mensuram ullius rei possit agere qui sui nesciat, aut mens hominis videre quæ mundus ipse non capiat.*

☉ Your Lordship in your booke of the fall of man and in many of your letters to mee; makes this materiall world incorruptible by renovation, and yet here you make the spirituall world to bee onely capable of incorruption; which two propositions (as I conceive) incompatible, how you will bee able to reconcile, I for my part cannot possibly imagin, vnlesse you will make this materiall by renovation to bee transformed into a spirituall.

Cccc3

If



6.

If in spirituall creatures there bee some analogie to matter, and all matter have in it the seedes of corruption, the consequence from thence deduced is unavoidable, that they have likewise an analogie to corruption, and then may spirituall or immateriall as well serve to bee their difference as incorruptible; but the truth is that their incorruptibility springs from their immaterialitie, and not *è converso*, the former being the effect of the latter, and the latter the cause of the former; Now the cause it is which primarily and principally constitutes the difference, and not the effect springing from that cause; whereas your Lordship then makes corruption which is but a privative effect arising from the matter to imply the existence, and to support all other qualities of this corruptible world; and so incorruption which is but a negative qualitie of the incorruptible, is doubtlesse a paradox unheard of, and in no sort to bee defended.

1. Cor. 15. 44.

Lastly corruptible and incorruptible cannot bee said to bee the proper difference betwixt the materiall and spirituall world, in as much as some materiall substances, as namely the heavens and the first matter are incorruptible, but none are spirituall properly so termed; Indeed the Apostle calls the glorified bodie *spirituall* in opposition to our naturall bodies, not because it is a spirit; for then could it not bee a bodie, but because it is wholly subject to the spirit, because it workes and moves nimbly as a spirit, because as a spirit it is not subject to diseases, or death, or hunger, or thirst, or weariness: finally because it is quickned and raised perfectly sanctified, and fully glorified by the spirit of Christ, as it there follows in the next verse. *The first Adam was made a living soule, the last Adam was made a quickning spirit*; So that as in holy scripture our foules by corrupt nature are said to bee *Carnall*: in the same sence, and none otherwise, are our glorified bodies said to bee *spirituall*.

G. G.

I.

How individu-  
alls might have  
bin eternall af-  
ter the sentence  
of death.

**T**O this reason I will add an example; Suppose Adam and Eve should have vowed chastitie, insteade of Gods sentence of death, by your reason, they should have beene incorruptible; for in them and onely in them was the whole species and nature of man. And whereas Cain did murther his brother Abel, if bee had done the like to his parents (as he had the same right and was alike provoked by them) insteade of a gibbet by your reason hee should have beene crowned with eternity; no doubt but if this counsell had beene given him, hee would have attempted it; I am likewise confident that since the creation some species have failed as well as the individualls, neither doe I thinke it impossible at this time to destroy a whole species, as in Italy this very last summer by the practise of a lewd mountebanke did wofully appeare.

G. H.



G. H.

TO the precedent reason wee have an example added, but as that added to the first argument drawne from the Physicks is not physically, so neither is this I thinke any where to be found in the Metaphysicks; no such names as *Adam* and *Eve* are there to be seen. Since then the example is taken from *Divinitie*, which neither the Physicks nor Metaphysicks are acquainted with, I hope your Lordship will not here expect that I should answer as a Philosopher, but as a Divine: Philosophie cannot clearely finde either beginning or ending in the world, much lesse when it began, or who was the first man, where hee was made, or in what manner, or whether but one alone were first made; this Philosophie may seeke, but true Divinitie onely findes, according to that excellent passage of the great Earle of *Mirandula*. *Veritatem Philosophia quarit, Theologia invenit, Religio possidet.* As a Divine then I could answer, that had *Adam* vowed chastitie (which very supposition mee seemes favours a little too much of the *Monke*) the same power that created the first, might as easily have created a second or third, or of the very stones have raised up children unto him, as our *Saviour* speakes of *Abraham*; but the truth is, that it being Almighty Gods resolute determination from the first man to propagate mankind, and so by him to replenish the earth, though it were in his power to vow chastitie, yet was that power suspended, so that he could not exercise the act thereof, and so frustrate the intent of the Creator; much like as *Christ* the sonne of *God*, being sent out of the world to redeeme a peculiar people to himselfe, though there remained after the fall in all mens wills a resistibilitie to his gracious calling, yet was the act of resisting in some infallibly removed, least otherwise it should be left in the power of man wholly to evacuate the vertue of *Christs* sufferings, and so to make the promise and purpose of God himselfe, and the predictions of the holy Prophets of none effect.

Thus likewise it was in the power of *Adam* and *Eve*, not onely to have vowed chastitie, but to have dispatched themselves out of the life after they had vowed it, and so to have made not themselves immortal, but the race of mankind mortall, and that in the very infancie thereof; these things I say were possible in regard of their free election, but impossible in regard of their Creators predetermination. And that which is said of *Adam* and *Eve*, may likewise be verified of *Cain* their gracelesse sonne; But now I shall pray your Lordship a little to reflect upon the force of your example, and then tell me how from the immortalitie of *Adam* or *Cain*, can be inferred the perpetuall and universall decay of nature.

Your Lordship is confident that since the creation, some *species* have failed as well as the *individualls*; and on the other side, I for my part am as confident, that none have failed; so here is confidence on both sides, but *affirmanti incumbit probatio*, it is your part to shew what *species* have failed, and till that be done you must give mee leave still to

Cccc 4

believe



beleëve that none hath failed, but are all of them preserved by vertue of their first benediction. And yet if any have failed, what is that to the perpetuall and universall decay of nature? or if it bee possible at this time to destroy a whole *species* (as your Lordship thinkes) what is that to the naturall decay thereof? It is one thing to be destroyed, and another thing in the course of nature to decay. As for the *Mountebanke of Italie*, he neither intended nor could performe the utter extirpation of mankinde; hee intended it not, for that at least hee sought not the destruction of himselfe and his complices; and had hee never so much intended it, it is impossible hee should so disperse his poyson as to performe it; and were such a thing to bee compassed, no doubt the Devill would have attempted it, and God would interpose his extraordinary providence.

G. G.

An answer  
prevented.

**F**Or answer to this argument needes must you againe fly to the providence, for both generalls and particulars consist of the very same principles & nature, and therefore accordingly should have the same naturall course and condition, unlesse some overruling providence upholding and supporting both should prevent that in the generalls, which it permits in particulars.

G. H.

**I**F in case of a naturall decay I fly to an ordinarie providence for reparation, and in case of an unnaturall violence to an extraordinary providence, I should hold it no incongruitie. That particulars and generalls partake of the same naturall condition, is true, being understood of the particulars not single, but collected and marshalled into a bodie as the Creator hath ordained the, which body being in any part ruined, the breaches thereof are againe made up in a naturall course, and so the whole body preserved entire, which upon the matter is nothing else but the generall; and if the over-ruling providence you speake of uphold and support both the generalls and particulars, I would willingly learne how then it can bee said to prevent that in the generalls which in the particulars it permits; but the truth is that the ordinary providence permits a decay in the particulars severally considered, which by a perpetuall successe of those particulars it prevents in the generalls.

G. G.

Natural means  
failing they fly  
to providence.

**F**Or the overthrow of this answer, as in the naturall Philosophie I considered the meanes whereby the providence did worke: so in the Metaphysicks I will consider the analogie or correspondencie of Creatures, whereby wee judge of some by others. As when wee see onely one instance of the <sup>2</sup> Moone, that shee borroweth her light from the Sunne, wee doe thence conclude the rest of the starres doe the like, and so we affirme the Sunne alone to be the sole fountaine



*aine of light. When wee see but one 3 drop of water how apt it is to incircle it selfe; wee thence conclude that the whole element of water makes but one globe with the earth, by the ascent of one 4 sparke of fire, wee conclude the whole element of fire; for the swift motion of the heavens is no sufficient demonstration.*

## G. H.

**W**EE now come to examine whither your Lordship have overthrowne this answer of mine, and not that which you have fancied to your selfe and put upon me; this you pretend to doe by a Metaphysicall speculation consisting in the correspondencie of the Creatures, whereby wee judge of some by others, but in what place of the Metaphysicks this correspondencie is to bee found, or how it belongs to that science I know not, specially in particulars as you deduce it.

That the *Moone* borrowes her light from the *Sunne*, may evidently be demonstrated, but that therefore all the other starres should doe the like, there may perchance bee some probable presumption, but surely not so necessarie a demonstration: And if they doe, and the *Sunne* be still the same, why should not likewise the *Moone* and starres bee the same; and consequently these inferiour bodies which are governed and supported by them? truly hee that would prove a decay in universall nature must first prove it in the *Sunne*, under God the fountaine of the perpetuities thereof, as the course of nature is now by him settled; this indeed were to strike at the roote, and unlesse this be soundly done, all the rest is but a verball dispute, or a nibbling at the branches and twigges.

That the element of water makes but one globe with the earth is proved, because in its naturall motion it seekes the same center as all earthly bodies doe, but the aptitude of a droppe thereof to incircle it selfe, rather inferres the rotunditie of the whole element; and the truth is, that it incircles it selfe for its owne preservation: which one thing sufficiently shewes how mightily all things by the secret instinct and impression of nature stamped upon them, strive for their preservation, and of themselves runne not headlong to corruption, as your Lordship would have it.

Though the sacred Scriptures mention no element of fire, and many Philosophers and Mathematicians as well ancient as moderne, have in their writings declared themselves against it, being thereunto induced (as they conceived) by strong reasons, yet for mine own part I conceive the reasons urged by the *Peripateticks* for it, to bee stronger then those which are brought against it; and among those which are produced for it, the ascending of a sparke I take to bee the weakest, and the swift motion of the heavens the strongest; however sure I am, that the one is drawne *à posteriori*, and the other *à priori*, which I trust your Lordship will not deny to bee the most convincing demonstration: But now to looke backe a little, all these instances borrowed from the light of the starres,



starres, from the water, from the fire, I take to bee Physicall, and not Metaphysicall as your Lordship pretends.

G. G.

**T**Hus wee judge of the nature of the whole by the parts, which must needs have some congruitie to point out the identitie of the maker, and that hee doth not vary in his intentions.

G. H.

**W**E are now come to the application of those instances, and that is, *thus to judge of the whole by parts*, which is true in homogeneous parts and essentiall properties; thus every part of bloud is bloud, and the least quantitie of it hath in it all that belongs to the essence of bloud as well as the greatest, but in heterogeneous parts it is otherwise in them, there is not the same reason of every part, nor of any part as of the whole; no man is so unreasonable as to say that there is the same reason of the little finger as of the whole man. Again, even the homogeneous parts themselves, though they all partake of the same essentiall properties with the whole, yet in other qualities and effects they doe not; as a great quantitie of bloud may last longer then a lesser, and fill a place or nourish a bodie which a lesser cannot; thus many things may bee verified of the element of fire, which of a sparke cannot, though the definition of fire agree equally to them both. And thus stands the case with generalls and particulars, which are as it were the homogeneous parts of the generalls. *Socrates* though an individuall, may as truly be said to be a reasonable creature, as *homo*, though the *species* of *Socrates*; but *homo*, because a *species*, by succession becomes eternall, which *Socrates* cannot, because another individuall of the same kinde may succeed *Socrates*, and so in *infinitum*; yet *Socrates* because an individuall cannot possibly succeed himselfe, and therein though a *part*, hee differs from the *whole*. Neither can we without manifest error judge of the whole by a part thus considered, every part of every element is immediately transmutable into their neighbour elements, and mediately all of them one into another, yet take the whole regions of the elements and none of them is wholly perishable, being still repaired by a compensation of new parts, as the *species* is still maintained by a perpetuall successe of new individualls, but how this proportion of the parts to the whole, should point out the identitie of the maker, or shew that he doth not vary in his intention, to mee is a riddle; neither can I possibly understand it.

G. G.

**B**ut the providence of God is alike interested and ingaged in particulars as in generalls, the preservation of both makes alike for his honour. And if the end of both bee alike, dissolution and a renovation, (as wee say) but an annihilation



annihilation (as you say) why should not the meanes tending and conducting to this end be alike? or why should not the meanes be fitted and proportioned to the end in generalls as well as in particulars? 3 All the dimensions and all the qualities of this world are finite, why should not the continuance bee finite? If nature doth ever proceed by degrees, 4 *Natura non facit saltum*, why should wee thinke that the world in her full vigor and strength should suddenly bee annihilated? but rather that an end and period should come by degrees, though in an insensible manner: 5 As we say that clockes goe truly, and strike the just houre, yet wee doe not thereby imply but that they are worne out with use, how much more insensible is the decay of this world, as the workmanship is much more admirable? 6 Which notwithstanding wholly to deny, were in effect to place the individualls here in a lower region subject to stormes and tempests, but to elevate the generalls to an upper region, or rather to another world so to exempt them, whereby you commit a fallacie. *A bene compositis ad male divisa*, when as generalls onely subsist in their particulars, and therefore must share and partake with them in their passions.

## G. H.

THE Providence of God no doubt extends it selfe to all his workes both great and small, there is not a Lilly growes in the field, nor a haire falls from our heads, nor a sparrow lights on the ground without the Divine Providence; yet may it not be denyed but that it extends to some in a more speciall manner then to others, as namely to his Church in a more speciall manner then to other men, and to men in a more speciall manner then to unreasonable creatures; which no doubt gave occasion not onely to that demand of the Psalmist, *Lord what is man that thou art mindefull of him, or the sonne of man that thou visting him?* but to that likewise of the Apostle, *Doth God take care for Oxen?* Thus also his providence reacheth both to generalls and individualls, but to generalls more especially (because they more immediately conduce to the perfection of the world, and consequently to the advancement of his honour) but to the individualls in relation to their generalls. Thus *Du Moulin* in his anatonie of *Arminianisme*, cap. 3. maintaines, that God from eternitie did not decree how many eares of corne should grow in the *Neapolitan*, nor any other field. *Aquinas* part. 1. quest. 27. art. 7. conceives, that a certaine number of men are predetermined, but not of oxen, and gnats, and such like, save only in generall a competent number for the conservation of their species; and againe, *Contra Gentiles*, lib. 3. cap. 113. he affirms that the unreasonable creatures are by God directed in their acts, not with any respect to the *individuum*, but onely to the species: And *Ferrariensis* generall of the *Friers predicant*, in his Commentaries upon that place gives us this note; *Advertendum quod hac ratio supponit id quod in precedentibus est ostensum, scilicet ea que sunt semper sunt propter se provisum*. But *S. Hierome* in his Commentaries on the first of *Habbacuck* goes further, and I thinke somewhat too farre, telling us in plaine termes that it is absurd, *ad hoc Dei deducere Majestatem ut sciat per momenta singula, quot nascantur pulices;*



*& quot moriantur, quæ cimicum & pulicum & muscarum sit multitudo, quanti pisces in aqua natent, & qui de minoribus majorum præda cedere debeant:* which opinions I will not in all points undertake to warrant, but by them all I conceive their meaning to bee, that the Providence of God is in a more speciall manner directed and carried to the generalls, then to the particulars for the preservation of them, in as much as one particular (by Gods ordinance) may and doth succeed another.

*Et quasi cursores vitæ lampada tradunt.*

But in an ordinary course nothing in that kinde can succeed the generalls, and in that regard it stands more with Gods providence to preserve them safe and sound from any such declination as the particulars are subject unto, and this he doth by the succession of particulars, and therefore it is that the *Angels* who succeed not one another (every particular constituting in it selfe (as *Aquinas* teacheth) both a *species* and an *individuum* remaine in themselves eternall, or to speake more properly, æviternall or immortall.

That the end as well of generalls as particulars in materiall substances is alike, that is to be dissolved I grant, but that this dissolution is to be effected in a manner alike, that I deny; the particulars being by the Creators wisdom ordained to bee dissolved in the course of nature, but the generalls by his owne immediate and extraordinary power, and consequently there needed meanes conducing to the former, but to the latter none other then were requisite before the creation; and if meanes proportionable be thought requisite to mine *annihilation*, I beseech you, why not to your *renovation*? Yet how a naturall decay can in reason be assigned as a meanes proportionable to a supernaturall *renovation*, is I confesse past mine understanding.

But all the dimensions and all the qualities of this world are finite, why should not the continuance? And may not I upon as good grounds demand the same question? All the powers and faculties, all the qualities and actions, and the essence it selfe of Angels, and the soules of men seperated from their bodies are finite, and why should not then their continuance bee finite? yet your Lordship I trust will not deny but that in duration they are both of them infinite, *à parte post* I meane, for *à parte ante*, none is infinite but God. Again, I hope your Lordship holds not that either the duration of the world after it is renewed shall be finite, or that the dimensions and qualities thereof shall bee infinite; so neither is it incongruous to say that the duration of this finite world should indeed bee infinite, had not God by his extraordinary power determined to cut it off.

To this *axiome*, *Natura non facit saltum*; I say againe (as I have often said, and I wonder your Lordship takes no more notice of it) that the Annihilation of the world shall not bee the worke of nature, but of the Creator himselfe, the Author and commander of nature; neither can I tell how your Lordship can otherwise avoide this *saltus*, if the world worne out with a perpetuall decay, should suddenly leape into a *renovation*. And for your pretended insensibilitie in Natures decay, I much marvell how you will accord it with her, wholly inclining and

*præcipue*



*precipice to corruption*, which you so much beat upon in your first argument; Can shee wholly incline and runne headlong to corruption, and yet her decay be insensible?

As for your similitude of Clockes, it strikes not right; for though Clockes weare out with use, yet doth not nature; and besides, Clockes being worne, there followes in them an irregularitie of motion, farre different from that which was at first; so as they goe not truely, nor strike the right houre; which I suppose your Lordship cannot shew to bee in nature, specially in the celestiall motions, the measure of that time which the Clocks are made to point out.

And thus may wee wholly and safely deny the decay in generall, and without troubling your Lordships World with them, suffer them to remaine where they are, yet well enough sheltred from the stormes and tempests whereunto individualls are subject, because it belongs not to the essence of the individualls (which alone constitutes the *species*) to be subject to such stormes, and beaten with tempests, that being onely essentiall (not onely by way of constitution, but of consequence) wherein all the individualls equally and necessarily participate, and therefore agrees *omni soli & semper*; so as you cannot justly lay to my charge the fallacie, *A bene compositis ad male divisa*: but I may justly fasten on you the contrary, *A bene divisis ad male composita*. Your argument holding in particulars divided each from other, but failing in generalls, which upon the matter are nothing else but a composition or collection of particulars into a bodie. Thus you both begin and end this argument with *Logick*, (if I may call it an argument consisting of so many and different parts) though you intitle it to the *Metaphysicks*; but the very truth is, that the greatest part thereof is neither *Metaphysicall* nor *Logicall*, but rather *Theologicall* or *Physicall*, and consequently to bee referred either to the first which goes before, or to the third which followes after, and now presents it selfe to bee examined.

G. G.

### 1. In Theologie the first argument.

<sup>2</sup> **C**onstancie and immutabilitie as supposing the ground worke of wisdom and power, are reckoned among the attributes of God, not onely in his owne nature and essence, but likewise in his actions and operations. <sup>3</sup> Thus as things proceeded from God, so no doubt they are unchangeable; and this I affirme of all Creatures in generall, as they are immediately created of God; but if otherwise there are meanes under God, and a course appointed by God, by vertue hereof they may have a revolution as it were going from God and returning to God, and then it is no inconvenience, but rather stands with the Providence, that such Creatures may be changeable, as in themselves so in their whole kinde.

The naturall course of creatures admits corruption.

Dddd

G. H.



G. H.

1. **Y**our Lordship being by profession a *Divine* and a *Christian* Bishop, mee-thinkes should in ranging your arguments rather have given the precedencie to *Divinity* the Mistresse of all other sciences to which they serve as hand-maides, then to have made her thus in regard of order to have waited on them. And yet how this argument (as you call it) is drawne from *Theologie* I know not, containing in it such positions as I thinke before your Lordship never any *Divine* hitherto so much as dreamed of, and such *Christian* Philosophers as have written of the *Metaphysickes*, thither reduce the attributes of God, for that hee alone is *ens primum* and *per se*, and none but hee; though I well know the Schoole *Divines* handle these as they doe many other questions, which properly belong to the *Physickes* or *Ethickes*.

2. Absolute immutabilitie is such a propertie of the Creator, as it is altogether as incommunicable to the Creature as is *omnipotence*, *omniscience*, *omnipresence*, perfect eternitie or infinitie, and therefore doth hee challenge this attribute as peculiar to himselfe, *Ego Deus & non mutator*; and in another place *I am*, because hee is independent and still like himselfe: yet in some sence may the Creature bee termed unchangeable, when in essence it remains the same as doe all immateriall substances, the coelestiall bodies, the elements, and the *species* of bodies elementarie, though in a different manner.

3. That all Creatures come from God as the first efficient, and againe returne to God as the utmost finall cause of their beeing, their faculties and operations I willingly acknowledge; but how some of them may bee said to returne to God by their decay I cannot conceive, much lesse what the meanes are which God hath appointed to worke a change by decay, not onely in particulars, but in the whole kindes, which cannot bee but a great inconvenience, nor can well stand with the Divine Providence; for that they make to the perfection and preservation of the World, the principall or at leastwise in regard of us the most conspicious object of that Providence.

G. G.



## G. G.

**A**ND this makes the great difference betweene spirituall and corporeall substances, for the spirituall being created immediately by God, and all in an instant; and all in their full perfection, being thus created they doe thus subsist to eternity, for here is no course nor meanes by which they might wander as it were going to and from their Creator.

The eternitie of  
the spirituall  
world.

## G. H.

**I**F this bee indeed the great difference betweene spirituall and corporeall substances as you affirme, then must it consequently follow, that as all spirituall substances are immutable in regard of decay, so should all corporeall bee mutable; in the same respect, as ratioll and irratioll, being the great difference betwixt man and beast; it cannot bee but the one should agree to all beasts as the other doth to all men, and yet (as if you had forgotten what here you affirme, and positively lay downe as a fundamentall principle) within a few lines you tell us of some corporeall substances immediately created by God, as immutable in regard of any decay as the spirituall, which is in effect as if you should tell us that some beasts are reasonable; so as either this is not the great difference betwixt spirituall and corporeall substances; as here you beare us in hand, or no corporeall substances have the priviledge which there you pretend. Againe, in your second argument immediately going before you say, that the proper difference betwixt the materiall and spirituall world (which with you is the same as spirituall and corporeall substances) is corruptible and incorruptible; which if it be so, mutable and immutable cannot bee it, in as much as many things are mutable which are not corruptible; the Apostate *Angells* by their falling away from God shewed themselves to bee mutable, though they be not corruptible, and the first matter though it be not corruptible, yet it shewes it selfe to bee mutable, by changing into a thousand severall shapes every moment, and if by mutable you understand a mutabilitie to decay, and so to corruption, (which notwithstanding is but one branch of mutation) then is this argument coincident with the former, pretended to bee drawne from the Metaphysicks, save onely that there you except no corporeall substances from corruptibilitie as here afterwards you doe.

To affirme that all spirituall substances were created in an instant, if the meaning be (as it seemes) that that they were all created in one and the same instant, it is unwarrantable, except we should deny the daily creation of mens soules, or hold with *Origen* that before this corporeall world was made, they were all created at the same time with the *Angells*; and your Lordship cannot be ignorant that many of the Ancients maintained both the soules of men and the *Angells* to bee corporeall. That the elect *Angells* who stand by grace were originally created in

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that



that full perfection of knowledge & obedience, which they have now through mercy obtained, cannot be defended; in as much as the Apostate *Angels* were created, and still remaine if not wholly, yet for a great part in the same naturall perfection together with them; and though in regard of this naturall perfection it be true, that they subsist to eternity, yet in respect of the malice of their wills, *Theologie* will assure us, that they found a meanes to wander and start aside from their and our Creator; and this wee may not improperly call a *going from him*, as on the other side the elect *Angels* found a meanes of cleaving so inseparably unto him, as now there is no possibility of their falling away: and this we may not improperly call a *going to him*, both which you deny; your meaning perchance being holpen out by a favourable construction may passe, but truly you have involved it in such ambiguous termes, as may give just occasion to the reader at leastwise to suspect it, if not to condemne it as erroneous.

G. G.

The constancie  
of Gods actions  
excludes Annihilation.

**B**ut it is otherwise in corporeall natures, for in them there was a double Creation, a Creation *ex nihilo*, and that was in an instant, and immediately by God, In principio creavit Deus cælum & terram, where by the way that opinion in Philosophie is confirmed concerning the double matter of the heavens and the elements, which you impugne as you doe many other undoubted ancient truths. Now this heaven and this earth thus immediately made of nothing, should so have still continued to eternity out of the constancie of Gods actions, for what should destroy Gods creatures when there is nothing but God? Yet I pray what kinde of heaven and earth should then have subsisted? surely a heaven without starres or beauty, and the earth should have beene inanis & vacua, for here was the first Creation *ex nihilo*, and thus things should have subsisted to eternity; this overthrowes your Annihilation, because your Annihilation overthrowes the constancie and immutabilitie of Gods will; if he should thus make and unmake his Creatures, which would much disparage his fore sight, for as no cause did move him to the making of them but his mercy, so still the same mercy might move him for their preservation.

G. H.

**B**efore I proceede any farther in the examination of the force of this argument (by reason of a *Remora* which you have cast in my way) I shall bee inforced to make some stay, and because you here assault mee somewhat fiercely, a while to insist upon mine owne defence; you accuse me for impugning the double matter of the heavens and the elements, as you say I doe many other undoubted ancient truths; and for the double matter you take it as granted, to bee proved out of those words in the first of *Genesis*: In principio creavit Deus cælum & terram. Heere is my charge, now for my discharge; I will first shew that I impugne not this double matter; Secondly, that it is no such



such undoubted truth as you pretend : Thirdly, that it cannot be proved from those words of *Genesis*, but rather the contrary ; And fourthly, that the opinion of a double matter in the celestiall and sublunary bodies makes for mee in the maine Controversie, but strongly against you ; and these foure points being sufficiently opened, I shall earnestly desire your Lordship hereafter to bee more sparing, and advised what you peremptorily affirme, and upon what grounds ; and the reader to judge of your uncharitable censure of me in the rest, by the clearenesse and fulnesse of mine answer in this.

First then for my selfe, that I absolutely impugne not this double matter (as you pretend) mine owne words shall testifie, which in the second booke and second Section of mine *Apologic* are these. 'This point will never I thinke be fully and finally determined, till wee be inhabitants of that place whereof wee dispute ; for hardly doe wee guesse aright of things which are upon earth, and with labour doe wee finde the things which are at hand ; but those things which are in heaven who hath searched out? Yet for the present I say I should state it thus, that they agree in the same originall matter ; and surely *Moses* mee thinkes seemes to favour this opinion, making but one matter (as farre as I can gather from the text) out of which all bodily substances were created ; so as the heavens though they bee not compounded of the elements, yet are they made of the same matter the elements are compounded of. These are my words in that place, Is this then to impugne the double matter? to say the point is in my judgement undeterminable ; yet for the present (till I bee better informed) to deliver therein what I conceive most probable, because *Moses* seemes to me to favour this opinion, truly (my Lord) I well hoped the indifferent reader would herein have approved and commended my modesty, rather then have censured mine obstinacie, especially considering that the controversie in it selfe is so difficult, and the single matter hath beene anciently maintained, not onely by the gravest Doctours in the *Christian Church*, but by the greatest Philosophers (*Aristotle* and his disciples onely excepted) among the *Gentiles*, which is the second thing I undertooke to shew, and comes now to be evidenced.

For the *Gentiles*, it is the assertion of *Aquinas* part. 1. quæst. 66. art. 2. *Plato & omnes Philosophi ante Aristotelem posuerunt omnia corpora esse de natura quatuor elementorum.* And truly I thinke we may well credit *Aquinas* as a witnesse unpartiall in this point, in as much as himselfe herein followed *Aristotle* against the streame of the Ancients ; yet herein hath he said no more then both *Plutarch* in his second booke *de placitis Philosophorum*, and *Theodoret* in his booke *de materia & mundo*, have told us before him, where we are taught that before *Plato*, *Trismegistus*, *Pythagoras*, *Empedocles*, *Anaxagoras*, *Heraclitus*, *Thales*, *Xenophanes*, *Hesiodus*, *Anaximander*, *Xenocrates*, *Anaximenes*, and others, were of the same opinion with him, that the celestiall and sublunarie bodies agreed in the same matter, either as being compounded of the elements, or of the same matter of which they are compounded, and *Eugubinus* in his *Cosmopæia* hath observed as much : And in all likelyhood the *Grecians* herein



herein followed the opinion of the *Hebrewes*, the *Caldaans*, and the *Aegyptians*: Nay even after *Aristotle* it should seeme by *Ovid*, that this was in his time the most common and current opinion.

*Vnus erat toto Natura vultus in orbe  
Quem dixere Chaos, rudis indigestaque moles,  
Nec quicquam nisi pondus iners, congestaque eodem,  
Non bene junctarum discordia semina rerum.*

And would your Lordship then beare us in hand that the opinion of the double matter is the most ancient, because *Aristotle* defended it, as if there were no Antiquitie or Philosophie in the world worth the looking after before *Aristotle*?

But this opinion of the double matter, perchance you will say is among the *Christian Doctours* the most ancient: truly nothing lesse, nay I will bee bold to say that you cannot shew mee so much as one father either *Greeke* or *Latine* for a thousand yeares after *Christ*, who ever defended it; and for any thing I can yet finde among the *Christian Divines*, *Aquinas* (being in all points a most zealous disciple of *Aristotle*, so farre as *Christian Religion* would any way permit him) was the very first who set abroach this double matter: And some of the Schoolemen no babes in Philosophie, but of eminent note have herein opposed him, as namely *Bonaventure*, *Occham*, and *Aegidius*, and will your Lordship then charge mee for impugning an undoubted and ancient truth, which was never defended by any *Christian Divine* for at least a thousand or twelve hundred yeares after *Christ*?

Now because you make your opinion of the double matter, not only ancient but undoubted; I will make bold to propose a doubt or two against it, and shall crave your Lordships helpe for the solving of them: Whereof the first shall bee drawne from the distinction of these two matters, for if they be two, distinguished they must needs bee, and so distinguished by somewhat. Now the Philosophets teach with one consent, that it is the forme and onely the forme which distinguisheth one thing from another, and that the matter in it selfe hath no distinctive propertie at all, which being so the consequence from thence deduced, is in my judgement most infallible, that the formes of the celestiall and elementary bodies being abstracted from their matter, in their matter there can remaine no distinction, and if no distinction it must of necessity be one.

My second argument is likewise grounded upon a received *axiome*, that *in quolibet causarum genere datur una prima*, which no doubt is true as well in materiall causes as efficient and finall. God then being without all controversie the first efficient and last end, it seemeth likewise reasonable and requisite, that in the course and order of materiall causes there should bee but one first matter, as being the last resolution of all corporeall substances, that as there is one *purus actus*, so there may bee one *pura potentia*, in the nature of things correspondent thereunto, which can bee none other then the first matter: And thus much the very adversaries themselves of the single matter seeme



seeme to confesse, in as much as debating the question they alwayes speake of the *first matter* in the singular number and not of the *first matters* in the plurall, which in truth seemes as absurd in reason as it is harsh to the eare. My Lord these are my doubts, which when I shall see clearly and fully satisfied, I will yeeld your opinion of the double matter to bee an undoubted truth, but till then I shall crave leave to keepe my standing where I am.

But your Lordship happily makes account to put all reason to silence with one Scripture. *In principio creavit Deus calum & terram* In the exposition of which words it cannot bee denied but the fathers differ much one from another, and in diverse parts of their writings from themselves, yet certaine it is that the current opinion in the Christian Church for the space of well nigh these last thousand yeares hath beene that by *heaven* in that place is to bee understood *calum Empyreum*, and by the *earth* (which in the next verse is said to bee without forme and voide) that undigested Chaos out of which all the moveable caelestiall spheres together with the elements and elementary bodies were made, and why this first matter should thus bee shadowed forth unto us under the name of earth they give their reasons endeavouring likewise to prove their opinion from a passage of scripture which among many of them passed as *Canonicall*. *Thy almighty hand made the world of matter without formee* upon which words *Iansenius* the learned Bishop of Gaunt thus commenteth, *Nec est quod quisquam miretur hic dici deum creasse mundum ex materia cum fide teneamus mundum creatum ex nihilo, In principio enim Deus ex nihilo creavit omnem materiam quae cum esset ut nos legimus inanis & vacua aut ut habent ὁ ἀόρατος καὶ ἀχρηστος κόσμος, id est invisibilis & incondita, Deus ei per septem dies induxit omnes corporum formas & distinctiones quas videmus modo*; Whereby it appears, that the author of the wisdom of Solomon held but one *first matter* out of which all corporeall substances were made, and that *Iansenius* soe understood him; Neither can I possibly understand how those *Schoolemen* who follow *Thomas* in making a double matter, can reconcile their opinion with their interpretation of those first words of *Genesis*; and if your Lordship will stand to that common exposition, that verse is soe farre from affording any countenance to your *double matter* as it makes directly against you.

Lastly whiles you seeme to fight against me for impugning this *double matter* the very truth is that you confute your selfe and manifestly strike at the throat of your owne cause, though perhaps unawares, in as much as both the *Aristotelians* and the *Thomists* ground their double matter upon the *incorruptibility*, *inalterability*, and *impassibility* of the heavens, which you deny, so as though with them you pretend to hold this double matter yet you oppugne them in the maine reason wherefore they hold it, that so you may the better maintaine your imaginary decay of the world; One of the two then you must of necessity chuse, either to leave them in their opinion of the double matter, or together with them admit the impassibility of



the cælestiall bodies and consequently the indeficiencie of this inferior world the perpetuation of whose vigor depends upon their impassibility!

And for my selfe who encline more to the opinion of the single matter, you may herein see mine *ingenuitie* in declining that opinion which in appearance makes most for me, and in leaning to that which seemes to make against me, because I find it most consonant to the scriptures and the *tenent* of the most ancient divines, and to the dictate of right reason most agreeable; And yet together with the single matter I defend the impassibility of the heavens not onely by the supernaturall power of God as both the *Platonists* and the Fathers of our Christian Church seeme to hold, but in a naturall and ordinarie course by indewing that part of the first matter with a forme so excellent and so noble as it is therewith wholly satiated, the appetite thereof from longing after any other forme being thereby altogether restrained if not utterly extinguished, it hath onely *appetitum complacentia* but not *desiderij*, whither wee take that word for want or desire of a farther perfection, in as much as all such desire ariseth either from a sence or at leastwise a supposition of want.

Now though this digression have extended it selfe somewhat beyond my purpose yet I hope your Lordship will not thinke it impertinent or superfluous being by your selfe provoked thereunto, and so I returne to the argument, in discussing of which if I insist somewhat longer then in the rest, I trust it will be thought the more pardonable, for that it properly belongs to our profession.

I will begin with that passage of *Genesis* upon which you ground your argument; and will consider the sence of it the more fully, partly because they are the very first words of the *sacred oracles* registred for our salvation, and partly because the opening of them conduceth not a little to the clearing of the maine controversie; and herein I will first make bold to waigh your interpretation and after that to propose mine owne. You by the heaven in that place seeme to understand the æthereall bodies above the element of fire, though imperfect and impolis'd *without starres* and *voide of beantie*, but I should then demand where you would finde the creation of the element of fire or of the vast regions of the aire, which in all likelyhood *Moses* in his description of the creation omitted not, it being so noble and necessary a part of the *universe* as without it neither man nor beast can see or heare or move or live so much as one moment, under the name of heaven you comprehend it not, and under the name of earth you cannot well comprehend it, there being so little affinity betweene earth and aire in regard of their different natures, uses, *qualities*, and operations. Again I would willingly learne according to your interpretation how out of *Moses* we can any way assure our selves of the Creation of *Angels* the most glorious excellent and Divine creatures, that Almighty God made; and though it bee true indeed that he make no particular mention of them, yet I cannot beleeve that hee wholly either forgot or neglected them; Lastly I would desire to bee informed what you understand by the  
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*firmament of heaven* which was the worke of the second day; for if thereby you understand the celestiall orbes as of force you must, in as much as in the firmament of heaven were set the two great lights, then were not the heavenly bodies at all created till the second day, noe not imperfect, and consequently they cannot bee understood in the order of the creation to bee spoken of in the first *verse*, unlesse wee should say they were created before the first day of the Creation, and before the light which was the worke of the first day. These bee my reasons that I cannot subscribe to your exposition of those words *In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth.*

But for mine owne opinion I should rather (under correction of better judgements) fixe upon that exposition of *Chrysostome*, the soundest interpreter I thinke of all the *Greeke* and *latine* fathers, who conceives that *Moses* in the first *verse* summarily comprehended the whole worke of the Creation which afterwards he was to deduce and draw as it were by peecemeale, as if (saith he) a man should say first in generall termes such a skillfull *Architect* built this house, and then descend to the view of the severall parts thereof, the foundation, the walls, the rooffe and the particular roomes. In this sence are the words *heaven* and *earth* to bee taken in very many passages of holy Scripture; and noe doubt to these first words of *Genesis* do the first words not onely of the Apostles but of the *Nicene Creede* allude, where we have a kind of breefe commentarie added unto them, *I beleeve in God the father almighty maker of heaven and earth*, and of all things visible and invisible, giving us thereby to understand that by *heaven* and *earth* is implied the intire frame of the universe, together with all the visible and invisible Creatures therein; which *S. Paul* breefly expresseth, *God that made the world and all things therein*; But in another place somewhat more distinctly, *By him were all things created that are in heaven and that are in earth, visible and invisible*, which very words served no doubt as a pattern to the fathers of the *Nicene Council* for the extrace of their confession. Now as this exposition pleased *S. Chrysostome* marvelous well; so *S. Basil* in his third *Homily* upon *Genesis* assures us, that it was unto them delivered over from their prædecessors; and *S. Augustin* howbeit in diverse parts of his writing hee bring diverse interpretations yet in his eleventh booke de *Civitate dei* and 33. chapter, hee seemes to preferre this before any other, *In principio* (saith he) *fecit Deus calum & terram, quibus nominibus universalis est significata creatura, vel spiritualis & corporalis quod est credibilis, vel magna dua mundi partes quibus omnia qua creata sunt continentur, ut primitus eam totam proponeret, ac deinde partes ejus secundum mysticum dictum numerum exequeretur.* This interpretation I embrace, and thereby shunne those rocks which your Lordship falls upon, in as much as it includes the creation of *Angels*, and reserves the creation not only of the celestiall sphæres but of the two great elements fire and aire to the worke of the second day, they being all three comprehended under the name of *firmament* or rather *expansion* as the originall signifies, and both *Tremellius* a Jew by birth, and the learned *Arias Montanus* have translated it, Hence it likewise followes that as those



two elements were created at the same instant with the heavens, so likewise out of the same matter, yet invested with such different formes as the one thereby becomes corruptible, in regard of the parts, but the other altogether incorruptible save onely by the power of him that made it. I have done with the text and come now to examine the argument.

The force of the argument, if there bee any in it, seemes to lie in the distinction of a double creation, whereof the one your Lordship makes to be of the first matter *ex nihilo*, and that in an instant and immediately by God, the other *ex indisposita materia*; whereas it is certaine that all things which are created are immediately by God himselfe and in an instant created, it being not in the power of one creature to create another, not of an Archangell to create a silly worme, noe not so much as instrumentally or ministerially because all creation requires an infinite power, and all creatures being finite whither we take them single or united they cannot possibly hold any correspondent proportion to that which is infinite. Now as all creation is *immediately* by the hand of God soe is it undoubtedly in *an instant* which is one of the speciall conditions and properties whereby it is distinguished from generation, the latter requiring time for the perfecting thereof, at leastwise in regard of the *prævious disposition* thereunto, though the introduction of the forme bee indeed in an instant, but the former requires no time because it workes without all motion or preparative alteration. Besides, the formes of those beasts and birds and fishes and foules and plants which were the worke of the sixe dayes, were not only created in an *instant* and *immediately* by God but *ex nihilo*, they were not made of the matter but brought into the matter already made, as teacheth Zanchius in his first booke and first chapter *de operibus Dei*; the forme then being by many degrees the most excellēt & noble part of the subject, we may safely conclude that at leastwise in that regard the whole worke of the sixe dayes was in an instant immediately from God and *ex nihilo*, and consequently you make a distinction where there is none, save onely in respect of the bodies of corporeall substances, which I grant were composed out of the first matter yet immediately by God too and in an instant, and that without any motion or preparative alteration or precedent disposition, which is therefore by Divines called *Creation* though somewhat improperly, because it is every way marchable and equivalent to that *Creation* (properly so termed) which is out of noe præexistent matter; it belonging noe lesse to an infinite power to make the body of a man out of the slime of the earth, then to make that earth or the matter thereof or the soule which informes that body out of nothing, and thus much the *Devill* (by vertue of that naturall and experimentall knowledge which since his apostasie is yet left him seemes to have knowne and acknowledged: If that thou be the sonne of God command that these stones bee made bread, thereby confessing, that it is a part of the Divine prærogative to make bread immediately out of stones, noe lesse then to make stones out of nothing.

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The edge of this distinction being thus taken off, so as it cannot now pierce to make any deepe or dangerous wound, I proceed to the examination of an *axiome* and an inference built thereupon; the *axiome* is that the first matter should have subsisted to æternitie out of the constancie of Gods actions; for what (say you) should destroy Gods creatures when there is nothing but God? Which *axiome*, I very well allow of, and shall be bold to turne the edge of it against your Lordship in the next section; Your inference is that hereby my *Annihilation* is overthrowne, because it overthrowes the constancy and immutability of Gods will; But your Lordship promised me in one of your letters to meddle with nothing in your arguments save only with the worlds decay, and in one of my letters I desired you to reconcile your selfe to your selfe in the point of annihilation, in as much as in your booke of the fall of man you affirme, that the creatures incline to a returne into nothing, and withall that God will hasten the inclination of the creature: both which propositions I laid downe in your owne words, from whence I inferred (and as I still conceive unavoidably) that in your Doctrine the world must of necessity bee annihilated, so as I might well forbear to make any reply hereunto till you had in some sort discharged your selfe; yet to give you some satisfaction, mine answer for the present is, first, that nothing could have *annihilated* this first matter but God himselfe, and that God himselfe could I trust you will not deny; Secondly that the will of God may remaine, constant and immutable in it selfe, though the effects thereof be diverse or contrarie; neither is this I hope any disparagement to his foresight at all if he æternally in his will decreed it, nor yet to his *mercy* in as much as of that *Materia indisposita* or indigested *Chaos* there was no use nor could bee either for the setting forth of Gods glory, or for the good of the creature save onely in reference to a future building to bee raised thereupon. And againe, why should it not bee as much or more disparagement to his foresight, if hee should out of that confused masse raise his creatures to that perfection which now wee behold, and yet (as your Lordship holds) at the same time sowe in them such seedes of decay and corruption, as should uncessantly tumble them downe from that perfection & at length, reduce them to that lump againe or unto nothing; and then when they were even come to the brinke of this destruction to restore them to a farre greater glory by a renovation, and that when the end wherefore they were created shall bee abolished Lastly, in your second argument pretended to bee drawne from the *Metaphysicks*, you tell us that the great difference betwixt the two worlds (as you call them) that is the spirituall and materiall creatures is, that the one are incorruptible and the other corruptible, and yet here you assure us upon your word, that the first matter should have subsisted to æternity, if the matter out of which all corporeall substances were made, were it selfe no part of the materiall world.

G. G.



## G. G.

As things are  
composed, so  
may they be  
dissolved.

**B**UT in this corporeall nature there was a second creation *ex indisposita materia*, which, indeed was likewise the setting of the course of nature, and it was the worke of the sixe dayes, and by this course of nature I doe here place a latitude in the creatures for their comming from God, and returning to God; so that here God leaves the Creature in a sort to it selfe producat terra herbam virentem. And for the light which was created the first day and which did more immediately incubare and was so necessary in the conception of this world, out of it God created the sunne and the starres, therefore, noe inconveniency that the sunne and stars should of themselves returne againe to that confused light out of which they were created; so for the vegetatives that they should returne againe to terram manem & vacuum; soe for the fish, and the foule that they should returne ad Abyssum, as they were made out of the waters.

## G. H.

**W**E are now come to the second part of the distinction, which you call a second creation *ex indisposita materia*; whereas in truth the formes of all things (by which they essentially subsist) were as well created out of nothing as that *indisposita materia* was, (where by the way I observe that unawares you mention only one single matter in the singular number, not a double in the plurall) and if the first matter because it was created *ex nihilo* in an instant, and immediately by God subsist to æternity, what sufficient reason can bee yeelded why the formes of all things being created in the same manner should not likewise subsist in the same manner, though not in themselves yet by propagation & succession? which upon the matter is nothing else but a perpetuall continuation of that primitive vitall efficacy which was at first infused into them. This you call a setting of the course of nature, and though I should put a difference betwixt the creation of nature, and the setting of her course, yet I will not insist upon that, but would willingly learne, how the course of nature can be said to be settled, if shee be left to her selfe (as afterwards you tell us) and so suffered to runne on to a decay.

That this second creation (as you terme it) was the worke of the sixe dayes, you likewise affirme, and yet afterward make that light which was the worke of the first day and no way created out of the first matter, to have in it selfe a power of subsisting to æternity as well as the first matter it selfe, and if the worke of the first day might so subsist, I pray why not of the rest? Moreover whither these severall workes of the six dayes are to bee distinguished as *Moses* hath described them according to the succession of the things created, or all in an instat & are so set forth for our capacity, great Doctors as well in the Jewish, as Christian Church have much doubted, as namely *Philo*, *S. Augustin*, *Gazarus*, & *Cajetan*, who all maintaine, that all the parts of the world, and all the

Creat



Creatures in their severall kinds, were created in one & the same instant; And *Aquinas* in his *summes* though hee encline to the common opinion, yet will he not condemne that of *S. Augustin*, (either for the reverend respect he bore him, or for the great probabilitie of the opinion it selfe; But for my selfe though it make against your distinction and another part of your discourse which followes in the next section, yet I must professe that I cannot easily be drawne to embrace it, not so much because it crosseth the common opinion, as because the common opinion (in my judgement) is grounded upon more weighty reasons.

Why you should place a *latitude* (as you call it) in the workes of the second creation, rather then in those of the first, you do not sufficiently demonstrate, neither can I conceive any reason thereof, in as much as they are both the effects of a supernaturall transcendent power; nor yet well understand (such may bee my dulnes) what you meane by the creatures comming from God and returning to God; that they all come from God as their first efficient, and againe returne to him as their last end I willingly acknowledge, but that they should all come from him, and only some of them returne to him, & that returne consist in their decay, which is their resolution or revolution into their originall principles, this I must professe is above the reach of mine apprehension, and such a peece of divinity as I never yet met with, but the sence hereof I must bee forced to pick out of the former section, where you affirme that all the Creatures in generall are unchangeable, that is subsist to eternity as they are immediately created of God; from whence I inferre that all creatures being created, and all creation being the immediate action of God (as all Divines teach with one consent) it necessarily followes, that all creatures were by him immediately created, and consequently are unchangeable, and so in that course wherein they are set by the wisdom and power and goodnes of the Creator might subsist to eternity, either by duration in themselves, as the *Angells*, the soules of men, and the heavens, or by a mutuall transmutation, as the elements, or lastly by a perpetuall succession of individualls each to other, as the severall *species* of all things else.

But here I should desire to bee informed, why the addition of a farther and greater perfection by the second Creation, should diminish any thing from the naturall duration of the creature, and bee a meanes to hasten it to decay; or why there should not bee as much inconvenience in your pretended returne of the sunne and starres to the confused light, or of the *vegetatives* to *terram inanem & vacuum*, or of the fish and foule *ad abyssum*, out of which they were made, as that spirituall substances; or the confused light, or *terra inanis & vacua*, or *abyssus* should of them selves returne into that nothing out of which they were created: surely there must a better reason be given for this then your Lordships placing of a *latitude*; for as you demande *what should destroy Gods creatures when there is nothing but God?* so may I aske *what should deprive Gods creatures of the perfection which hee gave them, when there is nothing of power to doe it but God?* Certainly as nothing but the immediate power of God advanced them

Eccc



them to this perfection from that confusion, so nature is no more able to reduce them thither againe then to reduce that confusion into nothing, or how is it possible if there be in nature such an uninterrupted and indeficient chaine of generations and corruptions uncessantly succeeding one another (as all *Philosophers* constantly teach) that naturall bodies can of their owne inclination returne againe into that confused masse, unlesse at least they may by degrees descend to such a corruption whereunto no generation shall succeed; which argument I am confident will never be answered to the worlds end.

The onely reason which your Lordship seemes to alleage for this returne of the Creatures into that indigested *Chaos* out of which they were made, is, that being made God leaves them in a sort to themselves; which position I thought had beene impossible to have fallen from the pen of a Christian Divine, there being so many and expresse Scriptures to the contrarie which in mine Apology and answer to your first letter I have set downe in particular and at large; but truely me thinkes the very reading and remembring of that one *That hee upholds all things with the word of his power* should bee enough to determine this controversy; for if hee uphold them how doth hee forsake them or leave them to themselves? and if hee leave them to themselves how can hee bee said to uphold them? nay more then so it is I am sure the common tenet of Divines, that did hee not in such sort uphold them they would in an instant returne into that *nothing* out of which they were made, not into the *Chaos* but into *nothing*, and thereupon they conclude that Creation and Conservation differ rather rationally then really, Creation being as it were nothing else but the first onset of conservation, and Conservation againe nothing else but the continuation of Creation, or rather Creation continued.

Your position of Gods leaving the Creature to it selfe you endeavour to confirme by those words, *Producat terra herbam virentem*, which I take to bee as improper and impertinent to the confirmation of that position, as the position it selfe is harsh and unwarrantable; not onely because the earth could not then possibly bring forth grasse in the course of nature, in as much as by the testimony of *Moses* in the chapter there following, noe raine had yet fallen upon the earth, and the sunne was afterwards made; but cheefely because Almighty God by vertue of those words, gave such a quickning power to the earth (the ordinary meanes which hee hath appointed being applied thereunto) that it thereby still continues as vigorous for the springing of vegetables, as it was many thousand yeares agoe; so as the force of that command being in stead of a benediction to open the wombe of the earth and to make it fruitfull, did not onely extend to those times, but as *Arias Montanus* hath observed, being delivered as a law in the future tense reacheth alike to all succeeding ages as to that present; and truely I thinke that scarce a stronger argument can bee brought from Scriptures, against the worlds decay, then the powerfull efficacy of that first law and command still operative in the creatures of God, according to that of *S. Basil* in his *Hexameron*, *Intelligas vegetum,*



*lim opificis Dei verbum per orbem terrarum discurrens, quod quidem & tunc operari capit & hucusque operatur & operabitur etiam semper quousque; mundus fuerit consummatus;* alluding there withal, as it should seeme to the words of our Saviour, *My father worketh hitherto, and I worke*; which no doubt are to bee understood of almighty Gods continuall preservation and guidance of the creature in its essence, its faculties, its operations, whereupon the same great *Doctor* compares that first imparative ordinance given to the Creatures, to a round ball, which being rolled downe the hill, never leaves tumbling till it come to the bottome, so the force of that first word (saith he) never leaves working in the Creature till the end of the world, where if we should presse the comparison for our best advantage the vigor of the Creature should now be more masculine then at first it was, as the ball moves swifter & the more forcibly, the nearer it approaches the center. But I should rather hold the motion of this inferiour nature in the working of the Creature, to be circular in imitation of the caelestiall motion, and consequently uniforme, so as by her motion since the first creation she hath neither gained nor lost any thing for that she moves neither slower nor swifter; & so much the same *S. Basil* in the same place for the farther repressing of his meaning seemes to acknowledge, *Omnium ipsorum natura recens semper novaq; perinde atq; nunc incepisset tempus huius seculi concomitatur,* which very words of that holy Father if they be of any waight and credit are enough of themselves to stop the mouth & stay the pens of all gainesayers which plead for the Creatures decay, and thereby though perchance unawares weaken the force of the Creators pole-deed as it were his grand-charter or originall command given the Creatures at their first appearance before him, by force of the same command; If your Lordship would prove then that the Creator hath in any sort left the Creature to it selfe, it must bee by some other argument, not from the text in *Genesis* & the worke of the creation, this by the consent of all interpreters, *Hebrew, Greeke & Latine,* will rather make strongly against you then any way for you.

If I were disposed to quarrell, I could take many just exceptions to that which followes in this section; you say that the light which was created the first day, did immediately *incubare*; whereas we read indeed of the moving or incubation of the spirit of God upon the face of the waters, but of the light no such matter. *Againe*, you say that this light was necessarie to the conception of the world, & yet withall you grant that the world was conceived before the light was created. *Lastly*, that out of it God created the Sunne and the starres, whereas great Divines are of opinion that this primogeniall light was none other then the very light of the Sunne it selfe dispersed, but afterward collected and compacted into the bodie of the Sunne, together with the addition of some new properties and qualities bestowed upon it, and for the starres your selfe tell us in your argument taken from the *Metaphysicks*, that they borrow their light from the Sun, & if so, how were they created out of that first light? Neither did that confused light (as you call it, but upon what ground I know not, since God saw that it was good) belong to the *Chaos*, as you suppose there being before the creation of it



nothing else but darkenesse upon the face of the deepe. These things I doe but touch, that your Lordship may see how open you lie on all sides, but insist not upon them, because they are impertinent to the decision of the maine question.

G. G.

The ages of the world be-  
token the de-  
cay of the  
world.

**B***Ut now in the returne of all these as it is in the life of man, God never suffers man to come to that last period of nature, but hee suddenly cuts off the threed, and therefore the day and houre of the consummation of this world is uncertaine. Thus the Fathers compare the dayes of the Creation to the severall ages of the worlds continuance, and doe number them accordingly; Thus the world it selfe as it came to its perfection by degrees, so by degrees in probability it should againe fall from its perfection; man naturally hastens to his death, yet were it great presumption to point out the day of his death, and so it is in the decay of this world; yet Scripture will testifie that these are the latter times or the last dayes, which cannot bee so properly said, if you will suppose an eternity, for the times are in respect of it selfe and not in respect of God: Thus when as God placed the sunne in some point of the firmament, suppose in Aries, or in Libra; (for either the world was created in the spring or the Autumne) the sunne so placed might runne through all the signes of the Zodiack, and againe returne to its first place; yet not contrarie to Gods action, seeing God in the Creation did beginne, institute, and order things, as it were setting the first wheele a going.*

G. H.

**I***N this section you huddle so many things together, and (in my apprehension) so incoherent, as I may truly call it a rope of sand, but I will take them in their order, though I cannot finde their coherence: Upon a supposition of a returne of the Creatures back againe into that confused lumpe out of which they were made, (which as yet is onely supposed and no way proved) you proceed to informe us that God will suddenly cut off the threed of this returne, as he doth the threed of mans life; never suffering him to come to the last period of nature. which latter assertion of yours, how farre it is justifiable I cannot determine, neither will I dispute; but verely belceve it would very much trouble your Lordship to make it good, there being many no doubt whose lampe never goes out till the oyle be cleane spent, else should no man die a naturall, but all a violent death; yet I will for the present & for quietnesse sake, take it *de bene esse* (because your Lordship will have it so) and only examine the comparison, which if it hold, then must Almighty God by cutting off the thread of the naturall course of the Creatures, hasten their returne into the *Chaos* out of which they were made, as by cutting off the threed of mans life, he hastens his return into that dust out of which he was framed; & how this can stand with the renovation of the Creatures & the lifting of them up to an higher, a more excellent, & noble degree of perfection I cannot understand; And againe, what were*



were this but for God to offer violence to his owne worke, for which cause you condemne mine annihilation, though that be none other the withdrawing or rather withholding of his presence & power in supporting the Creature when there shall bee no farther use of it; but what you intend by cutting off the threed of the naturall course of the Creatures in their returne, I know not; Indeed by this meanes I confesse the day and houre of the consummation of this world will be uncertaine; But for mine owne part I hold the yeare thereof to bee as uncertaine as the day and houre, and withall I must still adde that I hold it indeed to be a consummation by way of *abolition* and not of *perfection*, as you doe though here your use of the word imply the contrary.

Wee are now suddenly to leap into a new matter touching the Fathers, comparing the dayes of the Creation to the severall ages of the worlds continuance, and their numbring of them accordingly; but had your Lordship vouchsafed to have named those Fathers or have alleaged their words I should have made a clearer answer.

S. *Augustin* I am sure ( the greatest I thinke of all the fathers ) could not well make this comparison, except he would manifestly contradict himselfe, in as much as before hath beene observed and evidently it appeares, as in diverse other parts of his writings, so most clearely in his fourth booke *de Genesi ad literam* cap. 21. and in the following chapters to the end of that booke, that hee held no reall distinction of dayes in the worke of the Creation, grounding himselfe chiefly upon those words of *Siracides* as the vulgar *Latin* hath it, *Qui vivit in aeternum creavit omnia simul*; And againe in his enarrations upon the 89. Psalme, or as wee compute it the 90, commenting upon those words, *a thousand yeares in thy sight are but as yesterday*; hee purposely disputeth against those who allowed sixe thousand yeares to the worlds duration, according to the number of the dayes allowed for its creation; and in sundry other places, as namely in his 78 *Epistle* to *Hesichius*, and in his 78<sup>th</sup> booke *de civitate Dei*, cap. 53. hee professeth the end of the world to be so uncertaine as no certaine period of time can bee named, but that for any thing is revealed to us it may last beyond it; *frustra igitur annos qui huic saeculo remanent computare ac definire conamur, cum hoc scire non esse nostrum ex ore veritatis audiamus*; and againe, *omnium verò hac de re calculantium digitos resolvit, & quiescere jubet ille qui dicit; Non est vestrum scire tempora quae Pater in sua posuit potestate*; which doubtlesse hee would never have written, had hee conceived the ages of the world were to bee numbred according to the dayes of the Creation.

Now for the rest of the *Fathers*, I deny not but many of them seemed to bee of this opinion, but had your Lordship examined their writings you could not possibly have followed them therein, in as much as from thence it will appeare that by their computation sixe thousand yeares and more since the birth of the world have already passed, and from hence it is that *Nicephorus* therein following the *Greek* fathers makes the 33<sup>d</sup> yeare from the birth of *Christ* to bee the 5538<sup>th</sup> of the world; but *Eusebius* with such as follow the *Septuagint* place the birth of *Christ*



Lib. Instit. 7.  
cap. 24.

in the yeare 5100 of the world or there about; And among the *Latins* *Lactantius* (who indeed held that proportion which you speake of) though hee liued not much above 300 yeares after *Christ*, speakes as if even then the sixth millenarie from the Creation were not only begunne but almost runne out. *Sciant Philosophi* (saith he) *qui ab exordio mundi saeculorum millia enumerant nondum sextum millesimum annum esse conclusum, quo numero expleta consummationem fieri necesse est.* And from this errour no doubt arose that strange confidence, that bold prædiction of his cap. 25. of the same booke, *omnis expectatio non amplius quam ducentorum videtur annorum*, so that if you follow his *Computation*, you must allow seven dayes at least for the workes of the creation, there having by his account above 7000 yeares already passed since the Creation; And yet *Sulpitius Severus* who wrote his ecclesiasticall (or as hee calls it) his sacred history much about 100 yeares after *Lactantius*, followes as it should seeme the same account, making his entrance with these words *Mundus a Domino constitutus est abhinc annos penè jam sex millia* Nay the great *S. Augustin* himselfe in 20<sup>th</sup> booke and 7<sup>th</sup> cap: *de civitate Dei* treating of the thousand yeares mentioned in the 20<sup>th</sup> of the Revelation, plainly affirmeth, that they then lived in the latter end of the sixth millenary from the Creation, *Cujus nunc spatia posteriora voluntur.* Now that which induced the fathers to this computation might perchance be the error of *Iosephus* herein, who in his first booke and first chapter of the antiquities of the *Jewes* tells us that the sacred bookes of holy Scripture (whereby no doubt hee meanes the bookes of the old testament) containe in them the historie of 5000 yeares; What will your Lordship say to this? surely (as I conceive) you will bee inforced to forsake the fathers in their computation or comparison or both; and the very truth is (be it spoken with all due reverence to their persons) their comparison is as uncertaine as the calculation is certainly erroneous, and confessed by Divines on all sides so to be.

And if wee should leave the fathers in their computation and take the comparison according to our present account, I must professe I cannot see how it makes any way to your purpose, but rather directly against you it being most evident that the world not on the first or second day of the Creation, but on the last arrived to its full perfection; then it was, and not before that man was made in the image and after the likenesse of his Creator the Lord, the end the modell of all the Creatures, then it was and not before that *God* saw every thing that he had made, and behold it was very good; good it was before, but then the whole worke being fully finished very good so as if your comparison held, resembling the severall ages of the world, to the severall dayes of the Creation, it will infallibly follow that the latter ages of the world by vertue of that comparison are more perfect then the former, and consequently are to be preferred before them.

In the next place you tell us that as the world by degrees came to its perfection; so by degrees in probabilitie it should againe fall from its perfection; which reason carries indeed some colour in it, had the graduall perfection thereof beene naturall, but to argue from a gradu-  
all



all perfection supernaturall to a graduall declination naturall, is a very weake inference and as an unsound a conclusion. Againe, that originall perfection though it were graduall in regard of the whole, (the parts being added successively each to other) yet was it not so in regard of the parts themselves, they all receiving their perfection in an instant, because by Creation; whereas your Lordship would have the world to decay by degrees, not in regard of the whole onely, but of those severall parts which serve to make up the whole. And besides, if the severall ages of the world proportionably answer the severall dayes of the Creation, it cannot possibly decline by degrees, but rather grow onto a farther perfection, in such inevitable contradictions, (as to mee it seemes) you involve your selfe within the compasse of very few lines.

After this wee are brought backe againe to the uncertaintie of the worlds end, because it were a great presumption forsooth to point out the day of a mans death; whereas Physitians notwithstanding by infallible symptomes in the course of nature, daily doe it and thinke it no presumption, neither is it so thought by *Divines*; and if it bee so in the worlds decay, then may, though not the particular day, yet the time of the death and finall expiration thereof in a latitude somewhat more generall be fore-told; and yet our *Saviour* hath assured us, not onely of the houre and day that no man knoweth it, but also *that it is not for us to know the times and seasons, which the father hath put in his owne power*; hee saith, not the day and houre onely, but the times: It is *S. Augustines* observation, *Nan dixit diem, vel horam, sed tempora, quae in brevi spatio non solent dici*, and a while after he calls them *spatiorum volumina*, adding thereunto, *tempora ergo computare ut sciamus quando futurus sit finis huius saeculi, nihil mihi aliud videtur quam scire velle, quod ipse ait scire neminem posse*: So that (for any thing I can gather from *S. Augustine*) it was as uncertaine in his time when the end of the world should bee, as it was in our *Saviours*; and truly for mine owne part I hold it as uncertaine now as it was in *S. Augustines* time, or our *Saviours*. Wee are well assured (as that excellent Doctour speakes) that the time of the worlds dissolution and consummation of all things daily approacheth nearer and nearer, in regard of the ages past, but in respect of those to come, wee are still as uncertaine as they that lived many ages before us.

Yea but the Scripture you say will testifie that these are the *latter times*, or the *last dayes*, which cannot be so properly said if we suppose an eternity, for the times are in respect of it selfe, not in respect of God: But in what sence the latter times or last dayes are in holy Scripture to bee understood, I have sufficiently declared in the second Section and 12 chapter of the fourth booke of mine *Apologie*, they comprehending the entire duration of *Christs* Kingdome, which may comprehend (for any thing to my knowledge we finde in Scripture) as many ages for the future as those which are past; sure I am they were called not onely the last times, but the last houres 1600 yeares since.

And notwithstanding, this denomination of the *latter times* we may well



well enough suppose an eternity, or rather to speake more properly an æviterntie in the course of nature: It is not the course of nature that informes us of any last dayes, or *latter times* as neare approaching the end, but the Scripture, and the same Scripture withall assures us that this end shall be the immediate worke of God, and not of nature, which is in effect as much as if it had assured us an æviterntie in nature, but an end by the onely power of the God of Nature. The times then may be said to bee sooner or later in regard of themselves, as some ages goe before and some come after, but in relation to the end of all time they cannot so bee said, but with collaterall reference to the promise and power of him who is the *Alpha* and *Omega*, the beginner and finisher of time.

Now for that which followes in this Section touching the placing of the Sunne in Aries or Libra, and the worlds creation in the Spring or Autumne, and the Sunne running through all the signes of the Zodiack, and againe returning to his first place; I cannot so much as conjecture either what connexion it holds with that which goes before, or how it is any way appliable to your purpose, but am sure that the last words teaching us that in the Creation God did begin, institute, and order things, as it were setting the first wheele a going, makes much for mee, for hee so set the first wheele on going, that hee never since tooke off from it the hand of his ordinary influence and concurrence, but still keepe it going, which the Schoole-Divines therefore call *manutenentiam*: He so wisely instituted and ordered things in the beginning, that Hee made them fast for ever and ever, hee hath given them a law which shall not be broken; Yea they continue this day according to his ordinance. If the Sunne in his first revolution returned to his first place, I know not what should hinder him, but hee might doe the like in the second and third, and so hold on in his invariable constant course till this present time; and if this bee true in the motion of the Sunne, I see no reason but it may as well bee verified of the Moone, and other starres, and consequently of the elements and elementarie bodies, which are governed by them.

G. G.

Nothing is to be affirmed for a certaine truth in Philosophie, wlesse meanes be assigned.

TO this reason I will adde an example, there was a time in the state of innocencie, when man himselfe was no more subject to death then his species, or indeed the whole world; for as then the sentence of death was not past upon man, as hee had originall grace for his sanctitie, so was it accompanied with naturall perfections; consider then how man should have beene preserved from decay, not but that naturall principles might even then admit a decay, for man should have had the severall periods of his age, parents should have ingendred, we should have had our infancie, our youth, and the ripenesse of our age, and so accordingly wee might have had a declination, as wee might, and did fall into sinne; and therefore the decay in nature proceeded not from any punishment of sinne, but from the very principle of that corporeall nature, whereby out of her weakenesse shee is apt to bee worne out with use: And this should



should have befallne her in the state of her integritie, but since the punishment of sinne this decay is more hastened, by a continuall combate and conflict of contrary qualities, which before were not so intraged, and did not so furiously assault each other as now they doe: thus then man in his innocencie was subject to decay, but should have beene preserved by the speciall favour and mercy of God, yet not without meanes, for his dwelling or habitation should have beene in the garden of Paradise; where in effect there was a perpetuall spring, a most sweet wholesome aire, so that he was subject to no forraigne annoyance. In this garden there was a tree of life, as a soveraigne medicine, or an excellent antidote against natures consumption; in so much that after the sentence of death was past upon man, God tooke speciall care that man should not touch the tree of life: Thirdly, neither the healthfull place, neither this soveraigne cordiall were sufficient to preserve man from decay, but in due time there should have beene a happy translation.

## G. H.

**T**O this reason (you say) you will adde an example, but truly as farre as I can judge your example is little futable to your reason, the example being concerning man alone, the reason concerning the whole world; and againe, the reason is touching the naturall inclination of the returne of the corporeall creatures, into that *Chaos* out of which they were made, which inclination (you say) God will hasten by cutting of the threed of nature; but here in the example you teach us that though man in his innocencie were subject to decay, yet should he have beene preserved by the speciall favour and mercy of God from decay, and the meanes of his preservation you assigne: If man then should have beene preserved from decay, and yet the world made for mans sake, should have beene suffered to runne on to decay; I much wonder how this example can bee brought to strengthen or illustrate the reason.

Yet afterward againe in the close of this Section you contradict your selfe, assuring us that neither the healthfull place of *Paradise*, nor the soveraigne Cordialls of the tree of life were sufficient to preserve man from decay even in the state of innocencie, but in due time there should have beene a happy translation; as if there could not have beene a translation without a decay. Sure I am that those of the Ancients (whom your Lordship pretends to plead for) who have written of the tree of life, ascribe unto it such a vertue, either naturall as some, or supernaturall as others, that being applied it was of force not onely to extend the life of man to some thousand of yeares, (as you seeme to hold) but to keepe him from all kinde of diseases, infirmities, old age, or any decay whatsoever; so that man having tasted thereof, should still have remained in the flower of his youth, or in the ripenesse of his age even to immortality, had hee not beene translated: And because the drift of your example lies in this, to shew by the decay of man even in the state of integritie, (notwithstanding his free accessse to the tree of life) the decay of the great world likewise, though man had not fallen;



len; I will a while insist upon the point, that man in the state of innocencie was not, nor could be subject to any kinde of decay.

If it were possible for him in that estate not at all to die, then was it likewise possible for him not at all to decay; in as much as decay is the way to death, and death the finall period of decay. Now that such a possibilitie there was is the consent of antiquity; *Nisi peccasset* (saith S. Augustine in his seventh booke *de Gen. ad literam* cap. 25.) *posset non mori*, and him followes S. Gregorie in his Expositions upon the third chapter of *Iob*, *Si non peccaret etiam non mori posset*: yet both of them hold, that hee was even in that estate mortall by the condition of his body, but immortall by the blessing of his Creator; *Mortalis erat conditione corporis animalis, immortalis autem beneficio conditoris*: Neither doe I see how that of the Apostle can otherwise well be verified, that by one man sinne entred into the world, and death by sinne; for if death entred by sinne, then undoubtedly diseases and decay the preparatives thereunto.

Now this blessing of immortality, some there are who ascribe to the vigor of the soule informing the bodie, others to the vertue of the tree of life; of the first ranke, and I thinke the first in that ranke is Aquinas, part. 1. quest. 97. art. 1. *Corpus Adami* (saith hee) *non erat inaccessibile per aliquem immortalitatis vigorem in eo existentem, sed inerat anime eius vis quaedam supernaturalis divinitus data, per quam poterat corpus ab omni corruptione preservare, quamdiu ipsa Deo subiecta mansisset*; and hereunto hee addes his reason: *Cam enim anima rationalis excedat proportionem corporalis materie, conveniens fuit ut in principio virtus ei daretur, per quam corpus conservari posset supra naturam corporalis materie*. How sound or unsound this reason of Aquinas is I will not dispute, but onely from hence observe, that he thought and taught the bodie of Adam during his innocencie to be incorruptible by an extraordinary quickning power given to the soule before the fall; but the greatest part chuse rather to ascribe this gift of immortalitie to the vertue of the tree of life.

Which some of them to be supernaturall, and among them is Saint Augustine, who in fundry places most evidently ascribes this vertue of immortalitie and indefectibilitie to this tree, as namely in his eighth booke *de Gen. ad literam*, and fifth chapter. *Illud quoque addo quanquam corporalem cibum, tamen eam arborem prestitisse, quo corpus hominis sanitate stabili firmaretur, nec sicut alio cibo, sed nonnulla inspiratione salubritatis occulta*: And againe in his 13<sup>th</sup> booke *de Civitate Dei* cap. 20. *Corpora primorum parentum ante peccatum sic erant affecta ut licet senio non veterascerent, ut necessitate perducerentur ad mortem, qui status eis de ligno vite (quod in medio Paradisi cum arbore vetita simul erat) mirabile Dei gratia prestabatur, tamen & alios sumebant cibos, prater unam arborem qua fuerat interdicta*: And within a while after, *alebantur alijs cibis quos sumebant, ne animalia corpora molestia aliquid esuriendo ac sitiendo sentirent, de ligno autem vite propterea gustabatur, ne mors ijs undecunque subreperet, vel senectute confecti, decursis temporum spatijs interirent, tanquam cetera essent alimento, illud sacramento, ut sic fuisse accipiat lignum vite in corporali, sicut in spiritali, hoc est intelligibili Paradiso sapientia Dei, de qua scriptum est*



est, lignum vita est his qui apprehenderint eum, & qui tenuerint eum : And after this againe cap. 33. of the same booke, Adam (saith hee) non immortalitate illa absoluta & indissolubili, sed ligno vita à mortis necessitate prohibebatur, atque iuventutis flore retinebatur. And by Divines is that sentence of his in his 14<sup>th</sup> booke de Civit. Dei, much renowned; Aderat homini in Paradiso cibus ne esuriret, potus ne sitiret, lignum autem vita ne senectus eum dissolveret. And lastly that in his booke de questionibus Veteris & Novi Testamenti, quaest. 19. (if the booke bee his) Gustus arboris vita corruptionem corporis inhibebat; and after a few lines, cibus aliarum arborum vires praestabat, vita autem arbor medicinae modo corruptionem omnem prohibebat, sic enim homini erat quasi inexpugnabilis murus.

With the great S. Augustine in this point doth the master of the sentences fully accord in his second booke and 17<sup>th</sup> Distinction, Lignum autem vita dictum est, quia divinam accepit hanc vim ut qui ex ejus fructu comederet corpus ejus stabili sanitate, & perpetuâ soliditate firmaretur, nec ullâ infirmitate, nec aetatis imbecillitate in deterius vel in occasum laberetur. And him doth the greatest part of the Schoole-men follow, as namely Bonaventure writing upon that distinction, where speaking of the tree of life; Quippe (saith hee) perpetuam tribuens homini vitam, & indissolubilem faciens corporis & animae unionem; and not farre off. Dicta autem arbor vita, non ob effectum quem ipsa habuit, sed ad quem ordinabatur, & quem sine dubio habuisset si homo in Dei gratia perseverasset; and to shew that he held this vertue to be supernaturall, hee there addes, Nec mirum esse debuit ejus arboris fructu potuisse hominem disponi ad immortalitatem, cum multa sint aromata veluti myrra & balsamum quae longissimo tempore corpora servant incorrupta, ergo sicut sacramenta nostra non creant gratiam, sed divina virtus ipsis assistens in eorum legitima perceptione gratiam infundit, sic fructus ejus arboris non dabat immortalitatem sed divina virtus, cum fructus ille comedebatur, immortalitatem homini largiebatur.

Others there are who make this vertue of the tree of life to bee meerely naturall, as Strabus. Lignum vita naturaliter hanc virtutem habebat (saith hee) ut qui ex ejus fructu comederent perpetua soliditate vestirentur, nulla infirmitate, vel anxietate, vel senij lassitudine fatigandus. And with him agrees Hugo de Sancto Victore. Lignum vita habuit in se naturam, ut perpetuaret hominum vitam si competenter ederetur. By all which wee see that the Ancients with an uniforme consent made man in the state of innocencie immortall, though in the cause thereof they somewhat differed, some ascribing it to the vigor of the soule, and others to the vertue of the tree of life, which some againe made to be supernaturall, and others naturall; but in this they all accord that man before the fall was no way subject to death or decay, no nor after the fall; neither had hee not beene restrained from accessse to the tree of life, etiam post peccatum potuit indissolubilis manere, si modo permissum esset illi edere de arbore vita; they bee the words of the author of the questions of the bookes of the Old and New Testament in the places before alleadged, and seeme to bee grounded upon the lively oracles of the Scriptures themselves, where we read that Adam even after the fall was banished from the garden of Eden, least hee should eate of the tree of life and live



live *for ever*, not for a long time, but *for ever*; which your selfe also in this very Section to mee seeme to grant, in as much as you tell us that after the sentence of death was past upon man, God tooke speciall care that man should not touch the tree of life, for that it was an antidote against natures consumption; from whence it evidently appears that your Lordship in this Section contradicts not onely the ancient and moderne Divines, and in them the truth, but your selfe too, and that by a forceable argument; for if this tree of life were an antidote against natures consumption after the fall, then undoubtedly much more before the fall.

Now for application hereof, you assure us that as it was with man in the state of innocencie, so was it with nature in generall; the decay whereof you say proceeded not from any punishment of sinne, but from the very principles of this *corporeall nature*, whereby out of her weaknesse she is apt to bee worne out with use; as if the *corporeall nature* were an Assle grinding at the mill, and wearied out with labour, and not rather the workmanship and hand-maide of Almighty God, framing her by his goodnes, guiding her by his wisdom, supporting her by his power, & directing her to his glorie: Why my Lord, if this decay arise from the *principles of corporeall nature*, why is it not in the heavens? No man I thinke hath observed that they are yet worne out with use; why not in the *Chaos*, and your renovated world? both which though your Lordship frees from mortalitie; If it proceed from the *principles of corporeall nature*, then must you of necessitie comprehend under that *maxime* all corporeall natures, and not at your pleasure include some and privilege others: And for the aptnes of it to be worne out with use, it is doubtlesse but a meere dreame, and against the tenet of the soundest *Divines*, who hold that nature not onely before the fall, but since is kept inviolable, save only in men and Angels, who wilfully cast themselves away, as I have shewed at large in mine answer to your first letter, I will now onely instance in the words of *Arias Montanus* in his History of Nature, *numero. 8.* in direct termes opposite to yours. *Nec usu atteritur universum, nec vetustate exesum deteritur*; which may sufficiently be justified from that in the first Chapter of the *Wisedome of Solomon*, where wee are taught. *That the generations of the world were healthfull, and there is no poyson of destruction in them*: And to this very passage doth your Lordship seeme to allude (at leastwise during the 'state of innocencie) in your booke of the fall of man, *pag. 396.* where 'you tell us that all things as they are ordained for mans use in service, 'in their owne roote, and in their first ground of nature, are freed 'and privileged from all poyson and infection, onely some after 'chance, some ill husbandman came, who after the sowing of the 'good Wheat did sow his cockle; whereas here you seeme to say that God himselfe was that husbandman, who at first sowed the principles of poyson, infection, and corruption in the world; this I was bold to warne you of in mine answer to your first letter, making it evident how by this meanes, through natures sides you wounded Gods honour; but of this you take no notice, and very little of any thing  
else



else which I have formerly written with diligence and desire to give you satisfaction. My Lord, you assure mee in one of your letters, that you make the agitation of this controversie betweene us to be but your recreation, farre from any serious studie, which I easilie beleieve as you handle the matter, but in very truth my Lord, (if you will give mee leave to deliver my minde freely) if you indeed desire (as you pretend) to finde the truth, and to give satisfaction to others as well by answering, as opposing, you will be enforced to make it somewhat a more serious studie then hitherto you have done, or to yeeld mee the bucklers.

G. G.

**T**YPES and Figures, or rather an earnest for our assurance herein, wee had in the state of nature the walking of Enoch with God, and God taking him up from the earth; in the time of the Law wee had the carrying up of Elias in his fiery Chariot; and in the Gospell wee have the Ascension of Christ, (or as some write the Assumption of the blessed Virgin) and thus good Mr Archdeacon, when I speake of mans preservation, I shew the meanes by which Gods providence doth worke, I shew the Analogie by producing examples, but I feare you can doe neither.

Man though at first immortall, yet had meanes to preserve him,

G. H.

**W**Hat need there should be of types and figures, or any earnest to assure us of that, whereof there was no promise or probability when they were given, I cannot conceive: That the translation of *Enoch* and *Elias* might be types and figures, and that the ascension of our *Saviour* was an earnest of our future ascension I finde, but that they were types and figures, or an earnest of *Adams* translation, that I finde not; Nor doe I well understand to what end your Lordship should insist upon the prooffe of mans translation in this place, unlesse it bee from thence to prove the renovation of the world, but then as *Enoch* was translated in the flower, and our *Saviour* ascended in the ripenesse of his age, so should the world be renovated in the flower or ripenesse, not in the decay and dotage thereof.

That *Enoch* and *Elias* were translated, and that our *Saviour* ascended I grant, but that the blessed *Virgin* was assumed (though some write it) I finde it not sufficiently proved; sure I am that the first supposed Authour of this pretended assumption, was one that goes under the maske of *Dionysius Areopagita*, who affirms that himselfe was present, and was an eye-witnesse thereof; whereas not onely the Writers of the reformed Churches, but *Theodorus Gaza*, *Erasmus*, *Valla*, and *Cardinall Cajetan* make him a counterfeit, specially for that Saint *Hierome* in his Catalogue of Ecclesiasticall Writers remembers no such famous man, which in all likelyhood hee could not have forgotten, had the writings of any such man beene extant in his time;

Ffff

Neither



Neither was it possible that *Dennis* the *Areopagite*, converted by Saint *Paul* to the *Christian* faith at *Athens*, could be present at this assumption as a *Christian*, it being seventene or eightene yeares at least after *Christ*s Ascension before hee was converted, whereas the blessed *Virgine* died the fifteenth yeare after the Ascension of *Christ*; both which are granted and proved by our *Rhemists*, (though perchance unawares) and yet for prooffe of this assumption, they sticke not to produce the testimonie of this *Dennis* as an eye-witnesse. Another passage to the same purpose is alleadged out of a Sermon of *Athanasius*, whereas *Nannius* himselfe, his Interpreter in his preface prefixed to the workes of that *Father*, and directed to the Bishop of *Arras*, rejects that Sermon as counterfeit: And these my Lord are that some who write of the assumption of the blessed *Virgine*, & from them *Damasceus*, *Metaphrastes* & others have borrowed it; and had our *Church* beleevved it, I presume they would never have expugned that Feast out of the *Calendar*: But for my selfe I say with *Epiphanius*, toward the latter end of his 78 *Heresie*, *Sive mortua est Sancta virgo & sepulta, in honore ipsius dormitio, & in castitate mors, & in virginitate corona, sive sublata est, velut scriptum est, animam ipsius pertransibit gladius, inter martyres est ipsius gloria, & in laudibus sanctum ipsius corpus, per quam lux exorta est mundo; sive mansit, nam non est impossibile Deo omnia facere quae vult, finis enim ipsius nemini notus est, non convenit colere sanctos ultra decorum, sed honorare ipsorum Dominum*; In which words (as wee see) *Epiphanius* speakes not a word of her assumption, but makes the manner of her departure to bee altogether uncertaine.

In the conclusion of this Section, your Lordship tells me that when you speake of mans preservation, you shew the meanes by which Gods providence doth worke, and shew the Analogie by producing examples, but feare Mr *Archdeacon* can doe neither; Whereas the meanes which you assigne for mans preservation, is not naturall and found out by reason, but supernaturall and knowne onely by religion, though the heathen Poets write of *Nectar* and *Ambrosia*, *Moly* and *Nepenthe*, by which men became immortall by an apish imitation, (as *Iustin Martyr* thiakes in his second *Apologie for the Christians*) as well in this particular, as many other things of this kinde from the sacred Scriptures, and by a cunning stratagem of *Satan*, that so men might give no more credit to those Divine oracles, then to the fables of Poets: Yet (in your Lordships opinion) were not those meanes powerfull enough to preserve man, but that by degrees (even in the state of innocencie) hee would have fallen into a declination and decay, and consequently into death it selfe, had it not by a timely translation beene prevented; And thus your example should have beene suited to your reason, which was brought to prove the worlds decay, and yet here (as if you had forgotten what you intended to prove) you tell us that you have shewed the meanes by which Gods providence doth worke for mans preservation, and that you have shewed the Analogie for producing examples, whereas the example is much too narrow for the reason, and the reason is



is brought for the worlds decay; the example as you say for mans preservation, which you prove only by meanes supernaturall, and then againe deny it when you have proved it.

But Mr *Archdeacon* you feare can doe neither, that is (as I conceive, for I can but guesse at the sense) can neither shew the meanes for the preservation of the world, nor the Analogie by producing examples; whereas if your Lordship will assigne the meanes for mans preservation, you will bee forced to seeke them farther then the sweet aire of *Paradise*, & the tree of life, in as much as after the multiplication of mankind, which must needs have beene excessive, specially the threed of their lives being drawne out to such a length before their translation, neither the garden of *Eden*, nor scarcely the whole globe of the earth could have contained them, and then how they could all have made use of the tree of life planted in that garden, is somewhat hard to assigne the meanes.

And for Mr *Archdeacon* he hath assigned such meanes for the worlds preservation, by freeing the heavens from all kind of corruption, or passive alteration, by repairing the elements with equivalent compensation, and the species of all things by a perpetuall succession of individuals, and to these meanes hee hath added such forcible reasons, and to these reasons againe such multitudes of instances, as I presume your Lordship will not in haste either discover the insufficiencie of his meanes, or put backe the force of his reasons, or equall the number of his instances.

Of supernaturall effects revealed and recorded in Gods word, none other meanes can be justly expected or rendred then supernaturall, and of naturall effects which wee finde and see to bee true, it is many times hard to assigne the naturall and proper meanes; I will instance onely in the bounds of the Sea, so as the waters thereof returne not againe to cover the face of the earth; this wee cannot well deny to bee naturall, as the course of nature is now settled, yet difficult it is to finde out the naturall meanes by which it is effected, and therefore doe the Scriptures wholly ascribe it to the immediate power of God, he said, *hitherto shalt thou come but no farther, and here shall thy proud waves bee stayed.* Job. 38. 11. *Thou hast set a bound that they may not passe over, and that they turne not againe to cover the earth.* Psal. 104. 9. *Will yee not tremble at my presence which have placed the sand for the bounding of the Sea by a perpetuall decree, that it cannot passe it, and though the waters thereof trosse themselves yet can they not prevaile, though they roare yet can they not passe over it.* Ier. 5. 22. Shall wee then deny the providence of God in preserving the earth from the incursion of the waters, because wee cannot shew the meanes how hee doth it? Nay rather let us conclude with S. Chrysostome in his Commentaries upon those words, *Et erant valde bona; Licet nos ob nostrae rationis imbecillitatem ignoremus factorum causam, ipse tamen juxta suam sapientiam & potentissimam misericordiam omnia produxit.*



G. G.

Plaine texts  
with the expo-  
sition of the  
Ancients, not  
mens own col-  
lections, are to  
be admitted.

SEeing this Argument is taken out of Theologie, when as neither means in Naturall Philosophie, nor Analogie in the Metaphysicks can be produced; let us see whither any promise in Scripture, or Gods will revealed there, can give us any assurance of his providence for preserving this world in one and the same state of continuance; How you are pleased to expound the texts of Scripture, which to my understanding sound a decay, I shall examine in the due place, and what texts you alleadge for the continuance of this world, if you please to compare them with some promises of God made to particular persons, you shall finde them to bee of no greater force, or any larger extent; And herein I shall likewise give you farther satisfaction in the proper place.

G. H.

THE former part of this Section I must professe, I know not well what to make of, and the latter I must referre to future performance; yet two things there are in it which I must say somewhat unto; the one that you seeme to charge me for expounding the Scripture according to mine owne fancie, and to serve mine owne turne; whereas your Lordship cannot but remember that in my last papers sent unto you, all the passages of Scripture by mee alleadged (which were neither few nor improper) I shewed to bee appliable to my purpose, by the interpretation of the soundest and gravest expositors, as well ancient as moderne, both *Romanists* and reformed; neither have I dealt otherwise in mine *Apologie* with those, which perchance to your understanding sound a decay.

The second thing which I am to speake to is, that texts by mee alleadged for the Worlds continuance, are of no greater force then some promises of God made to particular persons, wherein I know not what your Lordship should understand but the promises made to *David*, which indeed were not made to his particular person, but to his seed, and are verified in *Christ*; His seede will I make to endure for ever, and his Throne as the dayes of Heaven. *Psal. 89. 29.* And againe, *vers. 36. 37.* His seede shall endure for ever, and his Throne as the Sunne before mee; it shall bee established for ever as the Moone, and as a faithfull witnesse in Heaven, *Selah.* From which words all Interpreters inferre and conclude the stabilitie of *Christs* Kingdome, from the stabilitie and indeficiencie of the heavenly bodies, and those glorious lights planted in them, and such promises I much doubt whether your Lordship can shew us to bee made to any particular persons, save onely as they are members of the Church, the mysticall body of *Christ*: And truely in my poore judgement so to affirme, is to weaken the assurance of the promises made concerning *Christ*, and to derogate from the certaintie of the stedfast continuance of his Kingdome.

Lastly,



Lastly, I never affirmed (as your Lordship here in this Section would put it upon me) that the world continues in one and the same state, this I have often disavowed, but you take no notice of it; That which I affirme is, that the whole world and every part thereof in some respect varies every moment, yet so as the whole is preserved from any perpetuall and universall decay, and if your Lordship will dispute punctually against me, your propositions are to conclude the contrary to that assertion.

G. G.

**I**N the interim, that God did never reveale any such providence, that the world should thus be continued without any decay, I will onely use one Theologicall reason; had there beene any such promise in generall, then what needed such a solemne particular promise, together with such a remarkeable, or such a sacramentall signe in the cloudes, that God would preserve this world from a deluge in particular, if God either had or would oblige himselfe for the generall; or how falls it out that here in the particular there should bee such a solemne promise, when as for the generall you are enforced to use rather your owne expositions of Scripture, then any plaine and direct text? If a Physitian undertake that his patient shall not die of the drop-sie, will you therefore conclude him immortall? when this is rather an argument that hee shall die of some other disease, so God excluding a deluge, hee doth thereby imply that the whole shall otherwise decay: And as the deluge came by degrees, so no doubt what decay befalls this world shall come by degrees, the overflowing of humours is proper to youth, a great drought with violent unnaturall inflammations are proper to old age; the great world may herein hold a proportion. And as in all chymicall workes things are purified by fire, so the common received opinion of the conflagration of this world may betoken the worlds renovation, and wholly annihilate your Annihilation.

The Deluge an earnest of the worlds decay.

G. H.

**H**OWsoever it please your Lordship to terme this reason Theologicall, yet Logically I am sure it is not, in as much as the generall promises from the worlds preservation, from any such perpetuall and universall decay as you pretend, are to bee referred to the bountie of Gods ordinarie providence, appearing in the state and ordinarie course of nature; but his particular promise for the preservation of the world from a second deluge, to the restraint of his extraordinary judgements in that kinde; and of this promise though the raine-bow were then made a signe when the promise was made; yet being naturall as well as sacramentall, that it was set in the cloudes before it was sacramentall I make no doubt; Almighty God hath promised to preserve this world from decay, upholding all things by the word of his power, and yet in other places hath hee threatned to destroy it with fire; this latter being referred to his extraordinary judgement, the former to his ordinarie providence, and were not the world



world by this ordinary providence upheld and preserved from decay; I see not how there needed a threatening of an extraordinarie judgement for the destruction thereof.

But for any generall promises of the worlds preservation, you say I am rather inforced to use mine owne expositions then any plaine and direct text: Why my Lord, I will insist upon that very text, which together with the generall promise of the worlds preservation from decay, includes the particular against a second universall deluge: *While the earth remaineth, seed time, and harvest, and cold, and heat, and summer, and winter, and day, and night shall not cease.* Now that this promise is not onely particular from any future universall deluge, but generall from any universall decay; I use not mine owne exposition, but of Chrysostome, Aquinas, Ferus, Pererius, Pareus, Mercerus, Martyr, Calvin, and Iunius, no babes in Divinitie. *Adusque seculi consummationem, immotum eorum permanebit ministerium;* So Chrysostome. *Omni tempore durabit debita alternatio,* so Aquinas: *Hac omnia divina ordinatione consistunt,* so Ferus: *Predicta vicissitudo immutabilem rationem motus orbium caelestium ac syderum necessario consequitur,* so Pererius: *Iam Deus pollicetur naturam, qua prius inde à creatione fuerat, restitutionem immutabilem in integrum,* so Pareus: And againe, *Commoda qua ex hoc ordine pendent, sanè inestimabilia iterum pollicetur, idque immutabiliter:* And againe, *Nos hic agnoscimus immensam Dei bonitatem, qui in nostri gratiam quasi natura se subicit, & ad ordinem ejus inviolabiliter servandum nobis sese obligat; ut intelligas non cessatura, quin per suas vices sese gerant, & in terra in usum hominum locum habeant, juxta syderum cursum,* so Mercerus: *Tu vero hic attentè considera in hac mundi instauratione fermè omnia illa & repeti & confirmari, qua facta sunt dum mundus prima institutione conderetur,* so Martyr: *His verbis restituitur mundus in integrum, & quamvis non ita temperatur ut perpetua sit aequalitas, cernimus tamen prevalere naturam ordinem,* so Calvin: *Deus adductus est ad instaurationem universitatis faciendam, cujus instaurationis laci duo sunt, prior Deum non esse deinceps huic universitati importaturum exitium, vers. 21. Posterior natura ordinem in hac universitate gratiosè conservaturum esse,* so Iunius. Whereunto may be added the words of Musculus, in his Commentaries one the same place: *Veritas itaque pacti hujus, quo post diluvium Deus istam sementis & messis, frigoris & aestus, aestatis & hyemis, noctis ac diei vicissitudinem, initio quidem mundi inductam, postea vero propter malitiam cordis humani sublatam, in integrum restituit & confirmavit, anni cursum in eo servat ordine quem singulis annis videmus & experimur; Qua in re admoneri possumus quam sit firma & infracta pactorum Dei veritas, usq; adeo videlicet ut in hunc usque diem nullam quantumvis immodicam mortalium malitiam infringi potuerit.* By all which it appeares that the words alleadged out of Genesis, ( notwithstanding the particular promise against a second universall deluge in the verse immediately going before ) not by mine owne exposition, but by the interpretation of all those learned expositors include a generall promise for the worlds preservation, in that goodly order in which it was created; and consequently in keeping it from a perpetuall and universall decay.

Neither



Neither doe I goe about to inferre a generall promise from a particular ( as your Lordship would thrust it upon me ) which were indeed a ridiculous kind of reasoning , but onely affirme that the particular and generall may well enough stand both together , the particular against that extraordinary judgement , and the generall for his ordinary providence in the worlds preservation , till the finall consummation thereof ; And why these two may not well enough stand together I must professe as yet I see no sufficient reason.

Yea but God excluding a deluge , doth thereby ( you say ) imply that the world shall otherwise decay , which is an inference ( I thinke ) that never any Divine made before you , neither can the deluge be properly called a decay , there being in every decay a losse without a reparation , whereas the deluge was onely a confusion of the elements , or rather a returne of the element of water to its proper situation , without any such losse in the whole as should imply any decay in the universe , much lesse in the celestiall bodies , the element of fire , and the higher regions of the aire , which by the deluge were so farre from being impaired as they were not thereby at all distempered , or any way touched , and yet your Lordship throughout this section ( upon what grounds I know not ) seemes to make the deluge an universall decay ; which as it came by degrees so no doubt ( you say ) what decay befalls this world shall come by degrees , whereas our *Saviour* in the Gospell hath assured us that *in the very dayes before thee flood they were eating and drinking , marrying , and giving in marriage , till the day that Noah entred into the arke , and knew not till the flood came and tooke them all away ;* it being sudden and violently rushing upon them , as the second comming of Christ to judgment shall bee : but to grant that there was a preparation to it , yet that this preparation went on by degrees from the Creation of the world , and that by a naturall decay in all the parts of the world , that am I confident will never bee proved to the worlds end , nor yet that the conflagration thereof shall by degrees steale upon it by preparative inflammations , which opinion seemes to attribute it rather to the ordinary course of nature then to the extraordinary and immediate power of God ; whereas *Aquinas* hath truly taught us , *Illa mundi deflagratio quæ paulo ante universale judicium futura est , non ad aliquam naturæ vim , sed ad divinam potentiam referri debet ;* And this I thinke is the unanimous judgement of the soundest Divines.

Your comparison of the world with man , overflowing with humours in youth , and abounding with heat in old age , is somewhat strange , in as much as heate is rather prædominant in youth , and cold waterish humors in old age , so that following the course of nature , the world should rather have beene burned in *Noahs* time , it being then in the prime and strength of youthfull vigor , and reserved for a flood at the last day , it being now by reason of the Sunnes deficiency , ( in your Lordships opinion )



‘ notwithstanding his nearer approach to the earth, Seized upon with  
 ‘ *degenerous and feminine humors*, farre from that masculine heat which  
 ‘ caused that generall conflagration in *Phaëtons* time, which gave occa-  
 ‘ sion to the fables of the Poets; as your Lordship hath expressed your  
 selfe in your booke of the fall of man. These things I formerly obser-  
 ved partly in mine *Apologie*, and partly in my last papers sent unto you,  
 not knowing which way to reconcile them, yet you still come afresh  
 with the same againe, as if they were new arguments and I had said no-  
 thing to them.

The close of this section is, that as in all *Chymicall works things are pu-  
 rified by fire, so the common received opinion of the conflagration of the world  
 may betoken the worlds renovation, and wholly annihilate my annihilation.*  
 Why my Lord if they be onely purified by fire they are not burnt up,  
 which the very word *conflagration* imports, and consequently if there  
 shall bee a *conflagration* of the world, ( which is both the common and  
 mine opinion ) it shall bee burnt up, and so consumed not purified  
 onely. And so much I am sure doth *S. Peter* warrant, The heavens  
 shall passe away with a great noise, not bee purified but passe away; and a-  
 gaine, the heavens being on fire shall be dissolved; not purified but dissol-  
 ved; And lastly as the heavens so the earth also and the workes that  
 are therein shall be burnt up, not purified, or refined, or renovated, but  
 burnt up, so saith *S. Peter* and so I beleieve, and so must your Lordship  
 too if you will hold a conflagration, which in the propriety of the word  
 implies a burning up and not a purifying.

Yet your Lordship from hence inferres a renovation, whereas the  
 conclusion by you to bee inferred was a declination and not a renova-  
 tion of the world, this seemes onely to bee drawne in thereby to  
 have a sling to mine *annihilation*, or to expresse your conceit of annihila-  
 ting it, or to draw me away from the maine question, and so whiles  
 we pursue two hares at once wee shall take neither; But whereas your  
 Lordship is pleased to terme it *mine annihilation*, you cannot be ignorant  
 upon the reading of mine *Apologie* and my papers sent you since, that I  
 stand not single in this opinion, but ( beside many evident passages of  
 the holy scriptures ) herein am joyned with many great and grave Di-  
 vines of *France*, of *Germanie*, of the *Netherlands*, and some of the anci-  
 ents; Nay my Lord till you have answered my inferences drawne out  
 of your booke of the fall of man, that by inevitable consequent it is your  
 owne tenet, I will bee bold to call it *your annihilation* as well as mine.  
 And farther I will add that whosoever shall maintaine a naturall decay  
 in any one *species* or *individuall* in the world, bee it the least that is, or  
 can either possibly bee, or but imagined to bee, and shall withall main-  
 taine no addition, to somewhat else arising out of that decay, ( as they  
 necessarily must who maintaine the decay to bee universall ) hee will  
 thereby bee forced at last to grant an *annihilation* even in the course of  
 nature, which for mine owne part I durst not defend, for that it is *equi-  
 valent* to creation, and so peculiar onely to the transcendent almighty  
 power of the Creator; who by his servant *Job* hath told us. *Man lieth  
 downe & riseth not till the heavens be no more, not till they be purified or re-  
 novated but till they be no more, cap. 14. v. 12.*

G. G.



G. G.

## Proofes by Instances.

**Y**ou will bee pleased to consider that generall truths are ever best proved and confirmed by generall grounds, principles, reasons axiomes, and not by instances; yet truly Mr Archdeacon though your booke bee full of good learning you are a little defective in these generall reasons and grounds, and your proofes doe most consist of instances, as if because there is no generall rule without many exceptions, therefore you will use the exceptions to overthrow the generall rule.

Reasons are  
better proofes  
then instances.

G. H.

**Y**OUR Lordships title promiseth proofes by instances, whereas you spend the former part thereof in disproving my instances.

That generall truths are best confirmed by generall rules I grant, yet that by instances both those truths and rules are made more evident it cannot be denyed. Here you tell me that my proofes do most consist of instances, and that I am defective in generall rules, and yet in your letter dated the second of *August* you assure me that my generall rules are my best proofes; and truly as defective as I am in them your Lordship I presume will never bee able to answer them, I have often desired an answer to that one *Corruptio animus est generatio alterius*, acknowledged to bee most infallibly true in the course of nature by all the universities of the Christian world, but I am confident shall never see it answered by your Lordship or any man living to the worlds end.

You say mine instances are exceptions to a generall rule, which I use to overthrow the rule it selfe, whereas the truth is that they are deductions or branches drawne out for the better illustration and strengthening of the rule, all rules being first grounded and built upon the observation and induction of many instances, and then the instances serve to add both light and life unto them.

G. G.

**Y**our instances likewise are without relation, first to the times, thus Henry the eighth, and Charle Brandon are reckoned among the ancients, but gunpowder which is thrice as ancient, you take it for a new and moderne invention.

Time.

G. H.

**I**t is a renowned saying of the great S. *Augustin* (though I confesse in another case) *Distingue tempora & concordabis scripturas*, Ancient and moderne being relative termes, and applyed to tyme, being diversly applyed, the same time to which they are applyed may as truly and properly



properly bee said to be both, as the same man may bee said to bee both a father in regard of his Sonne, & a Sonne in regard of his father. Thus *Henry the eight & Charles Brandon* may be reckoned among the ancients in regard of us, & on the other side the invention of gunpowder (though thrice as ancient as they) being compared with *Moses* or *Dauids* times may not improperly be said to be moderne.

G. G.

Place.

**S***Econdly to places, for writing in English and to our people, you scarce mention any one of our ancient records, who knowes not the great difference betweene Southerne and Northerne people? as great in effect as I will admit in the decay of Nature.*

G. H.

**T**Hough I write in English & to our people, yet happily my booke hereafter may bee translated into *Latin*; And though I tie not my selfe to the history of our owne nation, yet many instances have I borrowed from thence, as namely of such excessive distempers in the weather, such raging pestilences, and other strange contagious diseases, such miserable famines & unnaturall warres, with other mischeifes and outrages waiting thereupon, as our age hath not knowne; Neither doe I compare the southerne people with the Northerne, but the Southerne which have beene, with the Southerne which are, and so in the Northerne; Neither doe either of these alwaies remaine the same, but varie according to diverse constellations, customes, lawes, princes, manner of dyet, exercise and the like; And if they degenerate in courage, or age, or strength, or stature, or wits in one place, they grow more masculine and vigorous in another, and in the same place at another time; And so upon the matter all cards being plaid and all reckonings cast up, there is no losse to the whole. The barbarous Nations which live most according to nature are doubtlesse lesse effeminate, & the most civill nations which now are, may againe in future ages become as barbarous as they, and the most barbarous bee civilized, or returne againe to that civility which perchance in former ages they practised, and by this meanes is the ballance of humane affaires kept upright.

Now whereas your Lordship tells us that there is as great difference betweene the Southerne and Northerne people, as in effect you will admit in the decay of Nature, in your letter dated the 2. of August you come nearer, affirming that you doe not thinke that since the Creation there is at this day a greater decay in nature then appears betweene two severall nations though adjoyning, yea which is more, then appears in one and the same Nation betweene the inhabitants, in their stature, strength, witt, and continuance of yeares, and yet in the same letter you suppose the world to have declined much about a fourth part since the deluge, and that about *Moses* his time 80 yeares held the same proportion.



portion in the ordinary duration of mans life, as 50 doe now, which is above a fourth part, and yet *Moses* lived about 500 yeares after the deluge; nay in your booke of the fall of man pag. 359 you confidently assure us, that *Galen* ( who lived at least 200 yeares after Christ ) usually drew fixe or seven times as much bloud as wee do now a dayes. And againe pag. 378. That since *Ptolomees* time ( who lived about the yeare of the Lord 140 ) the Sunne hath descended much lower by many degrees; which supposed declination had it indeed constantly kept since the Creation thereof, by this time we had had no Sunne at all to warme us: But the truth is that this position is so evidently erroneous, that *Bodin* who confidently held it in his method of history, afterwards upon better reason in the first booke of his *theatrum naturæ* as ingenuously recants it; Lastly in some places you make the worlds decay to be insensible, and in others againe ( as namely in your letter of the second of July ) *excessive* and *exorbitant*, nature wholly inclining and running headlong to corruption, as you tell us in the first of these arguments, which contradictions I know not how to accord, but wish your Lordship would bee pleased to make tryall how it may bee done.

G. G.

**T** Hirdly in your instances you observe no order, no method, but they are all culd and chosen out, yet I will disprove them with other instances of the same time, and rather then I will not observe an order, I will follow the method of the Alphabet or the Kalendar. Order.

G. H.

**I** N the third place I am charged for want of methode and order in the producing of mine instances, and truely were I therein guilty, yet doubtlesse your Lordship is no fit man to accuse me, there being no order that I can finde in the producing of your arguments, you may perchance observe some method to your selfe out of the topicks ( as in your last you tell me ) but sure it is *methodus Cryptica*, so closely conveyed as no man can understand it but your selfe. That my instances are culd and chosen doth not argue that they are immethodicall, but rather that they are methodicall enough being applied to my generall rules, as throughout my booke you shall find them to bee; And if you intend to disprove them by instances of the same time ( as you pretend and promise ) yet that will not bee sufficient unlesse withall you bring them from the same place and either applie them to the rule, or disprove the rule as well as the instances, your following of the method of the Alphabet I cannot disallow; And for your method of the Calendar I must professe mine ignorance, I know not what it meanes, except it bee the pursuit of things according to the order of time.

G. G.



G. G.

What is antient

**A**Nd to conclude, that it may appeare you are no way indifferent, where you cannot point out the time of any invention, that presently you claime for your owne; as if you were the Lord of a mannor newly purchased and should take up your neighbours goods for straies to your owne use, while your ancient tennants claime them for theirs, And thus you offend in the mariners card, as if our Sectaries rejecting traditions, yet finding that some make for their advantage presently they should take them for their owne, & change their old habits into some new fashion and cut; And herein you doe unjustly contrary to all lawes for what is time out of minde whereof no memory is extant that must ever bee held for ancient, or else your customes for tithes would soone bee overthrowne.

G. H.

**I**N the last place I am charged as being no way indifferent, but as dealing unjustly, because forsooth where I cannot point out the time of any invention, that presently I claime for mine owne, and thus you say I offend in the mariners card; Why my Lord I prove that the mariners card cannot bee antient, by the silence of all ancient authors therein, who in saying nothing thereof (being so usefull an invention) by their deep silence cry aloud that indeed no such thing was in use in their time, I prove it by their coasting not daring to adventure themselves upon the maine ocean; And lastly I prove it by the authority of *Acosta*, *Mariana*, *Malvenda*, *Gomara*, *Turnebus*, *Pancirollus*, *Salmuth*, *Philander*, *Giraldus*, *Cardan*, *Bozius*, *Ramus*, *Varrerius*, & others; And is this then unjustly to claime an invention as mine owne, which of right belongs to the ancients? Nay more then so that it may clearly appeare how unjustly you deale with me even whiles you thus charge me with unjust dealing, out of *Blondus* and *Pancirollus* I shew that about 300 yeares since it was found out by a citizen of *Malphis* or *Melphis* in the Kingdome of *Naples*, and province of *Campania*; now called *Terra de Lavorador*, and out of *Salmuth*, *Ciezus*, *Gomara*, & *Bartas* that his name was *Flavio*; So as here wee have the name of the inventor, the place of his abode, and the time of the invention pointed out; And if our Sectaries deale no otherwise with traditions for their advantage, nor Lords with their tenants for their profit, were any just man of their Jury I doubt not but hee would soone acquit them of unjust dealing. And for customes of tithing for mine owne part I wish they were all overthrowne and the same I thinke doe the greatest part of Parsons and Vicars in this kingdome.

G. G.



G. G.

I doe then first instance in those elements which are most palpable, the earth and the water making one globe; suppose the highest mountaines and rocks, if the world should have an eternity needs it must follow that these mountains and hills should bee washed downe with many showres, gutta cavat lapidem, so that at length they would come to bee levell; who sees not the rocks how they daily moulder away, and in effect want reparations; or if you live not neare rocks and mountaines, when you see the red waters and the great land flouds, from whence comes this sand and this gravell? how is it possible that any recompence should bee made to those places from whence this earth is fallen? doe you thinke that the aire and the raine upon the tops of the hills may be congealed and turned into earth? your selfe deny decuplam proportionem and say that one drop of water may make 100 drops of aire, which though I do not beleieve, but do love old principles in philosophie, yet I take it as a strong argument against your selfe; For your other conceit that your countrymen doe carry the blew sand of the sea and lay it upon their grounds I wonder you should insist upon it, for I dare boldly say that it is not the 1000000 part that is soe caried, for that husbandry is onely proper to Devonshire, and reasons may bee given of that course; if then you will conceive that these mountaines should yearely loose but one dram of earth (as indeed they loose many millions) surely at length in a farre shorter time then eternity, they would bee made levell, and soe prove a bottome, and then you shall have them rich meadowes.

The daily irre-  
coverable decay  
of mountaines  
and rocks.

G. H.

WE are now come to your Lordships instances, and first you say you will instance in those elements which are most palpable, the earth and the water making one globe; whereas your instances are but three in all, & they all borrowed from the earth and water, so as you needed not have told us that you would confine your first instance to these elements, which notwithstanding is proper to the earth alone.

Suppose (you say) the highest mountaines and rocks, if the world should have an eternity, needs it must follow that these mountaines & hills should bee washed downe with many showres, so that at length they should come to be levell; But what if I should say that God will cut of the threed of Nature before they come to bee levell, as you doe that hee will, before all things returne to their *Chaos*? but the truth is I need not search so farre for an answer, you have shaped me another to mine hand in this very section, wherein when I seriously expected what the conclusion of this instance should bee, at length I found it thus resolved on, If then you will conceive that these mountaines should yearly loose but one dram of earth (as indeed they loose many milli-

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one



ons) surely at length in farre shorter time then eternity they would be made levell, and so prove a bottome and then you shall have them rich meadowes; Here is the conclusion, wherein I will not quarrell at words in that you tell us of a farre shorter time then eternity, as if eternity were time, or time had any proportion with eternity, but will only insist upon the last close, That then wee shall have them rich Meadows; Why my Lord what losse is this to the world? nay what losse to the earth that instead of barren mountaines wee shall at length have fat and fruitfull valleyes? If I should seeke none other answer then this alone it were sufficient, and that the rather for that many learned men have beene of opinion, that before the flood there were no mountaines at all but that they were caused by it.

Yet for a more full reply I am of opinion that those diminutions which are made in mountaines are againe repaired, and that by the very same meanes as they are diminished; violent stormes doe not reave more from them at some times, then moderate gentle showres dewes & mists at other times repay home to them againe, which being exhaled from the sweetest and fattest part of the sea, and from moorish and fennish grounds, are apt for the vegetation and springing of grasse and weedes, which rotting away are converted into earth, and that earth againe by the vicinity of the rock (agglutinating and assimilating it into its owne nature) converted into a stone; And thus by the never enough admired power and providence of the most wise Creator, the same meanes differently applied serves both to wound and cure them; And from hence it is that the Divine oracles themselves afford them the name of *everlasting mountaines* and *perpetuall hills*, And againe, as the mountaines are round about *Jerusalem*, so the Lord is round about his people from henceforth and *for ever*.

But beside this, if any mountaines bee humbled into valleys, meanes are not wanting for the proportionable raising of valleys into mountaines, sometimes by *inundations*, it being the opinion if not of all yet I dare say both of the greatest and soundest part of Divines, that the mountaines, though made perchance they were not, yet were they much increased by the generall flood, which if it were so, it cannot well bee but particular floods should likewise in some degree conduce to the same; and sometimes againe by lasting impetuous winds, the sands are driven and forced up into mighty heapes, to the making or increasing of mountaines, which as travellers write falls out often in the deserts of *Arabia*; where not only men but horses and *Camells* are overwhelmed and swallowed up in them, from whence the men being after a while digged forth their flesh serves for that *Mummi* which is in use among phisitions, though the most pretious and choycest of it bee taken from the embalmed bodies of the *Egyptians*: Lastly and chiefly by *earthquakes*, new mountaines are raised. Thus was *mons modernus* made neare the lake *Avernus* in *Campania*, whereof the *Conimbricenses*, and *mons novus* or *mons cinerum* mentioned & veiwed by *Bartholinus*, which peradventure is the same with the former. And two others of this kinde I find observed

Hab. 3. 6.

Psal. 125. 2.



ved by our renowned *Annalist* both of the during the raigne of the noble *Queene Elizabeth* the one in the yeare 1571. neere a village called *Kinnaston* in the *Easterne* division of *Hereford* shire, the other in the yeare 1583 but twelve yeare after in *Dorsetshire* not farre from *Cerne* in *Blakemore*. Now if two of these thus happened in this part of our *Iland* within the compasse of so short a space of time, what shall wee conceive might in this kind happen in all the regions of the vast globe of the earth since the first Creation?

The red waters of the great land flouds are not so coloured (as I suppose) from the mountaines onely, but rather receive their tincture from the clayie and gravelly grounds through which they passe, or it may be from hills where are mines of lead or such like mineralls, as we see the apparrell and bodies of those who worke in the mines of *Mendipp* to bee coloured red, and the waters which flow from thence; but how is it possible say you that recompence should be made to those places from whence the earth is fallen? whereunto I shall crave leave, first to rejoyne by another question, How is it possible that if so much earth from all parts of the world, should from the Creation bee caried into the sea, and there still remaine earth, but that the greatest part of the globe of the earth would therewith bee washed away, and so fill up the bed of the sea that it would thereby of necessity bee forced out upon the face of the drie land and so make it inhabitable for the use of man and beast? My opinion then is, that all this earth, some sooner some latter is by agitation turned into water, and this water partly drayned out by rivers, and partly drawne up in vapours by the Sunne beames and carried by winds into those places from whence this earth was taken, and so thickned into water and this water by degrees condensate into earth, and from thence a sufficient recompence made though not in all places alike, yet enough for the preservation of the whole.

Yea but I deny (you say) *decuplam proportionem*, holding that one drop of water may make 1000 drops of aire, which though you doe not beleve (but doe love old principles in philosophie) yet you take it as a strong argument against my selfe; That one drop of water may make 1000 drops of aire I never affirmed, for if it bee a drop it is not aire but water, and I thinke I was never so unadvised as to say that one drop would make a thousand drops; but that which I have written is this, that for the parts of the elements tis cleare by experience, that out of a few drops of water may bee made so much aire as shall exceed them five hundred or a thousand times at least, the meaning being evident that the aire which may bee made of that water, shall take up a space a thousand times as capacious as that of the water it selfe; And that this is cleare by experience your Lordship may make tryall when you please, by powring a spoone-full of water upon quicke coales in the midst of a spacious roome, where you may see the vapor arising from the water to fill all the roome; Now the vapor being but of a middle nature betwixt the water and the aire, if the same vapor were rarified into thinne aire no doubt

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doubt it might extend it selfe to a space as big againe, so that whereas I speake of a thousand I might as easily have justified ten times as much And upon what grounds the *Aristotelians* build there *decuplam proportionem*, save meerely upon their owne fancie, I must confesse for my part I was never yet so happy as to understand, but if your Lordship at your leasure shall bee pleased better to informe me therein, I shall hold it a speciall favour, professing in the meane season that as yet I see not how this my tenet makes against my selfe, in as much as for every dramme which is taken off from the earth by the water, there is retribution of at least a thousand drops of water, so as if ten or an hundred will not serve the turne for a compensation, our hope is that a thousand or ten thousand may.

To your Lordships profession that my assertion touching the proportion of the elements you will not beleeve, but doe love old principles in philosophie, it is most certaine that *Aristotle* in his second booke de gener: cap. 6. text. 37. where he speakes of this proportion of the elements, applies his proposition not only to the transmutation of their parts, but to the comparison of their entire bodies each with other, the contrary whereof is most infallibly proved by Geometricall demonstrations out of the opticks, and the opinion it selfe utterly renounced and exploded by the best philosophers in the Christian world; If you love old principles in philosophy you must love this too, that *Celum est incorruptibile*, and this, that *Corruptio unius est generatio alterius* incessantly, and this, that *In natura non datur annihilatio*; Nay your Lordship tells mee in your first letter, that my booke may justly be stiled an *Apologie* of old philosophy, which if it be so, and your Lordship indeed love old principles in philosophy as here you pretend, I doubt not but wee shall soone shake hands and accord this controversy; But in very truth I finde that your love is but verball not reall, otherwise impossible it is that you should maintaine (as in your first argument you doe) that nature wholly inclines to corruption, and in your second, that corruption is the proper difference of the materiall world, implying the existence and supporting all other qualities thereof, and many such like you have; My Lord this I dare avow is no old philosophy, nor yet new I thinke before now; And therefore I pray charge mee not hereafter for leaving old philosophy, but if you can charge mee for leaving the truth spare mee not.

For my other conceit that my countrymen cary the blew sand of the sea, and lay it upon their ground, you wonder I should insist upon it, for that you dare boldly say that it is not the 1000000 part that is so caried, because that husbandrie is onely proper to *Devonshire*, and reasons you say may bee given of that course; For reply whereunto, I must first professe, that I never yet had the happines to see any of that blew sand which your Lordship speakes of; Neither is this kinde of husbandry proper unto *Devonshire*, but as much used in *Cornwall* (according to the quantitie of the shire) and some parts of *wales*, and whither it bee likewise used in other places of this Kingdome, or out of this kingdome I cannot determine; Neither doe I  
thinke



thinke that any sufficient reason can bee given why it should not bee as proper for other countries ( in case they lye neere the sea and have no better compost) as for *Devonshire*, and *Cornwall*, and *Wales*; And for the present point in hand I doe not instance in this cariage of lande, as the only or principall meanes for the reparation of that earth which, by the washing of raine and rivers is caried into the sea, but onely as a meanes concurrent and *coadjutant* with others, whereof the cheefe is that which I have named by the turning of this earth into water and this water into earth againe; And were it not so, the grounds worne out with long tillage would never bee able of themselves without helpe from the industry of man only by rest to recover their heart and goodnes againe, as the wittiest of Poets assures us they doe.

--- *Requies ager bene credita reddit.*

And the worthiest.

*Sed tamen alternis facilis labor.*

And experience in many places of this Kingdome finds it to bee true where they have none other making for their grounds but only rest, if I may call that making which is thus made only by Gods ordinance, without any art or labour of man.

G. G.

**T**He mountaines thus loosing the waters gaine, who sees not that our great rivers are daily choaked up with shelves, Goodwin sands had their beginning, and wee can point out the age, I have often conferd with old Ponnet, the famous English Pilot who in his time did ever conduct the Kings ships both inward and outward, and had his pension for observing the Channell, hee hath told me of the strange increase of the sands and how they have varied in his time, in so much that he hath beene enforced to goe 150 miles compasse, only to take the benefit of the channell, and should he discontinue but one moneth hee were to goe to schoole againe, and as wholly ignorant of our seas as if hee had never used navigation; surely in a farre lesse time then eternity there would bee at length a confusion of these elements.

How the seas  
and rivers are  
choaked up  
with shelves &  
sands.

G. H.

**Y**Our second instance is that the mountaines thus loosing the waters gaine, which if it bee so there can be no losse to the whole, but withall you add, who sees not that our great rivers are daily choaked, which me thinkes should rather argue a losse then a gaine to the waters.

That of Goodwin sands, and old Ponnet's relation touching, his conducting of the Kings shippes, I see not to what purpose it is brought, for who knowes not that lives neare the sea, what a continuall variation there is in tossing the sands too & fro by winds & tides, in removing the shelves hither and thither, and in turning the channell from side to side, and what the sea gaines in one part of the earth it looseth in another

Gggg3



ther as I have shewed by diverse instances in the first booke of mine Apologie cap. 3. sect. 2, and againe in the second booke cap. 8. sect. 1. and were it not so the whole globe of the earth had no doubt long ere this become utterly inhabitable.

So as you might well upon your supposition conclude, that surely in a farre lesse time then eternity, there would bee at length a confusion of these elements; yet your conclusion should have bin not a confusion, but a decay, And againe in this confusion you give the water the predominancy, notwithstanding that in the close of the argument immediately preceding, you had told us that the overflowing of humours was proper to the youth of the world, and a great drough with violent inflammations to its old age as preparing a way to the conflagration thereof; which how it can stand with a perpetuall incroaching of the water upon the earth I thinke no man earthly can well understand.

G. G.

How grounds  
have bin raised  
with this sand  
and lime of  
rivers.

**I**F you cannot take due notice herein I will then supply you with a homebred observation; take Barstaple, or all the citties of England, usually some part of them are built upon lowe grounds for the benefit of a navigable river, assuredly those buildings at first were habitable for the whole yeare, and no more annoyed with waters then now they are, and truly I thinke much lesse; but I pray digg the ground there and you shall finde it a made and a false earth for 2. 3. 4. or 5. yeards deepe, under it you shall often finde a pavement and sometimes old foundations of buildings, and sometimes under that againe shells of diverse kinds and bones of fishes, then surely the citty at first was built so low, which if it were so seated at this time it were no way habitable.

G. H.

**Y**Our last instance (by the separation made in writing) seemes to have beene intended as different from the former, but indeed is coincident with the second, as is the second with the first, The Summe of it is, that if townes & citties were now seated so low as at first they were built, they would no way be habitable by annoyance of waters, which assertion cannot possibly be verified of those townes which formerly have beene havens, but now are dry; of which number and kind diverse might bee named as well in this kingdome as in forraine nations, whereof some are now 20 some 50. some 100. miles or more distant from the sea, which in former ages have beene famous ports for the safe riding of many tall ships, nor yet those whose rivers are choaked up with such shelves as you speake of. Can the rivers be choaked up & yet threaten the cities upon which they stand? or can townes and cities (still seated in the same place) grow higher and higher with out some addition unto, rather the a diminution from the earth upon which they are founded? My Lord for my part I know not how to reconcile these instances touching the elements with those remarckable words of Gregory Nyssen



Nyssen in his Divine discourse, *de historia sex dierum quibus mundus à Deo creatus est*; *Continua elementorum unius in alterum conversio est, ita ut nulum in his absumatur, nullum augeat atque redundet, sed in iisdem quas ab initio habuit maneat in perpetuum mensuris.* Which if it be so, wee shall not neede to feare any decay or confusion of these elements, which notwithstanding reach not to the vast regions of the aire & fire, as neither doe your instances at all concerne them or the celestiall bodies, which being safe and regular, there can be no danger of the elements or elementarie bodies.

G. G.

**A**S to my former reasons and arguments I did annexe examples, together with some preparative defence against sleight objections: so here where instances are my proofes, I will annexe reasons to backe these instances.

If there should bee an addition to these mountaines by showers, no doubt but the vallies beneath must pertake thereof in an equall measure, (for the cloudes make no difference betweene both.) Yea sometimes mists and vapours which passe over mountaines are dissolved in these valleys by the heat and repercussion; but suppose both alike and equall, yet over and above, the valleys must share in those fruitfull showers which fall from the mountaines: here then for want of proportion, in time there must be a confusion; and even the water which falls from the mountaines, if it make but a little gutter in the compasse of a whole age, yet at length it will by degrees pierce to the very center of the earth, and there undermine the foundation of your eternity.

The want of proportion betweene elements, implies a confusion.

If you say the dew and mists which lie so frequently on the tops of mountaines, and not imparted to the valleys beneath doe recompence the losse, I must then descend more particularly: Shew me any rocke in the world if it doth not apparently decay, even palpably to the judgement of sense, I will subscribe to your opinion. From rockes I come to mountaines, why should they be so apparently barren in respect of valleys? at first they were created alike fruitfull, for then there were no naturall causes which might make the difference; if there bee a supply of matter, why should there not be a supply of fruitfulnessse, and a restoring of both alike? and if you say as you doe in your booke, that the elements doe naturally encroach upon each other, sometimes gaining, sometimes loosing: Sir, you know what a totall overthrow was once given to the earth, when the waters overwhelmed the earth in the generall deluge, the fruits and effects whereof remaine to this day, as I have proved in my pamphlet, pag 284 (if it be not vanity in me to quote it, being indeed not worth the naming,) now unlesse it appeare that the earth shall in recompence thereof give such a generall overthrow to the waters, (as all conquered nations shall never be able to cast off the yoke of bondage and thralldome, untill they make themselves masters of the fieldes,) I shall never expect that these two elements should stand upon equall termes, or that the earth should recover her first inbred naturall perfection, and saying herein, needes in time must there be a confusion.

Not probable that all mountaines should bee created more barren then vallies.

The earth loosing her perfection and not regaining it, must more and more decay.

Gggg 4

G. H.



G. H.

**H**Ere againe you make your conclusion to bee the *confusion* of the mountaines and valleys, which should be the *consumption* of the world; yet neede wee not feare any such confusion neither, the levelling of the valleys with the mountaines, tending rather to perfection then destruction. And yet for the preserving of this pleasing variety of mountaines and vallies, I make no doubt but as more earth is brought to the vallie, so likewise by the incessant rooling of rivers, & inroachment of the sea in some places; more is againe carried away from thence, and by this meanes the ballance is kept upright, and the valley restrained from aspiring to the mountaine; And if the valley should attempt it, yet are mountaines by earthquakes and other meanes (as I have formerly shewed) raised up againe: and so in the totall summe nothing finally lost, either in their entire quantitie or due proportion, which singular peece of Divine providence *Rupertus* in his Commentaries upon the 103 *Psalme*, hath thus elegantly described: *Ergo nec istud magnifici Dei laudibus deesse debuit, quod ascendunt montes & descendunt campi in locum quem ille fundavit eis: fundavit (inquam) videlicet, ut neque montes semel ascendere jussi, descendant, neque campi semel depressi consurgant.*

Your imaginarie gutter cannot undermine the foundation of that eternitie which I defend; for suppose that the water should at length by degrees (as you say) pierce to the very center of the earth, yet how it could there undermine the foundation of the earth it selfe, (much lesse of the heavens the master peece of the world) I cannot understand; for if the water and earth make one globe, as both authority, reason and experience teach us, then may the earth as well consist though water should peirce to the Center, as when it floates upon the surface thereof; and no doubt but water is to bee found much lower in the bowells of the earth, then any gutter caused by the fall thereof from the mountaines; which by reason of earthquakes and violent windes, and such other causes are not so constant and unchangeable as you suppose, but are often altered as are the channells of rivers and the course of the Sea, by making dry townes havens, and againe havens dry townes.

You said you would in this Section annex reasons to backe your instances, yet here are you false againe upon another instance touching the decay of rockes, which if they doe not apparantly and palpably decay even to the judgement of sense, you say you will subscribe to my opinion: I thinke you would say that they *have decayed*, for that they *doe decay* can no more bee apparent to sense, then that the tree growes, which no man yet ever saw: But what time will you assigne for this apparent decay, and to whose sense will you referre it? if to your owne, you may perchance bee partiall, if to mine, you must undoubtedly subscribe to my opinion; for that as yet I never observed any such palpable decrease in rockes as you speake of, neither doe I  
thinke



thinke, it can be observed to any considerable proportion in the ordinary age of one man; And withall I verily beleeve, if any such there bee (which in some parts and places I deny not) that in other places and parts amends is made by their increase, which my selfe by experience found in a deep vast rockie denne called *Ochby Hole*, not farre from *Wells* in *Somerset-shire*; whereinto entring and passing through a good part of it with many lights, among other many strange rarities well worth the observing; we found that water which incessantly dropped downe from the vault of the rocke, though thereby it made some little dint in the rocke, yet was it turned into the rocke it selfe, as manifestly appeared even to the judgement of sense, by the shape, and colour, and hardness; it being at first of a more cleare and glassie substance then the more ancient parts of the rocke, to which no doubt but in time, it hath beene and will be assimilated: And this we found not in small peeces, but in a very great quantity, and that in sundry places enough to loade many carts; from whence I inferre that as in this cave, so no doubt in many other, (where they searched) the rocks would bee found to have increased immediately by the dropping of the water, besides that increase which they have from the earth in the bowells therof, which still continuing as it doth, there can be no feare of their utter failing. This made the Prophet *David* professe, *The Lord is my rocke*, that is my never failing defence: and our *Saviour* to promise, that hee would build his Church upon a rocke: And in another place to liken him who heareth his sayings and doth them, to a wise man who buildeth his house upon a rocke, thereby implying the indefectibilitie thereof: *The raine saith hee descended, and the floods came, and the windes blew and beat upon that house, and it fell not, for it was founded upon a rocke.* Now if the rocke it selfe should by the raine, or floods, or windes bee impaired and moulder away without any reparation or proportionable recompence of increase; impossible it is that the house built upon it should stand, but must of necessity fall. And besides it hath beene observed in the opening of some rockes that shells have beene found in them, which could not bee in the ordinary course of nature, did not the rocke grow. But put the case all the rockes in the world should utterly decay, cannot the world consist without them? Or doth this argue an universall decay of all the parts of it?

Psal. 18. 2.

Mauh. 16. 13.

Mauh. 7. 24.

From the rockes you come to the mountaines, and demand the question why they should be so apparently barren in respect of the vallies, if the supply bee proportionable, considering they were created alike; but that they were indeed created alike fruitfull in the vallies you prove not, nor I thinke can. Hee who created the *Angells*, made them not all *Seraphims*; he who created the starres, made them not all sunnes; he who created the elements, made them not all fire; hee who created the fowles made them not all eagles; hee who created the fishes made them not all whales; hee who created the beasts made them not all lyons; hee who created the trees made them not all Cedars; hee who created the graines, made them not all wheate; hee who created the mettralls made them not all gold; and lastly, he who created the stones made



Pag. 19.

De Gen. Cont.  
Manich. lib. 1.  
cap. 16.

Gen. 13. 14.

made them not all diamonds; why should wee then imagine that hee made all the parts of the earth fruitfull alike? shall wee conceive that the whole world was as fertile and pleasant as was *Paradise* it selfe? Truly my Lord, I ever conceived that varietie, and disparitie in that varietie, serving for ornament, use, and delight, might likewise thereby serve to set forth the wisdom, power, and goodnesse of the Creator, no lesse then his greatest and most glorious workes. Indeed in your booke of *the fall of man*, to impeach nature of degeneration; you say, that shee being defective and not able to produce couragious Lyons, brave Unicornes, fierce Tygers, stout Elephants, makes it her taske and imployment to bee the mother and midwife of base and contemptible wormes, (as you are pleased to call them) of gnats and butterflies: whereas the great S. *Augustine* found as great reason to praise God in the gnat as in the Elephant; *Fortasse uberiores capias fructum, cum Deum laudas in humilitate formica, quam cum transis fluvium in aliqujus jumenti altitudine.* In like manner I thinke that all things considered, wee have no lesse reason to blesse God for the lesse fruitfull mountaines, then for the fat and fruitfull vallies. It is observed that mountaines by reason of the clearenesse of the aire, the drynesse of the soile, and a more temperate diet thereby occasioned, are for the most part stronger of limbe, healthier of body, quicker of sence, longer of life, stouter of courage, and of wit sharper then the inhabitants of the valley: As they dwell nearer heaven, so commonly have they more generous spirits and sublime thoughts, specially in preserving their libertie, and vindicating themselves from thralldome: Neither are they usually so much captivated to those base vices of idlenesse and luxury, which as I thinke gave occasion to the Proverb, *Bona terra, mala gens*, verified in the *Sodomites* and *Gomorrbeans*, who dwelt in a plaine for fruitfulness and pleasantnesse, like to the garden of God. Some fowle there are, and those not of the worst kinde; and so likewise of graines, of wines, of trees, of plants, of fruits, of spices, which delight more and thrive better in hilly grounds, then in plaines or vallies: And for sheepe which feede upon hills, it is observed that as they are freer from diseases, so both the flesh is sweeter and their wools finer, then those which are fatted in the deepe pasture of the vale. And againe, the mountaines be they never so barren, yet by Gods providence may they well serve to guard the lower Countries from the violence of blasting and fierce windes, to bridle the fury of the enraged Sea, to marke out the bounds and borders of Nations, to stop the suddaine invasions of enemies, and to preserve hay, and corne, and cattle, and houses, and men, from the danger of land-floods, which overflow the plaines by the rising of rivers. Finally, though some mountaines be so barren in their surface and upper crust, that they afford little or no nourishment for the use of man or beast, yet doe they abundantly recompence that defect by the goodly quarries of marble, the rich mines of gold and silver, and the incessant springs of water which issue from them and descend upon the vallies, to the cherishing and refreshing of them.

So that to imagine the mountaines were not made by God, as wee  
now



now see them, because they are not so fruitfull in grasse or corne as are the vallies, is in my judgement not to consider sufficiently of his works, and so to wound his wisdom through the sides of decayed nature. Such doth *Theodore* sharply tax in his first Sermon *De Providentiâ*; *Desine igitur ingratus esse; desine per ipsius Providentiæ munera, illi calumnias struere; desine inquam, bona quæ tibi data sunt, contra datorem & largiorem ceu tela ejaculari. Quin potius in omnibus quæ hæcenus dicta sunt, Dei providentiâ agnoscere discito, quæ omnia regit & gubernat, simulque omnium bonorum copiam tibi liberaliter parat:* And againe in his second Sermon *De Providentiâ*; *Et cum Providentiâ munera quotidie percipiant, illa ipsa tamen quæ percipiunt convitijs lacerant, & per ea quibus fruuntur, rectorem & gubernatorem suum oppugnant.*

As before you inferred a confusion of the mountaines and vallies, so here likewise in the last place a confusion of the elements of water and earth, which being granted, yet doth it not argue any confusion in the other elements, much lesse in the heavens, or a decay of the whole world, which is the matter in question, and by you to bee concluded. This confusion you endeavour to prove, because the waters once gave a totall overthrow to the earth; the effects whereof (you say) remaine to this day: and unlesse the earth in recompence thereof give the like to the water, and cast off the yoke of bondage by becoming Master of the field, needes in time must there bee a confusion.

For reply whereunto, I first professe, that a generall deluge I verily beleieve, & hold him not worthy the name of a *Christian* that beleeves it not, but that it was effected by naturall causes, which your argument implies, this I utterly deny. That which I speak in my book of the elements mutuall encroachment each upon other, sometimes gaining, sometimes losing, can none otherwise be understood but of their naturall changes; whereas the universall flood which you speake of, was undoubtedly a supernaturall effect of the Divine justice for the sin of man, and in these we cannot (as I conceive) in the grounds of Divinitie, expect a mutuall recompence or exchange, otherwise then it shall please the Almighty Creator by his extraordinary power to effect it. The fire sometimes gave a totall overthrow to *Sodom* and *Gomorra*, must wee therefore expect a confusion, unlesse that land by way of recompence give the like to the fire? But the fruits you say of the generall deluge are yet to be seene; so are the markes and prints of that fire, if wee may beleieve travellers. And for those signes of the flood, you referre us too in your booke of the *Fall of man*, p. 284. If you please to re-examine them, you shall finde them either to be no necessary effects of a deluge, or at leastwise not of any universall flood; nor that the violence of *Noahs* flood did so much alter and deface the earth, or was the chiefe cause of mountaines and vallies as you pretend; in as much as *Moses* writing of *Paradise*, and other places and rivers, about 850 yeares after the flood, was most exact in setting downe the names, limits, and whole description of them, as though they had remained to bee seene in his dayes. Neither were the buildings so defaced, but that one of the  
pillars



pillars erected by *Seth* the sonne of *Adam*, was to be seene in the Country of *Lysia* (as *Iosephus* witnesseth) in his time, who lived at least forty or fiftie yeares after *Christ*. *Berosus* likewise testifies that the Citie of *Enoch* was not demolished by the flood, the ruines whereof, as *Annins* in his Commentaries reports, were to bee seene in his time, who lived during the raigne of *Ferdinand* and *Isabella* of *Castile*; and by *Pomponius Mela*, it is also written that the Citie of *Ioppa* was built before the flood, of which *Cepha* was King, whose name with his brother *Phineus*, together with the grounds & Principles of their Religion were found after the flood graven upon altars of stone.

Neither was there any such totall overthrow in regard of the vegetables given to the earth as you pretend; for had all the trees beene overturned (as you pretend) the Dove sent forth of the Arke by *Noah*, could not have plucked off an *Olive leafe*, as the text in expresse termes tells us shee did; neither could *Noah* have gathered the decrease of the flood, if she had taken it floating upon the waters. And for those trees which are said in some Countries to bee buried in the slime, it might well be that they were cast downe and overwhelmed by some provinciall and nationall floods, which are commonly more impetuously driven by outrageous windes, then the generall flood by any naturall meanes could possibly be; in as much as all great agitation of the water, must of necessity in the course of nature proceed either from the ebbing and flowing thereof, or from steep descents, or fierce windes: Neither of which could fall out in the generall flood; not the first, there being then no indraughts, bayes or creeks to receive a flood; not the second, for what descent of waters could there bee in a sphericall or round body, where no part is higher or lower? not the third, for that after the flood was risen to the utmost height and not before, it is said, that *The Lord God caused a winde to passe over the earth, and the waters asswaged*; which could not then be caused by any other second meanes, but meerely by the extraordinary power of God; in as much as being a hot and dry exhalation, it could not bee extracted from the waters which are of qualitie cold and moist, and then surmounted the highest hills by fiftene cubits: And therefore (as I take it) it is said signanter that the *Lord God* caused this winde; that is, by his extraordinary power, as well in regard of the generation as the efficacie thereof. All which considered, I should thinke that the waters of the generall flood rather moved in a gentle and calme manner, then that they were carried with any such raging or overbearing violence, and thereby gave such a totall overthrow to the earth as you presume.

Now as that which you call a totall overthrow to the earth given by the waters, sufficiently appears not to have beene so totall as you imagine; so I nothing doubt but that it will likewise soone appeare to be no overthrow at all: An overthrow indeed it was to the Inhabitants of the earth, (those only excepted which were reserved in *Noahs* Arke) but to the earth it self as it is an element, which is the thing in question, an overthrow it could not bee, nor in any wise properly so be termed, in as much as it is as proper for the earth in that respect to bee  
under



under the water, and the water to bee above the earth, as it is for the aire to bee above the water, or the fire above the aire, or the celestiaall bodies above the fire: As then no man ever conceived it as an overthrow, but rather a perfection to the waters to bee environed by aire, so neither can it be thought any overthrow, but rather a perfection to the earth to be environed by waters; the earth carrying the same proportion to the water in regard of the first and second qualities, as doth the water to the aire. And hence it is that *Moses* tells us, that before the earth was uncovered for the use of man, it was also covered over with water; which both *Iob* and the Prophet *David* in regard of the proper situation thereof, being considered as an element, compares to a garment, which is so farre from being accounted an overthrow to the bodie, as it serves not onely for the defence but ornament thereof: In which very respect the greatest part of those who with your Lordship hold a Renovation of the world, withall maintaine, that the waters being then to bee re-invested with their originall perfection, shall overflow the face of the earth as at first they did, and the earth bee againe buried under the waters as at first it was.

I should rather then (and that much more properly as I conceive) call it an overthrow to the waters, that they still cover not the face of the earth, but are forced to abandon their native situation and naturall inclination, and to retyre themselves from that superiority and dominion which once they quietly possessed; And thus much doth the *Psalmist* in the same place evidently imply, or rather indeed in plaine termes expresse; *At thy rebuke they fled, at the voyce of thy thunder they hasted away*: which should argue a kinde of reluctancie that was in them to leave their former possession; and were they not imprisoned as it were, fettered and maniced by those shackles and bounds, within which the hand of the Almighty hath inclosed them, it should seeme they have still a disposition to recover their ancient liberty and inheritance, and againe to reduce the earth as a rebell broken loose and gotten free, to the termes of subjection. The Scripture I am sure in many cleare passages beatech much upon this point; *Hee hath compassed the waters with bounds, untill the day and night come to an end.* Job. 26. 10. *Who hath shut up the Sea within doores, and set barres upon it? and said, hitherto shalt thou come but no farther, and here shall thy proud waves bee stayed?* Job. 38. 8. 10. 11. *Thou hast set a bound that they may not passe over, that they turne not againe to cover the earth.* Psalme 104. 9. *Hee gave to the Sea his decree that the waters should not passe his Commandement.* Proverbs 8. 29. But above all, most remarkable to this purpose is that of the Prophet *Jeremie*, 5. 22. *Feare yee not mee saith the Lord, will yee not tremble at my presence? which have placed the sand for the bound of the Sea by a perpetuall decree that it cannot passe it; And though the waves thereof trosse themselves, yet can they not prevaile, though they roare, yet can they not passe over it.* By all which it appeares that the earth through the divine assistance & for mans use, hath now prevailed for the space of some thousands of

H h h h

yeares

38. 2.  
Psal. 104. 9.



yeares without interruption, and still doth prevaile, and to the worlds end shall prevaile against the waters.

But happily it will bee said if this be so, then is violence offered to the waters, and in a miraculous manner they are restrained from their naturall inclination, contrary to the rule in *Divinitie*; That now Almighty God ceaseth to worke miracles, at leastwise so universally and frequently as the restraint of the Sea must needes bee, and contrary to the rule in *Philosophie*, That no violent restraint can bee perpetuall; Whereunto I reply, that many of the Ancient Fathers led by the force of those Scriptures, seemed indeede to bee of opinion, That the waters were restrained in a supernaturall and miraculous manner from returning againe to cover the earth, and that by the extraordinarie and immediate power of the Creator as it were with a bridle, they were checked and curbed from running out into a maine careere upon the habitable face thereof. This opinion did *Basile*, *Ambrose*, *Chrysostome*, *Nazianzen*, *Theodoret*, *Hierome*, and other of the Ancients maintaine: Seconded herein by *Olympiodorus*, *Carthusianus*, *Titlemanus*, *Catherinus*, *Aquinas*, and the greatest part of the Moderne Divines: But on the other side *Cajetan*, *Lippomanus*, *Honcala*, and generally the *Iesuites*, *Pineda*, *Pererius*, *Bellarmino*, *Molina*, *De Valentia*, *Clavius* and the *Conimbricenses* leave the Fathers herein and goe another way, acknowledging none other bounds or barres set to the Sea, then such as are naturall; in as much as being by *Philosophers* and *Mathematicians* evidently demonstrated to bee lower then the earth, it cannot now in the course of nature possibly rise up and over-runne it: And that it is lower *Cajetan* is so peremptorie, that hee passionately breakes forth into these words; *Si quis dubitat terram quæ est extra aquas esse superiorem aquis, non tam eget ratione, quam applicatione ad sensum.* And againe, *ante mare omnipotentia Dei teneri ne defluat in terram ineptum est & puerilis inscitia, ponere sine causa tantum & tam perpetuum miraculum.* His reasons are, because all rivers runne into the Sea, which in the course of nature could not bee, were not the earth higher then the Sea; and consequently the Sea lower then the earth. Againe, the earth and the Sea make one round globe, and have one Center; which could not bee if the Sea were higher then the earth. Moreover were the Sea higher then the earth, *ceteris paribus*, ships should sayle swifter from the Sea into the harbour, then from the harbour into the Sea; and the farther they launch into the maine Ocean, the more conspicuously in a competent distance should they bee scene: Whereunto hee addes the Scripture Phrase of *going downe* to the Sea, not of *going up*; which is most improper if the Sea bee higher then the land. For satisfaction then to the alleadged Scriptures a better answer I cannot make, then that of *Pererius* in his Commentaries upon the worke of the third day; *Quod Scriptura inquit precepto Dei coerceri aquas & teneri ne terram exundent, non arguit eas sublimiores esse terrâ, & miraculosè cohiberi ne defluant ad obruendam terram, sed indi-*



est aquas sic fuisse à Deo creatas, & in talibus locis collocatas, ut non queant exire ad operiendam terram; Ergo quia Deus indidit aquis vim & propulsionem manendi in locis humilioribus, quia Deus fecit in terrâ loca depressa & concava, & eaque comparavit, ut essent aquarum receptacula; quia Deus tertio die aquam segregavit à terra, & in prædicta loca coegit, quia Deus opposuit & objecit aquis magna scopulorum, montium & littorum impedimenta, & quasi aggere quodam ita conclusit eas, ut ex suo loco ad inundandam terram non possint effluere: ob has omnes causas dicitur Deus præceptum dedisse aquis ne loco suo exirent. Naturales verò vires & facultates rerum, per quas singula convenienter natura sua operantur, quoniam à Deo omnis natura auctore sunt ejus insita, ut secundum illas operentur, vocari solent in Scriptura Leges & Præcepta Dei; quapropter Job inquit, Deum præcipere soli ut oriatur & occidat, & lucem præscripsisse viam qua procedat. Whereunto may be added that of Bellarmine in his Commentaries upon the 103 Psalme, (according to his division) much to like purpose with that of Pererius; Porro terminus quem Deus posuit aquis est arena ex Job. cap. 39. & ex Hieremia cap. 5. arena videlicet littoris altioris; tunc autem Deus hunc terminum posuit, quando instituit naturas elementorum; aqua siquidem cum sint naturaliter gravius aëre semper descendunt ad loca decliviora & relinquunt aëri loca sublimiora.

But here it may perchance bee againe demanded, that if the waters now be of the same nature as they were created, and at their first creation they naturally overflowed the face of the earth; how it comes to passe that either the generall deluge should bee thought to be supernaturall, or the restraint of them for the present not miraculous. For the clearing of which doubt, some there are who referre the restraint of the waters to a continued supernaturall cause, by the accumulation of the waters upon an heape; as the waters of Jordan, and the red Sea were for a time laid on heapes by the Almightyes power, thereby to open a passage for his people; Thus the alleadged Fathers and their followers understand it. Others more probably referre it to the condensation of the waters, by which meanes they now take up a lesser roome then before they did. But a third sort (to whom for mine owne part I professe mine assent) to the excavation of the bowells of the earth, whereby both a sufficient receptacle or bed was prepared for the convenient lodging of the Sea below the habitable earth, and the earth it selfe in some places by the casting up of rocks and mountaines thereof made, elevated to a higher pitch, and thereby more strongly fenced and ribbed in for the making of resistance to the Sea, driven by the violence of tempestuous windes; for that the earth as long as it lay buried under the waters, in that posture which most properly belonged to it as an element, was of a perfect orbicular or sphericall figure, plaine and uniforme without any inequality, or unevenes of rising or falling in the parts thereof I little doubt, that figure being most agreeable to all the parts of the universe, and specially to the center thereof.

*Principio terram ne non aqualis ab omni  
Parte foret, magni speciem glomeravit in orbis:*

Hhhh 2

But



Psal. 33. 7.

38. 10.

V. 6.

V. 7.

V. 8.

But being now to be made the dwelling place of man and beasts, and withall a garden of simples for their use, the waters must first be removed from the face thereof; which was done by gathering them into one place in the bowells of the earth, purposely prepared for them, according to that of *Moses* in the person of God, *Let the waters under the heaven be gathered together into one place*; which being effected according to his command, hee called the gathering together of the waters, Seas; the originall word is *Kavah*, which as *Eugubinus* hath observed, properly signifies a gathering together in some vast denne or hollow place, from whence the word *Cava* in *Latine*, and *Cave* in *English* perchance is derived: Whereunto the *Chalde* Paraphrast alluding, termes this gathering *Domum Congregationis*, and *Tremelius* turnes it, *Aquarum conceptacula*; which I take to be none other then those store-houses spoken of by the *Psalmist*, *Hee gathered the waters of the Sea together as an heape, he laid up the depths in store-houses*: And no doubt but these store-houses were then emptied, and prepared when the deepe Seas were to bee contracted into a narrower compasse, and laid up in them: So much doth holy *Iob* at leastwise imply, according to our last translation, *Who* (saith hee, speaking in the person of God) *shut up the Sea within doores, and brake up for it my decreed place*? agreeably to that of *Tremelius*, *Quis occlusit valvis mare, quum diffregi pro eo terram decreto meo*? upon which *Iunius* gives this note, i. e. *alveos, ejus velut cunas exaravi & circummuniui*.

Now this prepared place being thus broken up, and these store-houses, these concavities thus accommodated to the receiving of the deepe Seas into their bosome, the matter withdrawne from them was not annihilated, but in all likelihood bestowed in casting up and raising those mountaines and hills, which for the use of man and beast we see lifting up their heads through the habitable world: And this I am the rather induced to beleieve, for that it is observed by *Cosmographers*, and specially by *Mr Brerewood*, a worthy late Writer of our Universitie, That the ordinary depth of the Sea is commonly answerable to the ordinary height of the maine land, and the extraordinary depths answer to the highest mountaines: all which being restored and paid home againe to the concavities from which they were borrowed, would in all likelihood reduce the globe of the earth to its primitive uniformitie, and againe, force out the waters upon the face thereof. For farther prooffe whereof, to reason wee may adde the authority of the sacred Oracles, which likewise seeme to derive the first originall of mountaines from the waters, retyring from the habitable face of the earth, and betaking themselves to their cells: Thus the Prophet *David* in the 104 Psalme, having first told us how *the earth was covered with the deepe as with a garment*; and then, *that the waters fled at Gods rebuke*, that is, retired from the face thereof at his command, he presently addes, as *Arias Montanus*, the vulgar, and some of our *English* Translators read it, *The mountaines ascend, and the valleys descend to the place thou hast prepared for them*; which in our last translation though it be not put in the text, yet it is found in the margine; thereby giving us to understand



stand that it may at leastwise bee sufficiently warranted from the originall Hebrew. Lastly, the mountaines being thus raised, then followes the setting of bounds to the waters which they might not passe over, nor turne againe to cover the earth: In which regard in another Psalmee hee tells us that the Lord founded the earth upon the Seas, and stablished it upon the floods; upon which words Bellarmine thus commenteth: *id est; ut superficies terra esset altior superficie maris*; not as some of our English notes have it, that the earth onely seemeth to be higher then the sea, but because indeed it is so.

The summe of all is this, that both the waters naturally floated upon the face of the earth, before their store-houses were prepared to receive them; and they being once prepared, they now as naturally rest in them as in their beds, and there shall rest till the consummation of all things; as the learned Zanchius in his excellent worke *De operibus Dei intra spatium sex dierum creatis*, hath soundly and truly determined: *Falluntur qui putant Oceanum ibi contra suam consistere & subsidere naturam, ubi jam est; qua enim cuique rei dedit Deus ab initio, ea sunt illi rei naturalia, etiamsi nobis secus esse videantur. Certè naturale est magneti, quod ferrum ad se trahat; Quis tamen non inter portentosa ponat, & contra naturam hoc esse non judicet? Dubitandum igitur non est, quin locus, quem Oceano Deus de principio assignavit, sit ei naturalis; unaquæque autem res in suo naturali loco libenter & naturaliter manet. Inde fit ut licet flumina & aliqua maria, qua ab eo fluunt diversas ob causas crescant & decrescant; ipse tamen Oceanus, semper idem maneat; neque exundans, neque decrescens. Natura enim illi à Deo data est, ut se intra suos limites contineat. Quare verbum est irrevocabile illud Domini, Congregentur aquæ in locum unum:* And from hence wee may safely inferre, that as the generall flood was supernaturall; so the present restraint of the waters, that they returne not to cover the earth, is not miraculous: and consequently that the earth as the course of nature is now settled for mans use, may more properly be said to triumph upon the waters, then the waters upon the earth; *quod erat demonstrandum.* Now to that great God, who by his excellent wisdom and power thus shut up that raging element within doores and barres, and by his goodnesse uncovered the face of the habitable world for the use of man, bee ascribed all honour and glory now and ever.

I have now done with mine answer to your arguments, so as I may truly professe I have satisfied my selfe, and I hope your Lordship. My digressions though perchance in some places they may seeme impertinent, yet I trust they will not bee thought altogether unprofitable; the rather for that a bare reply would have appeared too naked and barren: And though happily sometimes I runne out for mine owne private exercise and contentment, yet I doubt not but your Lordship will withall from thence discern, and accept my desire and diligence to give you satisfaction; my paines I am sure in writing is more then yours can be in reading, and my disadvantage is, that *in multiloquio non deerit peccatum*, it cannot bee but in some things I have erred, either in mistaking your meaning, or in laying downe mine owne opi-



nion: Yet I am sure I have throughout proposed to my selfe the search of truth, which whether I have found or no I must referre that to the judgement of others.

And if your Lordship shall bee pleased to rejoyne upon this answer of mine, I shall request three things at your hands; First that you will seriously intend it and make it somewhat more then a recreation, as hitherto you pretend to have done; Secondly, that you will unfold your selfe in a clearer and more perspicuous manner, that I may not bee forced onely to guesse at your meaning, and sometimes perhaps to mistake it: And lastly, that you will take more particular notice what your selfe and I have formerly written both in mine *Apologie* and other papers sent you since, least otherwise I bee constrained to cloy you with needlesse repetitions, or to retort upon you evident contradictions. Thus beseeching Almighty God to direct and assist us both, in the finding out of that truth which wee pretend to seeke, I wish you all happiness, and rest

*Your Lordships*

*to be commanded*

G. H.

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OTHER





OTHER  
 ARGUMENTS  
 SENT MEE AT ANOTHER  
 TIME FROM THE SAME

R. Reverend Prelate,

G. G.



**W**HETHER your opinion bee of a dangerous consequence in religion, seeing you presse me so farre I will give you an account; yet still reserving my strongest incounter for a set treatise, where I shall marshall up mine owne forces and order them as I see cause, not following other mens methods, but using mine owne arguments to my best advantage.

Your opinion  
 of a daunge-  
 rous conse-  
 quence.

G. H.

**T**HAT my opinion was of a dangerous consequence in religion, your Lordship so often & earnestly beate upon in all your papers and letters sent to mee, that I could not for mine owne reputation and your satisfaction, doe lesse then request you either to yeeld some sufficient reason thereof, or therein to bee silent; Now after mature deliberation you send mee these reasons, which you say are not your strongest, and yet why you should reserve stronger to your selfe, and withall in the Conclusion of them *intreat mee, and most earnestly intreate mee, and as farre forth as is fit in modesty presse mee to answer them*, and all this for the *quieting of your minde*, I cannot understand; your methode for your set treatise you might keepe to your selfe if any such you intend, but why you should likewise keepe your strongest arguments to your selfe, desiring (as you pretend) to bee satisfied in Conscience, is a straine I confesse beyond the reach of my shallow apprehension.

G. G.

**I**F the world may continue eternall, then in respect of its owne continuance it might have bin eternall à parte ante, for eternity is not worne out with time, but you will say that things must have a beginning and this excludes that eternity. Pag 23. you quote Scaliger that it is only faith and religion which perswades us that the world beganne and shall have an end with fire; I doe a little blame your translation which you there make for your owne advantage, omitting

Reason dis-  
 cernes the cre-  
 ation but not  
 manner.

H h h h 4

mitting



mitting these two last words (with fire) for though reason may discern an end, yet not the manner of this dissolution, but seeing Scaliger points out the manner of the dissolution why may not his former words have reference to the manner of the creation? and I confesse that the manner of both is in-comprehensible to reason and only apprehended by faith.

G. H.

**M**Any learned *Divines & Christian Philosophers* there are, who grant the same æviterity (as they call it) to the world as they do to all immateriall substances, denying eternity à *parte ante*; your selfe I am sure will confesse, that the soules of men, the blessed *Angels*, and the Divells shall subsist to all eternity à *parte post*, and the very same you maintaine of the world it selfe after your supposed Renovation: so that either your inference is of no validity, or the edge of it may be turned aswell against your selfe, as against me.

Having framed this argument (such as it is) you presently put an objection in my mouth, and in the very next line you make me contradict my selfe in the quoting of *Scaliger*; In the translation whereof you blame mee for that therein I have left out the word *incendio*, which might easily bee done by the negligence of the Transcriber or the Printer; sure I am it was not by mee purposely omitted, neither in regard of *Scaligers* opinion could the omitting of it be to me any way avayleable, considering that not onely in the place by mee alleaged, but in sundry others of the same booke, he clearly maintaineth that aswell the beginning as ending of the world, not the manner onely as you would have it, but the beginning and ending it selfe are by him beleaved by faith and religion alone. The exercitation by mee vouched is the 61 falsely printed 62 in my last edition, which makes mee doubt your Lordship never tooke the paines to reade it, there-in Section the last *Scaliger* disputeth against *Procliu*, and sheweth the weakenes of his arguments against the worlds eternity, and at last concludeth with the words by mee alleaged, before which hee hath these; *tempus autem est infinitum beneficio motus nunquam desituri*; Now if in the course of nature time bee endlesse in the judgement of *Scaliger*, by meanes of an endlesse motion, it is manifest that in the course of nature and by discourse of naturall reason, hee discerned not the worlds end; so as though the word *incendio* were unawares omitted in my translation, yet it is manifest that therein, I neither wronged him nor my *Reader*, yet to satisfie you and others, in this third impression I have now expressed it.

Now that there may bee noe farther doubt left of *Scaligers* opinion herein, and for mine owne fuller discharge, specially in a matter soe neerely concerning the maine controversie, I will produce a testimonie or two more of his, thereby to make it evident what opinion hee was of in this point: In the second Section then of the same exercitation speaking of Gods making the world hee thus concludes, *Cum facere non posset infinitum potestate, aequalem sibi: fecit ævo infinitum, similem sibi. Calum igitur fixitum magnitudine ac potestate dicendum*



dum est, propterea quod alium Deum Deus facere nequit: fecisset autem, si fecisset infinitum potestate. Idcirco infinitum a vo fecit: quæ sola poterat evenire creatæ rei perfectio. quam idcirco infinitatem finire poterit is, qui potuit dare, quando volet, sicut voluit. Which he cōfirmsexercitatione quinta, Ejus æternitas in successione, unitas in cōtinuatione, intelligo nunc æternitatem, perpetuationem, cui finem imponet cum ei visum fuerit. And againe exercit: 77. sect. 4. Caterum ex fatigatione futurum, ut fatiscat mundus atque corrumpatur, neque philosophorum est qui illum statuunt sempiternum, neque Christianorum qui incendio absumptum iri prædicamus: sed Cardani qui fatigationem induxit in naturam. Quasi natura sit asinus ad molas, non autem Dei opt: max: potestas, quæ eodem nutu gubernat infinito, quo creavit. Quæ fatigantur, paulatim deficientibus viribus despondent animum, opus non procedit. rotationes illas aliorum ferri, aut tardius promoveri, aut præter modum redire ostendito: tum ego defatigatus cedam tibi me admodum fatiganti. And lastly Exercit: 307. sect. 20. pertinet ad Dei infinitatem specierum perpetuatio per novorum successiones singularium; by all which as I take it, it sufficiently appeares, that Scaliger by his reason (which no doubt was very peircing) could not discern the worlds end; so as if hee had left out incendio in the passage by mee alleaged, it had come all to one; And this being clearely manifested to bee his opinion of the worlds end, what it was touching the beginning thereof wee may now from thence easily conjecture.

G. G.

**T**Hus I doe acquit Scaliger, but for your selfe I cannot excuse pag. 45. where you say that reason may grope in the darke at the beginning and ending of the world, howbeit it can never clearely apprehend it; and in your letters you have a stranger passage to this purpose. If then reason bee convinced in the eternity of the world (for this is the scope of your whole booke) and reason cannot discern the beginning and ending of the world; doe you not deeply charge reason as wholly inclining to Atheisme, which reason being so powerfull and prevalent in man (for religion is onely proper to few) how doth Atheisme creepe into the world together with the eternity, and is not this opinion of a dangerous consequence?

Reason doth  
not incline to  
Atheisme.

G. H.

**F**ROM that which hitherto hath beene spoken touching Scaliger and his opinion, which is the same with mine, your Lordship will bee enforced (as I take it) either to acquit mee together with him, or to condemne him together with mee, if you will doe justice and not accept persons; Yet mee you will not excuse because forsooth I say, that reason may grope in the darke at the beginning and ending of the world, howbeit it can never clearely apprehend it; and in my letters you say I have a stranger passage to this purpose; which cannot bee so strange as that your Lordship will charge mee with it and not produce it, my letters being in your owne custody; And for the passage in my booke, mee thinks in the same place where you blame me for my translation



flation of *Scaliger*, you should not presently have given occasion to mee to blame you for mangling mine assertion, I there add that reason cannot apprehend it but *inlightened by the beame of faith*, which you suppress; and againe that reason may bring *probable* arguments for it, though not demonstrative, which you take no notice of, but only of that which you conceived might make most for your owne best advantage, the disgrace of mee, and the weakening of my cause.

You say that the scope of my whole booke is to convince reason in the eternity of the world, I thinke you would say evince the eternity of the world from reason, which in truth is nothing so nor so, the scope of my booke being (as the title shewes) to shew the providence of God in the maintenance and government of his owne worke, not to be disjointed or unframed but by the same hand that first framed it, which much redoundeth to the advancement of his glory in the manifestation of his wisdom, his goodnes, his justice, his power: this is the speciall scope of my booke, which I trust may well enough become a good Christian.

Nay say you, but I deeply charge reason as wholly inclining to *Atheisme*, in that I make her not to discern the beginning and ending of the world; which upon the matter is all one as to charge my opinion as inclining at leastwise to *Atheisme*; My Lord did I so conceive I would be the first man should sacrifice my booke to *Vulcan*, but others I hope have a more charitable opinion of it, sure I am that *Aquinas* (who is censured for sticking too much rather then too little to humane reason) tells us in plaine terms in the very Conclusion of the second Article of the 46 question of the first part of his *Summes*, *Mundum incapisse sola fide tenetur, nec demonstrativè hoc sciri potest, sed id credere maxime expedit.* And againe in the body of his answer there following, *Mundum incapisse est credibile, non autem demonstrabile aut scibile, Et hoc utile est ut consideretur ne forte aliquis quod fieri est demonstrare presumens, rationes non necessarias inducat, quæ præbeant materiam irridendi infidelibus, existimantibus nos propter hujusmodi rationes, credere quæ fidei sunt;* So as if I deeply charge reason as wholly inclining unto *Atheisme*, *Aquinas* doubtlesse is guilty of the same crime with mee, and that in an higher degree, hee being indeed the principall, and my selfe but the accessory; though therein hee defend himselfe by the authority of *St Gregory*, a man much magnified by your selfe, out of his first Homily upon *Ezekiel*, *Dixerat Moses, in principio creavit Deus calum & terram, sed quis crederet quia verum de præterito diceret, si de futuro etiam aliquid non dixisset,* where hee saies that no man would beleieve *Moses* that God in the beginning created heaven and earth, unlesse in the same booke hee had likewise had some propheties for the future, which by experience were found to bee true; Now if reason could demonstratively prove the worlds creation, surely *St Gregory* was in that his assertion much to blame, ascribing that to divine revelation and the supernaturall illumination of a propheticall spirit, which might sufficiently bee comprehended and demonstrated by reason.

Nay doth not the Apostle himselfe deeply charge reason as wholly  
inclining



inclining to *Atheisme* when hee teacheth us that through *faith* understand that the worlds were framed by the word of God, so that things which are seene were not made, of things which doe appeare Heb. 11.3. which passage I quote in the same page of my booke for the confirmation of my position, but this you are content quietly to passe over in silence, but I intreate your Lordship would bee pleased at your leasure to consult with the best Expositors both ancient and moderne thereupon, and then to tell mee whither they likewise doe not as deeply as my selfe, charge reason as wholly inclining to *Atheisme*, Sure I am that if through *faith*, we understand that the worlds were framed by the word of God (or the commanding power of God which I take to be *equivalent*) & by *faith* alone wee have the full assurance hereof, then can reason but grope at this truth in the darke and produce probable arguments for it, not demonstrative, as you pretend. And the Apostles reason there added, is as I take it very sufficient to shew that creation not only of the universall world, but of any thing out of nothing (bee it never so little) is indeed above the reach of reason, and this I take to bee the reason, that none of the Heathens ever dreamed of any such beginning of the world, which we properly call a *Creation*. True it is that some of them are of opinion, that the distinction and ornament which wee now find in it had a beginning, but for the stuff or matter whereof it was made that they held to bee coeternall with the maker; and because reason by her naturall discourse cannot finde out, that in the course of nature something may bee made of nothing, shall wee therefore presently impeach, arraigne and condemne her of *Atheisme*?

Indeede the *Apostle* in that very text by you chosen to be the ground of your discourse touching the fall of man, tells us, that the *naturall man* neither receiveth nor perceiveth the things of the spirit of God; and in another place, that the carnall minde, or (as some other translations have it, and the originall will very well beare it) *the wisdom of the flesh is enemy against God*; where by the wisdom of the flesh, wee may very well understand the utmost vigour, and strength of naturall reason, which if it cannot attaine to the mystery of the trinity, the incarnation of the sonne of God, the resurrection of the flesh & the like, why should wee wonder if shee stand amazed at the making of this spacious and goodly frame of the world out of nothing, which the higher it is above the Kenn of reason, and the more difficult for it to discern, the more acceptable to God is the believe thereof by *faith*; nay, *fides non habet meritum, ubi ratio humana habet experimentum*; for which cause wee find the creation of the world not onely among the *Articles* of our *Creede* but set in the forefront thereof, as *Moses* beginnes the bible with it, yet it is not contrary to right reason, which as *Clemens Alexandrinus* speaks, is nothing else but *eterna veritatis avulsa particula*, but exceeds and surmounts it according to that memorable rule of *Aquinas*: *Rationi naturali recte nunquam contrariatur Theologia sed eam excedit saepe & sic repugnare videtur*. Which scantling and dimme sight of reason in matters, divine *Prudentius* in his second booke against *Symmachus* hath thus elegantly expressed.

Quippe



*Quippe minor natura aciem si intendere tentet  
 Acrius, ac penetrare Dei secreta supremi;  
 Quis dubitet victo fragilem lassescere visu,  
 Vimque fatigata mentis sub pectore parvo  
 Turbari, invalidisque hebetem succumbere curis?  
 Sed facilis fidei via &c.*

Neither ought this to seeme strange, faith being as farre beyond reason as reason is beyond sence; as then reason doth in many things (as namely in the bignes of the starrs) correct sence, so doth faith in many things both correct and elevate reason; A beast is guided by his sence, a man by reason, a Christian by religion, and looke how much a man is beyond a beast, so much is a Christian beyond a meere man; and as a beast is able to judge of those things which belong to his sence, as his meate and drinke, better then some men indewed with reason, though of humane affayres as the goverment of kingdomes hee cannot judge: so the meere naturall man by the light of reason can many times judge of humane affayres or things meerely naturall or morall, better then the most illuminated and sanctified Christian; but of things divine (in which number I shall ever range the creation of the world out of nothing) he can judge no more then a beast in humane affayres, according to that of the Psalmist, *Man being in honour, understood it not, but became like unto the beast that perisheth*; And being in this case and state, his will is sometimes so captivated and fettered by his sensuall appetite, and his understanding so clouded with errour, that in his heart hee saith, *there is no God*, and so not only inclines to *Atheisme*, but imbraceth it, being not only without Christ, but without God in the world. Ep. 2. 12.

But in very truth my Lord, this meethinks I cannot but finde somewhat strange, that in your booke of the fall of man pag. 268. you should so highly magnify *Aristotle*, as to style him *Natures cheife Secretary, or best Counsellour of estate*, nay the father of all humane knowledge, to which I thinke I may safely add that hee knew much better what belongs to the art of reasoning and demonstrative science then either of us, yet by all the strength of his wit, by all his logicke naturall or artificiall, he could not finde out so much as one demonstration for the worlds beginning or the creating of it out of nothing (as you have many) but rather the contrary; which made him conclude (as you know) for the worlds eternity, and yet I never found him by the learned accounted for an *Atheist*; and your selfe I presume will not in that regard so hardly censure him; thence some *Christian Philosophers* (and those not of the meanest ranke) maintaine that the world might bee eternall, and yet in regard of the essence thereof eternally depend upon God as the primary efficient; which opinion some of *Platoes* schollars intitle to him, as namely *Cranzor, Plotinus, Porphyrius, Iamblichus, Proculus* and *Macrobius*, to whom *Censorinus* agrees; And hereunto doth the great *S. Augustin* allude de civit Dei lib. 10. cap. 31. *Verum id quomodo intelligant, invenerunt non esse hoc videlicet temporis, sed substitutionis initium. Sicut enim, inquiunt, si pes ex aternitate semper fuisset in pulvere, semper ei subesset vestigium; quod tamen vestigium à calcante factum nemo dubitaret, nec alterum altero prius esset, quamvis*



*quamvis alterum ab altero factum esset, Sic, inquiunt, & mundus & in illo  
Dij creati & semper fuerunt, semper existente qui fecit, & tamen facti sunt;*  
And thus not only his Schollars, but Cicero, Iustin Martyr, Boetius, and  
Apuleius seeme to have understood Plato. Againe, if the conservation  
of the Creature bee nothing else but a continued Creation, as the  
Schoolemen tell us, in as much as the Creature thereby still receives  
its being a fresh from the Creatour, and withall no tyme can bee assign-  
ed but the word might have bin created before it, then might it in  
reason bee thus eternally created, and yet thereby add nothing to the  
creature but what it is capable of, and derogate nothing from the Cre-  
ator, which is properly and incommunicably his; Impossible it is that  
the world should bee eternall *independently* and unsuccessfully as God  
is, but *dependently* and successively by the testimony of Boetius lib. 5. de  
consol. prosa 6. it might, in which regard I see no convincing reason but  
wee may truly and safely conclude with Aquinas 1. par. quest 46. art. 1.  
*Non est necessarium mundum semper fuisse cum ex voluntate divina processit,*  
*quamvis possibile hoc fuerit si Deus voluisset, nec demonstrative probari ab*  
*aliquo hoc unquam potuit,* or with Boetius speaking of Platoes opinion in the  
place before alleaged, *Neque Deus conditis rebus antiquior videri debet*  
*temporis quantitate, sed simplicis potius proprietate nature;* I am not igno-  
rant that some good Divines ranke eternity among those attributes  
which are peculiar to the Creatour, and to created entities altogether  
incommunicable; to whom I most willingly subscribe, if by eternall  
they understand *interminabilis vita tota simul & perfecta possessio*, as Boe-  
tius defines it; this undoubtedly being not only proper to the first entity  
upon which all the rest depend, but properly called eternity, that o-  
ther everlasting duration of the creature which is measured by time  
passing on from that, which is past by the present to the future, being  
indeed in propriety of speech rather to bee termed *perpetuation* then e-  
ternity.

And now my Lord to discharge my selfe a little farther from char-  
ging reason as wholly inclining to *Atheisme*, though of her selfe shee  
cannot clearely discern the beginning or ending of the world; I would  
willingly learne of your Lordship what you conceive of *Aristotle*,  
whither hee discerned it or noe; a beginninge I meane in regard of du-  
ration, truly if you can finde that in him, you will discern more then  
his most quick-sighted Interpreters & expositors ever yet could; How  
then? shall wee say that his opinion denying such a beginning inclines  
wholly to *Atheisme*? This I presume your Lordship will not affirme,  
in as much as of him you tell us in your booke of the fall of man  
'proved by reason, That whatsoever you had therein spoken for the  
'prooffe of mans fall, and of natures corruption; you had onely borro-  
'wed from the grounds and foundations of his learning; so that your  
'whole treatise might not improperly bee ascribed to him, onely the  
'errors excepted, which you claime as being due to your selfe. Why my  
Lord is it possible that whatsoever you had spoken there, you would  
vouchsafe to borrow from the grounds of an *Atheist*? or that your  
whole treatise, for the truth thereof might not improperly be ascribed



to him? or that his grounds could be sufficient to prove mans fall: in very truth my Lord I see no remedie, but you must either acquit his opinion touching the worlds beginning from *Atheisme*; or ascribe lesse unto him and his grounds.

But let us heare if you please, the opinion of others touching his *Atheisme*; *Theodoret* I confesse, *Epiphanius*, *Athenagoras*, *Clemens Alexandrinus*, and *Hesychius*, being all of them, as it should seeme misled by *Diogenes Laertius*, held that he confined the divine providence to things above the moone; yet therein they absolue him from *Atheisme* as acknowledging a divine power; but others and that more truly, thinke, that hee likewise extended this Providence to all things under the moone, specially to the concernements of humane affayres; of which judgement is *Lactantius lib. de ira cap. 10.* where having named *Socrates*, *Plato*, *Pythagoras*, *Zeno* and *Aristotle*, hee presently adds, *Est igitur providentia, ut senserunt ij homines quos nominavi, cujus vi & potestate omnia quae videmus & facta sunt, & reguntur*, and with *Lactantius* herein doth *Photius* in *Bibliotheca cap. 249.* fully accord; And for the cleere evidencing thereof, we neede goe no farther then the words of *Aristotle* himselfe *Top lib. 1. cap. 11.* Where hee teacheth, *eum qui deos colendos negat, non verbis sed verberibus refellendum, neque argumentis sed flagris castigandum*; Where though hee speake in the plurall number, yet that it was onely to satisfie the vulgar, (himselfe being of opinion, that there was onely one God) is manifest out of other places in his *Politicks*, *Physicks*, and *Metaphysicks*, whom hee names *optimum vivens, primum movens, ensentium, agens infinitum*, and the like; And for his Providence, hee teacheth us in his *magna moralia lib. 2. cap. 8.* *Deum talem esse Dominum, ut bona malaque meritis distribuat*; and againe, in his *Ethicks* to *Eudæmus*, *lib. 7. cap. 14.* hee hath this golden sentence, *Deus est in universo, & vicissim cuncta in illo, moventur enim omnia ab inexistente nobis numine*; Which is in effect, and almost in words the same, with that of *Aratus*, quoted by the Apostle, *In him wee live, and move, and have our being*; but above all in that noble booke of his *de mundo*, hee doth most freely acknowledge it, *Quod est* saith hee, *in mundo gubernator, in curru auriga, in civitate Dux, in exercitu Imperator, hoc idem est in mundo Deus*; to which booke though *Vives* and *Lypsius* take some exception as being none of his, by reason of the elegancy of the style and the sublimity of the matter, not suteable to the rest of his works, yet *Iustin Martyr*, *Themistius*, *Philoponus*, *Cardinall Bessarion*, the Earle *Mirandula*, the Lord *Plessis*, the learned *Zanchius* and others, doubt not to intitle him thereunto and interest him therein; which being so, I trust your Lordship will be for the future, more sparing then peremptorily to affirme; That to say, reason cannot clearly demonstrate the Creation of the world, is to charge her as wholly inclining to *Atheisme*.

Now as I have discharged your great Master *Aristotle* from *Atheisme*, though hee could not by his reason finde that the world had any beginning in regard of duration, so I very much doubt whither your Lordship can discharge some of those Philosophers  
from



from *Atheisme*, or at leastwise from a maine branch thereof (which is the denyall of a divine Providence in the government of the world) who notwithstanding maintained it confidently against *Aristotle*, that the world had a beginning; The *Epicureans* I meane, whose opinion herein wee have expressed by *Lucretius*, a famous and zealous schollar of *Epicurus*.

*Quod si nulla foret mundi genitalis origo,  
Cur supra bellum Thebanum & funera Troia,  
Non alias alij quoque res cecinere Poeta?*

Now what the same sect held touching the diuine Providence, appears as clearely in the same Authour,

*Omnis enim per se Divum natura, necesse est  
Immortali ævo summa cum pace fruatur  
Semota à nostris rebus, sejunctaque longè.*

How your Lordship will construe these verses I know not, but to mee they seeme to say that the world had a beginning in time, and yet that it is not governed by any divine Providence; which as I take it was the reason, that withall they held a waxing old and decay thereof; as the same Poet hath in the name of them all avowed it.

*Iamque adeo effata est ætas, effataque tellus,  
Vix animalia parva creat, quæ cuncta creavit  
Sæcla, deditque ferarum ingentia corpora partu.*

Now though your Lordship together with these *Epicureans* defend the worlds decay, as also that by the light of naturall reason it had a beginning in time, yet I will not bee so uncharitable as once to imagine that you also joyne with them in the denyall of the divine Providence, in the government thereof; though by the way I cannot but observe, how the one of these opinions prepares a way to the other, the former to the latter: which made mee intitle my booke touching the worlds preservation from decay, *An Apologie for Gods providence*, for which, as you now see, I had some reason.

I had here ended this section, save that your selfe who had so much advanced reason in the former part thereof, as much depresse it in the latter part, by telling us, that reason is powerfull and prævalent in man, but religion is onely proper to few; why my Lord if there bee a religion of the dumbe Creatures, as you intitle your sermon, and endeavour to prove it throughout, (telling us of their faith, their hope, their charity, their decalogue, their Creede, their mattens, their evensonge, and such like) doubtlesse much more of men indued with reason; nay *Lactantius* makes the proper difference betwixt a man & a beast, to consist rather in religion then reason, in as much as many dumbe creatures have in them some prints & sparks, or rather some shadowes of reason, but of religion none at all, whereas universally in all mē there cannot but be some inbred



notions of religion ingrafted and infixed in their soules, by meanes of that larger use of reason, and reliques of his defaced image, which almighty God hath of his goodnes bestowed upon them; To which purpose is that memorable speech of *Tully* in the first of his *Tusculans*, *Nulla est gens tam fera, nemo omnium tam immanis, cujus mentem non imbuerit Deorum opinio*, Now because there may be an opinion of the Diety imprinted in mens mindes, without any perswasion of his Providence in humane affaires, which is in truth the immediate foundation of all religion, *Plutarch* goes farther and tells us, *Si terras obeas, invenire possis urbes muris, literis, regibus, domibus, opibus, numismate carentes, gymnasiorum etiam & theatrorum nescias, urbem templis disque carentem, qua precibus, oraculo, jurejurando non utatur, non bonorum causa sacrificet, non mala sacris avertere nitatur, nemo unquam vidit*. And this assertion of *Plutarch* have wee verified by the experience and report of travaillers, aswell ancient as moderne, into all the parts of the knowne world; bee they in manners never so savage and barbarous yet some ceremonies and formes of religion they all observe; so as in affirming that Religion is onely proper to few, if you understand religion in generall of which you professe here to speake; you are therein (as I conceive) injurious not only to the truth, but to mankind in generall, and consequently to reason her selfe for whom you pretend so much to stand; And thus I trust I have sufficiently discharged both my selfe and reason, from the odious imputation of *Atheisme*, though by it the creation of the world out of nothing cannot clearely bee discerned, and withall that mine opinion is not of so daungerous a consequence in religion as you would make it, but yours rather, which maketh reason to intercommon in that which is proper to faith and christian religion.

G. G.

Reason is not  
blindefold.

**S**Vrely so daungerous, that I cannot here stay my selfe, but I must desire leave to make a digression, and only to point out some proofes whereby it shall appear, that reason doth not grope in the darke, but discern in the sunshine and cleerely apprehend that the world had a beginning, which being supposed, it seems very probable that the world shall have an end; for if you will admit bounds in the continuance, it is not unlike but it should bee hedged in on all sides, as in figures; if circular there is a circumference, there is a center; if straight and direct lines, where there is terminus à quo, there is terminus ad quem.

G. H.

**W**Hy my Lord if my opinion bee so apparently daungerous as you would make it, meethinks you should not need crave leave to make digressions, neither should I neede follow you therein beeing but digressions, specially having bin so much tyred already by tracing you in those by paths; yet because you account these



these arguments drawne from the light of reason touching the making of the world out of nothing, and the beginning thereof in tyme, such invincible demonstrations, I will for a while bee content to turne aside in the examination of them, though drawne in rather to cast an aspersiō or snare upon me, then therby to strengthen your owne cause.

You will make it appeare you say, that reason doth not grope in the darke, but discerne in the sunshine, & cleerely apprehend that the world had a beginning, whereas *Tullie* out of *Plato* durst not take so much upon him, or to promise for prooffe hereof any other then probable arguments, let us if you please heare their words, *Si forte de decorum natura*

*ortuque mundi differentes, minus id quod habemus animo consequimur; ut tota dilucide & planè exornata oratio sibi constet, & ex omni parte secum consentiat; hand sanè erit mirum, contentique esse debitis si probabilia dicentur.* *Cicero. lib. de universis: Plato in Timæo.*

*Æquum est enim, meminisse & me qui differam esse hominem & vos qui judicetis: ut si probabilia dicentur, ne quid ultra requiratis.* Demonstrations, if rightly collected and inferred, are of that irresistable force by reason of the necessary and evident principles out of which they are deduced, and upon which they are grounded, that being offered to the understanding and apprehended by it, it is instantly convinced and quietly rests without any farther altercation, or reluctancy, now if your Lordship can by light of naturall reason produce such demonstrations for the worlds beginning in time, and the making of it out of nothing, *eris mihi magnus Apollo.*

It being supposed you say, that the world had a beginning, it seems very probable that it shall have an end; if it had a naturall beginning it seems indeed very probable it should have a naturall end, but having a supernaturall beginning, to which all your demonstrations drive (neither can they possibly conclude otherwise) it seems as probable that if it have any end it should likewise bee supernaturall; wherefore I admit no bounds at all in the continuance thereof, either for the beginning or ending in the course of nature, and by light of naturall reason, but by light of faith I admit such bounds as hedge it in on both sides.

Your instance in the *circular figure* rather makes against you, there being in it neither beginning nor ending; of which figure the world is & so are all the noblest parts thereof; And for direct lines it is true that where there is *terminus a quo*, there likewise is *terminus ad quem*, in those *termini* which are from nature or art, but where the *terminus a quo* is meerely supernaturall, as in the worlds creation, there the *terminus ad quem* should in reason answer it in the same kinde and no otherwise. But let us come to your demonstrations which I finde in your *Corollarie* annexed to your booke of the fall of man; so as you might have spared your selfe this labour, and have directed mee thither; but let us now take a view of them as wee finde them. To what end you tell us here in your marginall note, that reason is not blindfold, I confesse my reason to bee so blindfold, as I cannot understand it.



G. G.

The creation  
proved by avoy-  
ding great in-  
conveniencies.

**R** Eason doth demonstrate that in things which exceede reason, that that which doth least exceede is ever to bee admitted, as importing the least inconvenience; but it doth lesse offend reason that there should bee onely one Creatour which subsisting of himselfe might create all others, then that every thing should subsist of it selfe and bee in effect his owne creatour, and it is more reasonable or rather most reasonable, and therefore demonstrative rather that one should bee from eternity then that all should bee from eternity, when as eternity being without bounds is therefore incomprehensible to reason,

G. H.

**I**N this Demonstration as you call it, you undertake to shew that there is one onely Creatour who subsisting of himselfe, created all other things, which you demonstrate, because reason is lesse offended with this, then that every thing should subsist of it selfe. How? reason is lesse offended with this? with what? with this that there should bee onely one Creator; why but if reason bee lesse offended with this, offended it is, and if with the Creatour, with the Creation too, there is no remedie; & then I beseech you consider what the consequence must of necessity bee, That the bleare eye of reason is offended with the brlght beame of the creator & the creation, and yet that it can demonstrate both, and cleerely discerne both as in the sunshine; my Lord either I discerne nothing or here is a very discernable contradiction, *modus vindice dignus*, yet that your meaning indeed is, that reason is offended in the contemplation of an eternall and infinite Creatour (without whom there can bee no creation) is most apparent, not onely by your marginall note which is, *The creation proved by avoyding greater inconveniencies*, but by the close of this section that eternity is to reason incomprehensible; if incomprehensible then not only in the creature, but in the Creator, and consequently in his creation of the Creature,

Besides in this your first demonstration (which should in reason have bin your strongest) you fight with a shadow, with a man of straw of your owne making, no Christian that I know or learned *Pagan* ever affirming, that any thing but God himselfe subsisteth of it selfe; nay both *Aristotle* and *Plato* make all things to depend from one supream entitie the cause of all causes and beings unto other things, but absolute and independent in himselfe; which if in this sense you will call a *Creatour* it is so farre from offending reason (as you affirme) that I should for my part hold him most unreasonable who denies it. All the question then is (as I conceive) if rightly stated, whither it more offend reason, or rather which is to reason more agreeable, either that the creatures should in regard of their subsistence eternally depend upon God, or that from him they should receive their being in time out of nothing; And the question beeing thus stated, I much doubt whether you will bee ever able demonstratively to prove, that the latter is

more



more agreeable to reason then the former. The eternity of the Creator I grant to be incomprehensible to reason *à priori*, what it is, but not *à posteriori*, that it is; this being clearly seene in the Creatures, even by the light of reason, *Rom. 1. 21.* and why it should more offend reason that the Creature should eternally depend upon God, then that he should eternally subsist from himselfe; I am yet to seeke. If we should suppose the Sunne to bee eternall, wee may as well suppose the light to be eternall in the Sunne, and eternally to depend upon it; against this I know probable arguments may bee brought as against all other decisions, about which reason is conversant, but demonstrative, as yet I finde none.

It is subscribed unto by the confession and consent of all Christian Divines and Philosophers as an undoubted truth, that the perfections and flowers as it were of all the Creatures, were after an eminent and superexcellent manner everlastingly united in the Creator; and againe that the modell or samplar which they call *mundus archetypus*, according to which he framed this world, as *Moses* did the Tabernacle according to the patterne which hee saw in the Mount, was everlastingly in him: So as why it might not likewise be everlastingly copyed forth (had it so pleased the Divine Majesty) in the faire and large volume of the created world, & in the characters of the severall Creatures, I must professe I am not yet sufficiently informed. Lastly, to make use of your owne weapon, and to turne the edge thereof against your selfe; If bounds you say be at all admitted in the worlds continuance, it is not unlike but that it should bee hedged in on all sides; so say I on the contrary, if no bounds bee admitted on the one side, but that it may and shall everlastingly endure, which of the renovated world (being the same in substance and dimensions with the present) you assure us; then will reason out of your principles inferre, that it is not unlikely it should, or at leastwise not impossible but it might bee hedged in on no side, and consequently that it might as well be eternall *à parte ante*, as *à parte post*, the present time having the same relation to both, and to reason it is alike indifferent, to looke downward to a bottomelesse gulph, or upward to a top interminate.

G. G.

2 IF all Creatures have bounded and limited natures, then the limitation of their nature proceedes from another; for nothing can or will bound and limit it selfe, therefore they had a maker and a beginning. By the bounds of Creatures.

3 Where there is a composition, there must bee a compounder; and things must first bee simple before they come to composition, therefore all compounds (and such all creatures are) must have a compounder and a beginning. By the composition.

4 If things doe carry a mutuall respect each to other, suppose the heavens to the earth, the earth to the heavens, the faculty to the object, the object to the faculty, this must needs domonstrate that they could not severally ordaine themselves, but that there was some other extrinsecall cause, which knowing both, By the mutuall relation.



and making both, appointed each for other, and therefore the Creatures must have a maker and a beginning.

By the reason  
of unreasona-  
ble Creatures.

5 Unreasonable Creatures doe move according to the rules of reason, and such as want understanding are guided by the direction of an understanding, this must needs demonstrate that some intelligent cause did so first ordaine them; which now preserves them in their naturall course: therefore the Creatures had a maker and a beginning.

G. H.

**T**He limited natures of the Creatures may argue that they had a beginning of causalitie, but that they likewise had a beginning of duration (which is the point in Controversie) that it argues not; And the same answer may not unfitly bee made to your third, fourth, and fifth demonstrations, which all argue a beginning of constitution, but not of time; or if a beginning of time, yet can they inforce no more then such a beginning of the Creatures in regard of their limitation, or direction to their severall ends, but a beginning of the first matter, the ground-worke and foundation of all these, they doe not, they cannot inforce, this beeing as the wittiest of all Poets tells us out of *Hesiod*, nothing else but

---rudis indigestaque moles,  
Nec quicquam nisi pondus iners;

So as for the making of this first matter out of nothing, you will be forced to seeke out new Demonstrations. To say nothing of *Epicurus*, *Leusippus*, and *Democritus*, who would tell you that all this you speake of might prove a beginning of duration, but of constitution none other then chance, after a long rotation and concretion of infinite atomes; but their opinion was in truth herein so unreasonable, as it deserves rather to be exploded then seriously confuted; and therefore *Lucilius* in *Tully* thus pleasantly jeasts at it: *Hoc qui existimat fieri potuisse; non intelligo, cur non idem putet, si immunerabiles unius & viginti formae literarum vel aurea vel qualeslibet aliquo projiciantur, posse ex his in terram excussis annales Ennij, ut deinceps legi possint effici: quod nescio an uno quidam versu possit tantum valere fortuna.*

Lib. 2. de nat.  
Deorum.

Againe, if your Lordship would be pleased to take a little stricter review of your reasons, and unpartially observe them, no doubt you will easily finde that they are all drawne à posteriori, or ab effectu, which are by *Logicians* accounted but imperfect demonstrations, and upon the matter amounting but to probable Arguments: And thus much the late learned Bishop of *Salisbury* Dr *Fotherby*, in his excellent booke intituled *Atheomastix*, lib. 1. cap. 1. hath freely acknowledged, that indeed none other can be brought for the prooffe of a deitie, or a beginning of the constitution of things by which they are preserved and governed; which in effect can bee none other then the Godhead. Now because he was a Reverend Prelate in our owne Church so fully studied in the point, so zealous in the cause, and withall his words to the present purpose so punctuall & pertinent, it shall not perchance be amisse to heare  
himselfe



himselfe speake : It will (saith he) be a worke to me either easie or difficult to prove there is a God, as the Reader is prepared or unprepared to receive it. To him that is disposed to beleieve it there is nothing more easie to be proved, but to him that will deny it, there is nothing more hard and difficult; and againe, to him that denyeth there is a God, (as the Atheist doth against whom I write) it is not a thing very easie to prove it, for this is not a Conclusion but a Principle, yea and that the very first of all other Principles. Now Principles in all Arts are most difficult to bee proved, because they have not antecedents, being *prima* of themselves; yea & immediate propositions which have no *media* to make them Conclusions, no not in the most *demonstrative* scientificall Syllogismes; & within a while after, all Principles being *prima* and *notissima* of themselves are thereby made *indemonstrable*, because whatsoever can be brought to prove them, must needs be obscure and *posterior* unto them; and thereupon inferreth in the page there following, It is not needfull in matter of *Divinity* to bring such invincible *demonstrations* as reject all *hesitations*, especially not in this case which hath laid his foundation, neither in sence nor in *science*, but meerely in beleife; which (as *Clemens Alexandrinus* noteth) being founded but upon the bare authority of Gods word, yet begetteth in this point a far more cleare understanding then can be wrought in us by any demonstration; *Neq; scientia accipitur demonstrativa, ea enim ex prioribus constat & ex notioribus, nihil autē est ante ingenitum, restat itaq; ut divi ha gratia & solo quod ab eo proficitur verbo, id quod est ignotum intelligamus*: So that, saith our pious Bishop, *Demonstrations* are here improper and unprofitable; And at last concludes with that of *Cicero* and *Plato*, before alleadged with application to himselfe, you ought to bee content if I write but what is *probable*, for it is fit you should remember, that I which write am but a man, & that you which read are but men your selves, & therefore if I bring but *probable* reasons, you ought not to exact any more at my hands. Which modest excuse of his, notwithstanding hee not onely brings the same Arguments that your Lordship doth, to prove a supreme cause, the first maker and bounder and mover of all things, but more in number, and I will bee bold to say in weight more ponderous. My Lord, it is an easie matter to talke of *infinite Demonstrations*, and to promise them, but beleieve me, not so easie as you imagine to performe one good and sound one; I should rather chuse then, to promise at least probable Arguments, and performe Demonstrations if I could, then confidently to promise Demonstrations as cleare as the Sun-shine, and then faile in the performance, by bringing but probable arguments at best; In one of your last letters to mee you say, that much confidence stands not with discretion: which is doubtlesse a safe rule, and I could wish you had beene pleased in this point to make a little more use of it.

And now my Lord, to looke backe to your pretended Demonstrations, I should willingly learne of your Lordship, when you conclude, that the creatures must have a maker and a beginning, whether the beginning you therein intend, be naturall or supernatural; if only naturall,



it could not possibly make something out of nothing, no more then naturally a *Virgin* could conceive and bring forth a sonne, or the body of a man being dissolved and turned into dust, can naturally bee raised againe and restored to life: If supernaturall, I desire to understand how meere naturall reason by naturall discourse can perfectly and demonstratively finde it out; doubtlesse as water in a naturall course can rise no higher then the head spring from which it issueth, so naturall reason by the light of nature can rise no higher then ordinarie naturall causes, extraordinary or miraculous it admits not: Or put case that naturall reason refined by a generall grace, and by exact contemplation elevated above it selfe, may finde out a supernaturall agent indued with infinite wisdom and power, so as hee could at his pleasure make something out of nothing, yet that so it pleased him, the naturall man cannot understand but by speciall revelation from God himselfe, as *Aquinas* hath rightly expressed it; *Voluntas Dei ratione investigari non potest, nisi circa ea quæ absolute necesse est Deum velle, talia autem non sunt quæ circa creaturas vult; potest autem voluntas divina homini manifestari per revelationem cui fides innititur*; and then hee instantly applies it to the present point in controversie: *Vnde mundum incapisse est creabile, non autem demonstrabile vel scibile.*

If then your Arguments conclude a beginning of constitution, it is as much as the Naturalist will grant; but you will say that a beginning of constitution necessarily implies a beginning of duration, and so in proving the one, you have consequently proved the other; whereas if this consequence were indeed necessary, then of necessity must it likewise follow, that the cause as it is before the effect in order of nature, so should it likewise bee alwayes præexistent in order of time; which no man I thinke will affirme, who knowes that the Sun-beames are contemporarie with the Sunne it selfe, and from all eternitie wee beleeve, that the second person in *Trinitie* was generated from the first, and the third proceeded from the other two, as the light is generated from the body of the Sun, and the warmth proceedeth from them both; which yet is but a shadow of that great and glorious misterie, which dazels the eye of reason, as the brightnesse of the Sunne doth the eye of sense: Against which all that can be objected is, that where the cause and the effect are coexistent in order of time, the action is not voluntary but necessary, and consequently if the world be eternally produced by God, it would argue him to be a necessary not a voluntary agent, working by course of nature; not by knowledge and freedome of will: And this in very truth I conceive to be the strongest objection drawne from the discourse of reason against the worlds eternitie, yet it is not of such validity but that the ancient Philosophers who defended the worlds eternitie, either in regard of the present existence thereof, or the first matter out of which it was moulded, maintained likewise the supreme cause and maker thereof, to bee an intelligent and voluntarie agent; as appears by *Aristotle* himselfe (who is thought to have beene most addicted to Nature) not only in the places by me before alleadged, touching the divine Providence, but in sundry others: And it were altogether



ther unreasonable to grant a freedome of will to man, as they all freely doe, and to deny it to God the Author of mankind as they confesse. Though it bee true then, that in created and finite agents to voluntarie acts performed by the freedome of their will, such a præ-election is required as presupposeth the efficient præexisting in time before the production of the effect wrought by it, yet in God it is not so: As in the opinion of all *Christian Divines*, he decreed from all eternitie to create the world, and yet freely in regard of the time, of the manner, and other concurrent circumstances; so I thinke there is as little question, but had it so pleased him, he might from before all time have as freely put that decree in execution; if an eternall decree may stand with choyce and liberty, no doubt so may an act too, and no greater inconvenience will follow upon the latter then upon the former, which generally all *Christian Divines* subscribe unto, only *Vorstius* excepted.

I conclude this high point with the words of profound *Hooker*, speaking of that eternall law which the *Almighty* hath from everlasting set unto himselfe. 'The booke saith hee, of this Law wee are neither able, nor worthy to open, and looke into; that little thereof which we darkely apprehend wee admire, the rest with religious ignorance wee humbly and meekely adore. And if through humane frailty I have erred in my expressions and conceptions of him, my comfort is that it is not love of error, but an error of the love of truth, in shewing the feeblenes and shallownes of naturall reason, not enlightened by faith and grace, in fathoming the deepe mysteries of Religion; and the necessitie of Christian Religion for our yeelding a full consent to those mysteries.

In your third Demonstration you say, that all things must first bee simple before they come to composition; where if you understand a prioritie of time as in reason you should, from thence to inferre a beginning of duration; it is certaine that never any created substance was so simple, but that in the very first moment of creation it was compounded: And besides, some good Divines are of opinion, among whom is *S. Augustine*, that the whole world as now it is, was created in an instant, and the worke of the Creation distinguished by dayes for our capacity; which if it be so, the Creatures were not first simple and then compounded, but at first compounded as now they are, and consequently though they had a compounder, yet doth it not necessarily prove that this composition was in time: the conclusion by you to be made good.

In your last Demonstration you tell us, that the same intelligent cause which did first ordaine the Creatures, doth now preserve them in their naturall course; where being upon another matter, you seeme unawares to grant, that the Creatures are by the first cause preserved from decay.



G. G.

sence to  
reason.

**I** Could be infinite in such like Demonstrations, but these will suffice, if then sense doe discern the limits and bounds of this world, the materiall heavens, and in a sort surveyes the circumference, then may reason discern bounds in the worlds continuance, though it cannot exactly measure them.

G. H.

**I**N such like Demonstrations I verily beleeeve your Lordship might easily be very copious, yet not infinite; for then might the world as well be infinite in duration, which you will not admit: And where as you argue from sense and reason, I will stand to your owne words; Sense you say, doth but in a sort survey the circumference; whence I inferre according to your owne rule of proportion, that reason may likewise in a sort discern bounds in the worlds continuance, by which one blast you have blowne up all your infinite demonstrations where by you undertooke to shew; That reason did discern in the Sun-shine, and clearely apprehend the worlds beginning, so as all your Demonstrations will at length I doubt mee, prove but probable Arguments at most, and so much I willingly granted, had your Lordship been pleased to accept it; but since you will not, I must be bold once more to jogge you in the elbow, with that of *Aquinas*, who knew what belongs to Demonstrations better then either of us: *Et hoc utile est, ut consideretur nē forte aliquis quod fieri est, demonstrare prasumens, rationes non necessarias inducat, quæ præbeant materiam irridendi infidelibus, existimantibus nos propter ejusmodi rationes credere quæ fidei sunt.*

G. G.

By severall sci-  
ences.

**T**Hus in the Physicks by discourse of reason wee acknowledge that privatio is a principle, and answerable thereunto in the Metaphysicks by a transcendencie or elevation of reason, before entia particularia we first admit negatio, whence is inferred a Creation; onely wee say *Semper excipiendum est primum in unoquoque genere*; agreeable hereunto wee finde in the Mo- saicall creation; first nox, then dies, vespere & mane dies unus; by this analogie of Philosophie to Divinitie, I conclude that the Creation is demonstra- tive as well to reason as to religion.

G. H.

**P**Rivation by *Aristotle* and his followers is made a Principle of naturall generation, but by none of the other *Philosophers*: and in his doctrine it implies two formes, the one precedent and in possession, the other subsequent and in reversion, and withall it implies a subject matter capable of both; and as long as such a privation is admitted in the Physicks, they cannot possibly admit of any Creation, or Consum-



consummation of the world in the course of nature, because it implies an endlesse circle of corruptions and generations by turnes, in things generable and corruptible: And whereas you say that in the *Metaphysicks* by an elevation of reason, we first admit *negatio* before *entia particularia*, for the admission hereof, you must I thinke elevate reason above it selfe; it by *Negatio* you understand *Non ens* to precede all *entia particularia* collectively taken: but if you take them severally and successively, then is it coincident with *privatio*, and needes no such transcendencie, or elevation of reason as you speake of; but I beseech you my Lord, in whose *Metaphysicks* did you finde this *Negatio*, it in *Aristotles*, I wonder hee was such a dunce as not to discern the Creation; if in your owne, then was it reason elevated by religion, and enlightened by the beame of faith, whereof now we dispute not: And whereas you adde, onely wee say *Semper excipendum est primum in unoquoque genere*: if you except any but the Creator himselfe, it is certaine that consequently you exclude the Creation.

You say that agreeable hereunto wee finde in the *Mosaicall* Creation, first *nox*, then *dies*; indeed wee reade of darkenesse before wee reade of light, but not of night till after the lights creation; and in *Moses* his narration the day is first named, then the night: Now if you could shew mee out of the *Metaphysickes* any such negation of light as was the first darkenesse there spoken of, I should easilie grant that Analogie of *Philosophie* to *Divinitie* you speake of; in the *Physickes* wee may perchance finde *nox* set before *dies*, not as a negation but as a privation, discarding the day precedent, and making way for the day subsequent, which is so farre from holding any Analogie with the Creation, that hardly can a stronger argument bee brought from naturall reason from the worlds eternitie, in as much as night being nothing else but the intercision of the Sunnes light, by the interposition of the earth, presupposeth a day precedent, and so in *infinitum* upward; and againe, the night a day subsequent, and that day a subsequent night, and so in *infinitum* downward. And for *vespere* and *mane*, your Lordship who pretend to stand so much for the Ancients, will not I trust refuse their exposition of these words: I will alleadge that of *S. Basil*, with whom *S. Ambrose*, *S. Chrysostome*, *S. Augustine*, *Victorinus*, and many others accord; *Vt in ordine creationis prerogativam deferret diei, ipsius diei finem primo commemorat, qui est vespera; deinde subnectit finem noctis, quod est mane, ut ita constet priorem fuisse diem artificialem quam noctem. Prior enim ille mundi status, nimirum ante primigeniam lucem exortam, non nox dicebatur, sed tenebra; nox enim ea temporis portio dicta est, quae distinctè se habet & oppositè ad diem; quae quidem diei succedanea novam hanc appellationem adeptæ est: Facta est igitur vespera & factum est mane; his planè verbis diem noctemque comprehensim significans. Non tamen utrumque complexus est nuncupatione diei ac noctis, sed præstabiliori totam tribuit appellationem.* Which interpretation is as you see, point blanke opposite to your Lordships intention in the quoting of that text. For my selfe then I constantly beleieve *Moses*, In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth; but for the *Physicks* or *Metaphysicks* I utterly dispaire ever



to see it from thence concluded, That the Creation is *demonstrative as well* to reason as to religion; and truly I could wish your Lordship for the great honour you beare religion, and for which you here pretend so earnestly to fight, had spared so harsh and unjustifiable a comparison. Yet I will not deny but many of the ancient Philosophers before *Aristotle* harped much upon the same string, touching the worlds beginning that *Moses* doth, but under darke allusions and mysticall speeches; in which labyrinth they did not so much follow the threed of reasons discourse, as the light of *Moses* his writings, by the testimonies of the Fathers of the *Christian Church*, & namely of *Iustin Martyr* in his second *Apologie for the Christians*; But as in setting downe their opinions, they much differed among themselves, so doe they all differ from *Moses* and the *Christian faith*, in making the *Chaos* or first matter, out of which the goodly frame of the world was raised to be coeternall with the maker, so as wee may truly conclude of their search in this point, as *Lucan* doth of the head of *Nilus*.

—Gentes maluit ortus  
Mirari, quàm nosse suos.—

G. G.

**A**Nd as easie it is to discern the dissolution of the world, as the creation, for both are ends alike; but this is the great controversie betweene us, the whole subject of our discourse.

G. H.

**I**F it bee as easie to discern the dissolution of the world as the Creation, and this bee the great controversie betweene us, I much marvel your Lordship should not undertake to demonstrate the one as well as the other. That both are ends alike, will not serve your turne; for then the *Angells* and soules of men, which by your owne confession have no end *à posteriori*, might likewise as well bee without any beginning *à priori*, which you will not admit. They are finite in their essences, faculties, operations, and scituations, as it is opposed to ubiquitie; yet by the acknowledgement of all Divines they are infinite in duration, at leastwise *à parte post*, as your selfe make the renovated world, and confine it to dimensions.

G. G.

**Y**OU make strange of that argument which heretofore I have prest; Now I will onely mention it, *Facilius est destruere quàm componere*; Nature stands not equally and indifferently affected to perfection and to imperfection; there are more vices then vertues, two vices at least incompasse every vertue; here is no single combate, no equall incounter. Nature in all things degenerates, and therefore must bee supplied by art: the sweet *Almonds* wanting good husbandry prove bitter, but the bitter will never recover their



their sweetnesse: Pipins, if the trees bee not lopt and pruned, will at length prove Crabs, but Crabs will never returne to bee Pipins. What a wonderfull care is there in the husbandman, to preserve a good broode and kinde; whereas by your reason the kinde should of it selfe fall to bee good in succession. I have heretofore made instance in infectious diseases, how one man infects a whole nation, whereas the health of one man cannot impart it selfe to another. Thus if one graine of the body were corrupt, the whole bodie perfect and sound could never recover it: but that little graine unlesse incision be made, will undoubtedly corrupt the whole body: these infections doe likewise appeare in hereditarie diseases, and therefore concerne not onely the individualls, but the species and kindes.

If you say there are more sound men then sicke, and commonly wee have longer times of health then of sicknesse: alas this is nothing, for even those which are in their perfect health, yet their declination is a kinde of languishing; and not the fourth part of men doe ever attaine to their full strength and growth, but die before they come to the age of twenty foure, wherein they should bee most flourishing.

G. H.

**T**O the Authour of Nature it is every way as easie to make as unmake; and in the course of nature (where no violence is offered) naturall bodies decrease by the same degrees as they increased, & sometimes not so fast. It is thought that an oake is growing to its perfection 100 yeares, but is decreasing many hundreds before it come to a finall period; and as it is not in the power of any created substance to make the workes of nature, but as they are set a worke by a superiour agent, so neither can they unmake any, but some other thing is instantly made of it; so as in the totall summe nothing is lost.

That nature stands not equally and indifferently affected to perfection and imperfection is most true; it being most certaine that of her selfe she wholly inclines to perfection, and to imperfection not at all, but occasionally and accidentally: when shee cannot doe what she would, yet shee disdaines not to doe what she may.

Vertues and vices I should rather referre to moralitie then nature; they being the immediate acts of mans will, which inclined not to vice at all, as Almighty God created it; but wilfully falling away from him, it became dead in supernaturalls, and in moralls much wounded: Whereas the other Creatures to the shame of mankind inviolably observe that law, which their and our Creatour at first set them; *He hath given them a law which shall not be broken.*

To your instance in Almonds, and Pipins, & good broodes, for mine owne particular I must confesse I have had little experience in them: yet suppose, that being bettered by art, when that forsakes them, they returne againe to their primitive condition: but this would I willingly learne, whether a thousand or two thousand yeares agoe without the industrie of man, the sweet Almonds would not prove bitter, and the Pipins Crabs, as soone as now they doe; Or whether being Crabs they



they still degenerate; if so, they must of necessity at last come to nothing; if not, there is no such universall and perpetuall decay as you pretend.

You have heretofore you say, instanced in infectious diseases, and heretofore you have likewise received an answer; so as why you should heere presse it againe without any reply upon that answer I know not. One man I grant may infect a whole nation, and so may a whole nation bee propagated from one man: As from one man we see the whole world replenished, and that in the course of nature: propagation being intended by nature but not infection, that's beside the intention of nature, nay contrary unto it: And here againe I should demandaund, whether infectious diseases spread more then they did; or more vices be opposed to vertue then were 1000 yeares since.

I wonder what should move you to say, that one graine of the bodie being corrupt, without incision, the whole bodie would bee endangered; since wee finde by dayly experience, (as I have formerly observed in answer to the same objection) that light soares and hurts are often healed by the force of nature alone, and by meanes of the sound parts, without any incision or the helpe of Chirurgerie at all; and though in more dangerous wounds or ulcers, the sound parts cure not the diseased, but rather the diseased corrupt the sound, yet will it not follow that nature her selfe rather inclines to corruption; for certainly the parts that are whole have a stronger inclination to keepe themselves sound, then to bee corrupted, onely their corruption proceedeth from accidentall and externall causes; both which are preternaturall, either beside or contrary to nature.

The like may bee said of hereditarie diseases, there being many hereditarie perfections which descend from the parents to the children, in their severall senses and members, and in the uses, tempers, proportions and connexions of the parts, for one hereditarie imperfection; which by temperate diet, exercise, or the use of physicke, and often by tract of time weares out againe. These diseases sometimes for two or three generations may I grant runne in a bloud, or come by kinde, as we say, but that at any time they reach to the *species* (as you affirme) that is to *mankinde*, this I utterly deny.

If the declination of men bee a kinde of languishing, yet is it no more a languishing now, then it was many ages since; and most certaine it is, that many men live in more perfect health after their declining age, then before; but that not the fourth part of men should live to the age of twenty foure yeares, thereof I much doubt; as also, whether that age be the most flourishing: both which being granted, yet will it never be proved that they so die in the course of nature, but by adventitious causes; not by spending the oile in the lampe, but by a violent quenching of the flame; which was as incident to those of former ages as the present.

But now to reflect a little upon this Section, I beseech you my Lord, what are bitter almonds, or crabs, or broodes of chicken and the like,

or



or infectious or hereditarie diseases to the heavens, which are in many respects the most noble part of the world, by which all these inferiour bodies are governed, and upon which they all depend; Except you prove then a dissolution of the celestiall bodies by naturall reason, all the rest is (as I conceive) to little purpose, thereby to demonstrate the dissolution of the world.

## G. G.

**E**Adem est ratio partium & totius; Compare the great world with the little world; both subsist of the same elements; these elements have the same qualities; these qualities are alike active in both, these elements are mixed and impure alike in both, the same providence protects both alike, the honour of the providence seemes to bee alike engaged in both, (for all is as nothing in respect of God) I will farther adde, if the great world have severall seasons, the little world hath the like; the Spring of our infancie, the Summer of our youth, the Autumne of our riper yeares, the Winter of our old age; and so the infancie of the world is now past, the youth of the world is now past, both these are dead to the world, and the world shall never see the revolution; now is the world in her elder yeares and so hastens to a period: many yeares or an age in respect of the worlds continuance, are as a day or a minute in respect of mans life: how chearefull is man in the morning, how are his spirits wasted at noone, how is hee tyred and wearied out with his labours in the evening, and then being unfit for any further imployment, sleepe death ceaseth upon him, and bereaveth him of his strength, senses and wits, untill having rested a few houres in the grave of his bed, and there recovering strength, hee riseth up againe with alacrity: you will not hence conclude the eternity of man, so neither can you conclude the eternity of the world by the revolution of the world. Succession may serve to preserve the continuance, but as it is a shadow and type, so it serves as an earnest of the dissolution, and therefore the Angels and the immortall spirits as they are freed from corruption, so neither will they admit a succession.

The great world and the little world compared.

Succession is an earnest of the dissolution.

## G. H.

**A**LL this I have already answered in other places, and therefore shall not need to inlarge.

True it is, there is the same reason of the whole and the parts, in regard of declination and decay; where the decay of the parts is not supplied and repaired by an equivalent compensation, as in the great world it is, but in the lesser not so. Another maine difference betwixt the great and the little world is, that the great world consisteth not onely nor chiefly of the elements, but of the heavenly bodies which in the little world are wanting: The Divine providence I confesse extendeth to both, and the honour thereof is engaged in both, but not alike; it extends to individualls in reference to the species, and to the species in reference to the universe, and generally to the parts in reference to the whole, and consequently the honour of the Providence



is more specially ingaged in the whole then in the parts, in the *universe* then in the *species*, in the *species* then in the *individualls*: And though all bee as nothing in respect of him, yet in respect of us, the *universe* is more then any *species*, and the *species* then any individuall of that kinde.

That there is in the little world a succession of severall seasons, as in the great I grant, but with this ods; the great world having run through the Spring, and Summer, and Autumne, and Winter, returns againe to the Spring, which the little doth not. That the youth of the great world is past and irrecoverable in regard of duration is true, but not in regard of declination: And if it proceeded from infancie to youth, as you affirme, then it likewise grew on from imperfection to perfection, and consequently could not perpetually decline as you beare us in hand.

If an age in respect of the worlds continuance bee but as a minute in respect of mans life, & the age of man bee threescore yeares & ten; then certainly the world cannot yet be in his elder yeares, (as you affirme) no nor arrived to his youth; there being more minures in the compasse of one houre, then the world hath yet seene ages, if by ages you understand centenaries as the word is usually taken.

You tell mee in one passage of this Section, that the world shall never see the revolution past; and in another, not many lines distant, that I cannot conclude the eternitie of the world from the revolution thereof: which two contradictorie propositions, I know not how to reconcile; and though I cannot conclude the eternitie of man from the alternative vicissitudes of his wearinesse at night, and chearefulness in the morning after rest, because he consists of such principles as are ever wasting and never fully repayed againe, yet from such vicissitudes I may conclude the worlds eternity in the course of nature, because for every deficiency first or last a full recompence is made; and besides in the heavenly bodies there is no deficiency or defectibility at all to be found.

Succession I grant might serve as an earnest of the dissolution, in case the thing succeeding did alwayes degenerate from that it succeeds unto; which doubtlesse is not so, but for the most part equals it, and many times exceeds it.

As the Angels and immortall spirits admit no succession, so neither doe the heavenly bodies; which therefore by your owne rule must of necessity bee freed from corruption aswell as they.

G. G.

Reason may  
guesse at the  
conflagration.

**T**Hus farre in opposition to your owne opinion, for I doe not conceive that Scaliger is my adversary therein; now for the manner of the end of this world which shall bee by combustion; I will not say that reason can evince this, by demonstrations; but surely there are very stronge presumptions and probabilities; for if fire bee of that efficacy and power that it consumes more in a minute, then the other three elements can generate in an age; if it bee proper to  
ak



all bodies, that the longer they continue the more they consume their moisture, and thereby make themselves more combustible; for drought agrees with old age; and if it bee the propertie of fire to draw out elixers and quintessences by congregating homogenea and segregating heterogenea, which carries some resemblance of a renovation; add hereunto that fier is the neereſt element to the heavens; and therefore if bodies terrestriall become celeſtiall and spirituall, and that in the transmutation degrees are observed, it is not unlike, but it seems very reasonable, that the passage should bee through fire.

G. H.

**H**OW farre Scaliger is your Adversary in proving the beginning & end of the world by naturall reason, I have already shewed; and for your proofes that it shall end by fier, by your owne confession they are but presumptions, which though to you perchance, they may seeme very strong, yet am I confident that laying aside the light of revealed truth, they will appeare to any indifferent judgement but meere conjectures.

You say that fier is of that efficacie & power, that it consumes more in a minute, then the other three elements can generate in an age; which is a very hyperbolicall speech and so I take it; but besides, fier it selfe concurreſs to the generation of mixt bodies, as well as the other three elements; the contrary whereof is heere implied; And whereas you hold the Renovation of the world, mee thinks you doe not advisedly to presse the efficacy of fier in consuming it.

The heavenly bodies being altogether without moisture, cannot loose it by long continuance, and so become more combustible; and the same moisture still continuing in the world, though it bee lost to one body, yet is it recovered by another. And though the mixt bodies should loose the moisture, yet the aire and water cannot; and many times it comes to passe, that old age is more troubled with rheumes & catarrhs then with drought; or that drought is joyned with extreame cold, which is as great an enemy to fier as the other is a friend.

The propertie of fier is, if it bee immoderate and raging not so much to draw out the quintessence of things and so to renovate them, but utterly to devoure them and turne them into ashes.

That all bodies shall become spirituall, & bodies terrestriall become celeſtiall, is more then I have read or know any warrant for, or how fier can make them of corporeall substances spirituall, or of terrestriall celeſtiall.

Lastly reason cannot determine from whence this fier should come, how it should worke upon it selfe or the heavenly bodies, how it should produce so great effects in so short a time, how it should be quenched as long as there remained any combustible matter, or how it should turne so much matter into ashes without raising mighty vapours, which being condensate in the course of nature must needs turne back into aire and water againe: So as the safest way I thinke will be to beleieve it and not to seeke out arguments from the light of reason to prove it.

Kkkk 4

G. G.



G. G.

**T**Hus farre by way of digression in the behalfe and for the honour of naturall reason, that shee sees both the beginning and end of the world, and therefore inclines not to Atheisme, as you do seeme unjustly to accuse her, but rather shee is a handmaide to religion, prepares for religion, and indeed layes the foundation whereupon faith and religion are built; and therefore only the reasonable creature is capable of religion; and this I feare your opinion will prove to bee of daungerous consequence in respect of religion in generall.

G. H.

**M**EE thinks a digression ( as you account this and justly ) is somewhat to long in the entrance of your arguments; you say it is in honour of naturall reason; whereas you undertooke to prove that my opinion was of daungerous consequence in matter of religion: so as unlesse you esteeme reason and religion to be of the same extent, I see not to what purpose your digression is; because reason reacheth not to the Articles of our Creed, shall wee therefore say it inclines to Atheisme? If we should say that corrupt reason inclines to Atheisme, I trow it were no false doctrine; Herein then I doe not unjustly accuse reason, but you most unjustly accuse mee; That onely the reasonable Creature is capable of religion ( though your selfe have published a Sermon intituled *The religion of the dumbe Creatures* ) I grant; but that the Creature onely by reason is capable of that religion which is necessary to bee beleevd to salvation, that I utterly deny, and consequently that my opinion is of any daungerous consequence in Christian religion: all other religion being but superstition in regard of that. Though I should be perswaded of the beginning and end of the world by discourse of reason, I might yet still bee an Infidell ingard of true religion; it being requisite thereunto, that I bee not so much thereof perswaded by reason, which is subject to infinite errors: as that I beleeve it by faith, *cui non potest subesse falsum*, which can neither deceive nor bee deceived.

G. G.

The eternity is  
of a daungerous  
consequence in  
respect of the  
Mosaicall law.

**B**Ut in respect of religion revealed, as to beginne with the Mosaicall creation, I conceive it to bee of a much more daungerous consequence; for hee that supposeth the eternity of the world, will not so easily beleevd that paradise the place intended for our habitation should be already destroyed, Or that the world in her infancy, abounding with humors and moisture, should be overwhelmed with a deluge, naturall causes thereunto concurring.

G. H.



G. H.

**H**EE that supposeth the worlds eternity in reason, and yet withall by faith beleeveth the scriptures, will easily beleve that Paradise is already destroyed, or at leastwise defaced, in regard of the originall beauty and pleasantnes thereof; Though I presume your Lordship cannot bee ignorant, that the greatest part aswell of the ancient fathers, as Schoole doctores, were of opinion that Paradise even in regard of its primitive condition, was not destroyed by the flood, but was privileged from it for the preservation of *Enoch*. Which opinion passed currant till the streame was turned by *Iansenius*, *Pererius* & others; from whence I cannot but observe, that your selfe who magnifie the ancients so much, are well enough content sometimes to forsake them.

How the world should bee created in her infancy, and yet from the first Creation still decline, or how being created in perfection, specially the sunne being then in its most spiritfull vigour, (as you suppose) and yet withall abound in humors and moisture I cannot conceive; but am of opinion that a man may suppose the worlds eternity in reason, and yet withall by faith beleve the generall flood, as being effected by a supernaturall power, though naturall causes concurred thereunto.

G. G.

**N**ot to trouble you in generalls, I will make this instance; Adam, was the first husbandman, in husbandry this is the first ground and principle, that there must bee a due proportion kept and observed betweene the land and the stocke; at first wee began with a couple, Adam and Eve had the whole world for their portion, then the blessing and promise was given. *Crescite & multiplicamini*, whereas the world hath still kept her owne bounds and limits, but men are exceedingly multiplied and increased; as by a concordancy of prophane histories aswell as divine; wee are able to shew where the world began first to be inhabited, and there being at length over peopled, how men were enforced to seeke out new habitations, and from hence how nations have issued out of Nations, thus in our tymes we have found out a new world, where to transplant our selves; And surely at length you must come to admit greater numbers of men then the earth can maintaine; Thus if your selfe will make such strange suppositions as to make men no bigger then rats and mice, give mee leave then to suppose that you shall not be able to make burrowes for these rats and mice, they shall so infinitely increase when the earth will fayle; For you suppose the eternity of the world, you cannot deny but men must multiply and increase, then according to the eternity of the world they must infinitely multiply and increase, yet still the earth continues the same without any addition to her bounds; then must it follow, that the number of the one farre exceeding in proportion the measure of the other, both cannot together subsist; Yet your opinion of the eternity of the world, must either doubt whither wee began with a couple, or whither wee shall still multiply and increase, & therefore is of a dangerous consequence in respect of religion revealed.

The increase of mankind and the bounds of the world will not admit eternity.

G. H.



G. H.

**F**Or answer to your instance I neede goe no farther then the *Fall of man proved by reason*, pag. 370. where you tell us, that for number of men wee are not able to send out such huge armies as the ancients did; And againe within a few lines after, Hee that shall well consider our law books, the exact measuring of land in those dayes, the largenesse and capacity of our Churches, the old foundations which now are daily raked up by the plow, shall (by all probable conjecture) conceive that the world was then as well peopled, as it is in these times; which doubtlesse is most true, as many being taken away by ordinary death, by inundations, by earthquakes, by famines, by warrs, by pestilence, & other contagious diseases, as are borne into the world; Nay sometimes in some places thousands are snatched away for one that is borne; What multitudes might bee maintained in *Ireland*, more then there are if the land were manured as it might be? And how many millions would that new world you speake of, sustaine, if it were inhabited to the full? and no doubt but a great part of the habitable world lies yet uninhabited and unmanured, because undiscovered, so as to feare the want of foode from the earth, for the sustenance of mankind, by reason of the multiplication thereof, is a meere fancy and hath no warrant that I know either from scripture or prophane historie; Hee that makes the mouth makes also meate for it, had men the skill and desire to seeke it where it is to bee found.

G. G.

The Jewes are defended.

**T**Hirdly of what dangerous consequence your opinion is in respect of the Church; Can there bee a greater wounde to Gods providence, then to affirme the apostacy of the Church; as soone I will deny the visible effects of Gods providence, as beleieve the Church should fayle in a visible succession, and that the holy Ghost which descended with a great sound in the forme of fiery tongues should now bee stricken dumbe, no longer audible, and the fire which with the warmth and light should serve to inflame and direct men should now bee raked up in the ashes, and nothing left but darkenesse; herein I am an enemy unto you even in the behalfe of the Jewes pag. 233. wherere you say that the whole nation of the Jewes should be tainted with that grosse error of Pythagoricall transmigration of soules, that they held our Saviour to bee Iohn Baptist, Elias, or one of the Prophets. How improbable it is they should bee tainted with that opinion alone, when as I finde no other philosophical notions among them, and therefore that this alone should creepe in, it is not credible; why did you not rather make the best construction, and ascribe this to the resurrection of the dead, or as Samuell appeared to Saul, the manner whereof I will not here discuss.

G. H.



## G. H.

**T**Hat the Church ever fayled in a visible succession or was stricken dumbe at any time I never affirmed, though this by glances you thrust upon mee, but that the most eminent and visible part of the Church may daungerously erre, and yet remaine a part of the Church, cannot well bee denyed. And because this Section concernes the *Jewes*, I will instance only in their Church. when the Prophet *Elias* complained, that hee was left alone, it is most apparent that the visible Church was grievously tainted with grosse idolatrie; yet for mine owne part I should thinke with judicious *Hooker*, that almighty God even then had his Church amongst them, not only because hee had thousands which never bowed the knee to *Baall*, but because they whose knees were bowed unto *Baall*, even they were also of the visible Church of God; Neither did the Prophet so complaine, as if that Church had beene quite and cleane extinguished; but he tooke it as though there had not been remaining in the world, any besides himselfe that carried a true and an upright heart towards God with care to serve him according to his holy will; and certainly for want of a diligent observing of those differences, first betweene the Church of God mysticall and visible, and then betweene the visible sound and corrupted, sometimes more sometimes lesse, the oversights are neither few nor light that formerly have beene, and still are committed.

Now to the place by you alleaged, wherein you professe your selfe an enemy to mee, for saying that the Jewish nation was tainted with the error of the *Pythagoricall* transmigration of soules; if herein I erre, I erre not onely with *Calvin*, but with other great Divines, as namely *Iansenius* Bishop of *Gaunt* (whom *Pererius* calls, *virum admodum catholicum & doctum*) who in the 16. cap of his Concordance upon the gospels thus writes, *Rectius dicetur, Creditam olim Iudais sicut & nunc παλιγγενεσίαν hoc est iteratam generationem quam & Pythagoras docuit; Ex qua opinione Herodes putabat Iohannem quem decollaverat in vitam redysse, & Iesum jam vocari; ex quo eodem errore, & vulgi pars Dominum Eliam, pars Ieremiam aut alium quempiam ex Prophetis esse putabat; Atque ex eodem errore rectissime intelligitur eos tertio interrogasse Prophetas tuos aliquis scilicet ex prioribus Prophetis, quemadmodum Christus à vulgi parte habitus est; And againe in his 56. cap of the same Concordance; Plærique Iudaorum quæ de resurrectione mortuorum ex scripturis didicerunt confundentes cum Philosophorum & Græcorum dogmatibus, crediderunt παλιγγενεσίαν, & μεταμύωσιν hoc est iteratam generationem & transmigrationem secundum doctrinam Pythagoræ.* Neither ought it to seeme strange that the people of the *Jewes* should bee infected with this error, considering *Iosephus* in his second booke de bello Iud. cap. 7. attributes it to the *Pharisees* their cheife guides; whereupon *Iansenius* concludes, *ut hinc intelligere liceat quàm corrupta fuerit dogmatibus philosophorum integritas fidei quæ antiquitus fuit in patribus Iudaorum*; instantly yeelding the reason thereof, *Siquidem tempore*



*tempore Christi Iudaei passim Græcam magis intellexerunt quàm Hebræam linguam; and Maldonate commenting upon Mat. 14. v. 1. tells us, Et vero Hieronymus indicat nonnullos solitos hoc loco Pythagoricorum errorem confirmare: So as herein your Lordship is an enemy not onely to me and Calvin, but to a learned and very Catholique Bishop, and Iosephus; who (as I take it) had best reason to know what his Countrey men the Iewes held in this point.*

G. G.

The Apostles  
unjustly charged.

**I**F I should neglect the whole nation or Synagoge of the Jewes, who notwithstanding were Gods only people, and had Christs approbation for the truth of the doctrine, yet I pray give mee leave to be very tender in the behalfe of the Apostles, that they should be charged with that Pythagoricall transmigration of soules; and that upon no other ground but this, the demanding of a question, Master who did sinne this man or his parents that he was borne blinde? for thus you seeme to taxe them in the same page 233. and Mr Calvin makes it a prodigious kinde of wonder, that among them way should bee given to so palpable a fiction, and there they are charged with stupiditie, foolish questions, ravenesse, rudenesse, ignorance, as many errors as words; I wonder much why Mr Calvin should so accuse them, as if he intended a reformation, not onely of the present times, but even of the Apostles. Why might not that question have reference to this schoole-point and deepe mysterie: How farre God out of his certaine knowledge and foresight of sinne may punish sinne before it be committed, for the prevention of a greater sinne. Mr Calvin cannot dislike this, when hee holds that God may and doth reprobate without relation to sinne, onely to manifest his owne absolute power, I cannot say justice; for where there is no offence, there is no object of justice. I doe easily beleeve if any man should disparage or detract from Mr Calvin, you would not be well pleased, and therefore I must needs say, that it is very offensive to mee to heare him disparage the Apostles; especially that the chiefe Apostle should be charged with ignorance after the descending of the holy ghost, when as all they who are fellow-citizens with the Saints, and of the household of God are built upon the foundation of the Apostles, &c. Ephes. 2. 20. then to vilifie and charge them with errors, whether this be not to weaken the foundation of Christian Religion, and so of a dangerous consequence.

Reverence due  
unto the Apostles.

G. H.

**T**HAT the Jewes were Gods onely people I grant, but that they had in all things Christs approbation for the truth of their doctrine, that I utterly deny. The Sadduces (as we reade Acts 23. 8.) held that there was no resurrection, nor Angell, nor spirit; and the Pharisees made the Commandements of none effect by their traditions, Matth. 15. 6. All which was so farre from Christs approbation, as he altogether condemned both it and them by reason of it: But it should seeme you allude to that of our Saviour, Math. 23. 2. The Scribes and Pharisees sit in Moses chayre; all therefore whatsoever they bid you observe, that



that observe and doe; but will you bee pleased to take along with you *Maldonates* exposition of those words, *Cum jubet servare & facere quæ Scriba & Pharisei dum in cathedra Moſis ſedent dicunt, non de ipſorum ſed legis & Moſis doctrina loquitur; perinde enim eſt, ac ſi dicat, Omnia quæ lex & Moſes vobis dixerint, Scribis & Phariſæis recitantibus, ſervate & facite, ut Hilarius & Hieronymus videntur intellexiſſe.*

But you crave leave to bee very tender on the behalfe of the Apoſtles, that they ſhould bee charged with that *Pythagoricall*, tranſmigration of ſoules, and that upon none other ground; Whereas *Ianſenius* much enclineth to this opinion if hee imbrace it not, as to mee hee ſeemeth; And *Cyrill* (as witneſſeth *Maldonate*) *exiſtimat Iudeorum opinione imbutos fuiſſe diſcipulos, qui putarent animas ante corpora creatas peccaviſſe, ac propter peccata in corpora detrufas, meliora pejorave pro merito cuiuſque;* It is not I alone then that taxe them but *Ianſenius* and *Cyrill*; And whereas you taxe *Calvin* for taxing them, the former part of his words by you alleaged, are not by him ſpoken of the Apoſtles (as you charge him) but of the *Jewiſh* nation; True indeed it is, that hee imputes rudeneſſe unto them but upon another occaſion, which you conceale. The occaſion then hereof was another queſtion about reſtoring the Kingdome of *Iſrael*. *Acts. i. 6.* *Maldonate* indeed tells us, that upon occaſion of the former queſtion both *Chryſoſtome* and *Theopylact* charge them with abſurdity, as *Ianſenius* doth with great rudeneſſe; which in them perchance you will allow but not in *Calvin*; becauſe hee forſooth, thereby ſeems to intend a reformation not onely of the preſent times but of the Apoſtles; whereas all who have written any thing upon that place, together with *Calvin* condemne the Apoſtles for that queſtion, as dreaming of a temporall Kingdome; Neither can they but condemne it; unleſſe they ſhould condemne Chriſts anſwere which condemneth that queſtion.

You demaunde why that queſtion of the Apoſtles touching the man borne blind, might not have reference to this ſchoole point and deepe myſtery (as you terme it) how farre God out of his foreſight of ſinne, may puniſh it before it bee committed, Which is indeed ſo deepe a myſterie as I thinke never any Schooleman before your ſelfe, ſo much as made a queſtion of it; to decree the puniſhment of ſinne before it bee committed may well ſtand with the divine juſtice, but actually to puniſh before ſinne be actually committed, no Divine I thinke ever affirmed; and if you had but a little conſidered the words of the text, you would eaſily have found that the Apoſtles queſtion could not have reference to any ſuch quirke, it being concerning ſinne paſt, not too come; *Who did ſinne, this man to his Parents?*

After this you take occaſion though ſomewhat impertinently, to run out againſt *Calvin*, and his doctrine of Reprobation without relation to ſinne; Which whither hee conſtantly held or no I cannot certainly determine, but this I certainly conclude, that if hee held it, I hold him not therein to bee followed, and aſſure you, you ſhall not diſpleaſe mee



by laying any just censure upon him. I willingly acknowledge him to have been an excellent instrument in the Church of God, and a man of a deepe judgment, specially in the exposition of holy Scriptures (which I think none condemne more then those who have read him least;) yet withall I freely confesse hee had his errors, which beeing but a man I mervaile not at, but should much rather have marvelled had hee been without them.

You seeme to take it offensively that a cheife *Apostle* should bee charged with ignorance after the descending of the holy Ghost; yea but then you must of necessitie bee offended with *St Paul* who withstood him to the face, because hee was to bee blamed *Gal. 2. 11.* and which is more, with *St Peter* himselfe too, who freely confesseth, that hee was ignorant of the calling of the *Gentils* to the fellowship of the Gospell, till by a vision and a voyce from heaven it was made knowne to him. *Aquinas* in his Commentaries on *Gal. 2.* following *St Augustin* in his disputations against *St Hierome* tells us, that the *Apostles*, even after the descending of the holy Ghost upon them, might sinne venially but not mortally; to which purpose hee alleageth that of *St Iohn*, *If wee say wee have noe sinne wee deceive our selves and the trueth is not in us*, 1. *Iohn 1. 8.* the like may wee say of their ignorance (the distinction beeing rightly understoode) it was a veniall not a mortall ignorance.

To your passage, that the household of God is built upon the foundation of the *Apostles*, you might have beene pleased to add that which there immediately followeth, and prophets, *Iesus Christ* himselfe beeing the cheife corner stone; where the *Apostles* are joyned with the Prophets, who no doubt were ignorant of some things, though neither of them could erre in any thing which they preached, or committed to writing, for the publique use of the Church; not but that of themselves, by the very condition of humane frailty they were subject to errour, but because therein they were most infallibly guided by the spirit of *Christ*, who therefore is called the cheife corner stone; In which regard *Aquinas* commenting upon the words by you alleaged, telleth us, that hee is the principall foundation, upon which the whole household together with the *Apostles* are built, and the *Apostles* themselves a secondary foundation upon which the rest of the family is built; and that not soe much in regard to their persons as their doctrine immediately inspired from the holy ghost. And this I trust is not to derogate from the *Apostles*; it beeing noe more then themselves have left upon record to posteritie.

But now my Lord if wee should looke backe a little to these two last Sections, wee shall easily discern that they reach not home to your purpose; which (as you professe) was to prove that my opinion touching the worlds preservation from decay, was of a dangerous consequence in religion; whereas you spend both these Sections in catching at some assertions of mine, touching some errours in the Iewish nation and the *Apostles*; Now whither this bee to prove mine



mine opinion of the worlds immunitie from old age of a dangerous consequence, which was the thing you undertooke, I leave that to your owne judgement to determine.

G. G.

Fourthly to my understanding and judgement, not some particular texts, but even the whole current of Scripture seemes to runne a quite contrary course to your opinion; as that things should be compared to shadowes, that all is but vanity, the world passeth away, we groane under corruption, wee dwell in houses of clay, the world vanisheth: And to save my selfe a needlesse labour, that I may give you your owne due commendation, the very texts of Scripture which you alleadge against your selfe, are as effectuell as any I can produce, especially that page 487, where the Prophet of the New Testament seemes to allude to the Prophecie of the old: Revel. 21. And I saw a new heaven and a new earth, for the first heaven and the first earth passed away, and there was no more sea. By your answer to which place in mine owne particular I cannot receive satisfaction; for to mine understanding this text cleane overthrowes your opinion, the eternity of the world and the Annihilation.

The very phrases of Scripture point out corruption.

G. H.

You say that to your understanding the whole current of Scripture seemes to runne a quite contrary course to my opinion; wherein it may happily fare with you as with the Schollars of Pythagoras, who having their mindes accustomed to nothing but numbers, conceived the whole frame of nature to be composed of number; yet withall you are pleased to confesse, that the texts of Scripture which I alleadge against my selfe, are as effectuell as any you can produce; To which texts I have made answers, but you no reply to them; which till you doe I shall hold them sufficient.

You instance but in one passage, culled out as it seemes for your purpose out of the Revelation of St Iohn, I saw a new heaven and a new earth, for the first heaven and the first earth were passed away, and there was no more sea: By mine answer to which place you say you cannot receive satisfaction, thereby implying, as the words import, that you have received it by mine answers to the rest; but if you had beene pleased withall to adde, why you had not received satisfaction in this, you should therein both have discharged your selfe fairer, and farther obliged mee; onely you say, that in your understanding, it overthrowes my opinions both of the eternitie of the world, and the Annihilation thereof; what both these at one clap? eternitie and Annihilation both at one blow? this were newes indeed: Why my Lord, the one of these overthrowes the other, and yet doth the same text of Scripture overthrow both? When I hold the world to bee eternall, my meaning is, as I have often and often expressed my selfe, in the course of nature; And I hope you will not say that in the course of nature



nature we shall have new heavens and a new earth; Again, either the new heavens and earth must succede upon the abolition of the olde, and then you holde the Annihilation: or by the renovation of the World, and then you hold the eternitie thereof; And truly if there be no more sea, as the words import, this text doth not cleane overthrow my opinion of Annihilation, as you affirme, but rather confirme it. Now for the sense of the Text, what *St John* meanes by the new heavens and the new earth, I have already so fully and clearely unfolded it in the place by you alleaged, as I presume I shall not neede heere to make any farther repetition thereof.

G. G.

The sentence  
of death past  
upon the  
World as well  
as upon man.

**H**ereunto I will adde this reason. When the sentence of death past upon man *Morte morieris*; how probable it is, that the World was likewise comprehended within the compasse of this sentence, seeing it was only created for man, and man is the end of all; Now the end fayling, necessary it is that the meanes ordayned and directed to the end should together fayle with the end; to except the species and to fasten eternitie to it, it is only to raise up an idol in the fancie; Indeed generalls are gathered out of particulars, not to bee preserved from corruption (as the Chymist who drawes the quintessence and casts away the drosse) but generalls are gathered from particulars, either for predication as in Logick, or to support some generall attributes, as in the Metaphisicks, but eternity can be comprehended in neither of these, for it is no generall attribute, but it is only a duration, which is as competible to the lowest individuum, as to the highest genus.

G. H.

**Y**ou say it is probable that when the sentence of death passed upon man, it passed likewise upon the World, seeing it was only created for man, which is true, if by man you understand mankinde; the World beeing not created for any one man but for mankinde in generall: Now though it bee true that in *Adam*, the sentence of death passed upon all the sonnes of *Adam*, that is, that all who were borne of *Adam* must againe returne to their dust as *Adam* did, yet that the race of *Adam* should cease in the course of nature, wee no where finde, neither is any such thing included in that sentence, *Morte morieris*, but rather the contrary in that other *Crescite & multiplicamini*; the vigour of which blessing or promise is yet as fresh as if it had been but now given. Since then the World hath relation to the whole race of *Adam*, which in the course of nature cannot cease, soe neither can the world but by a supernaturall meanes; and soe might that Sentence *Thou shalt dye the death*, bee extended to it, otherwise in a naturall course it could not possibly be comprehended within the compasse of that Sentence, sithence the celestially bodies which are the principall part of the World are no way subject

to



to death; Lastly, how can you comprehend the world within this Sentence of death, who hold that in regard of the substance thereof it shall bee eternall?

You say that the end fayling, necessary it is that the meanes ordain'd to the end should together fayle with the end; which rule I cannot but approve, but must tell you againe, that the race of *Adam* shall not fayle in the course of nature, as neither shall the world; but by a supernaturall power, both shall fayle, which you hold not, maintaining that the world shall remaine when the race of *Adam* is remooved from it, and so stand not to your owne rule.

That which followes heere in this Section touching the *Species*, as if it were a meere idoll of the fancy, having no subsistence of it selfe, is in truth a meere fancy, there being some things attributed to the *species* which in no sort can bee attributed to any *individuum* of that kinde; as duration, for the purpose, which you say is as competible to the lowest *individuum* as to the highest *genus*; whereas noe *Individuum* of mankinde yet ever lasted a 1000 yeers, but mankinde hath lasted many thousand; or how can wee say with any colour of truth, that any one man may in the course of nature live as long as the whole race of *Adam* (by a succession from father to sonne) hath don, and may do; which whole race upon the matter is nothing else but the *species* of mankinde, whither the fancie soe conceive it or noe. There is not a *species* of mankinde because wee soe conceive it, but wee so conceive it because it is; and though there were no man to conceive it, yet doubtlesse the *species* of other things would still remaine.

G. G.

**A**nd here I desire to bee rightly understoode, I conceive that mortality and corruption are proper to the corporeall nature, in opposition to the spirituall; soe that before the sentence of death was past, both man and the world it selfe were corruptible, as subsisting of contrary qualities, which were ever active and opposing each other; thus man should then have had severall degrees and periods of his age, hee should have bin borne an infant, and growne to the years of perfection, and the world should have had her severall seasons; but heere was the difference, before the sentence was past, Gods mercy would have preserved both from corruption, and originall grace in mans sanctifying his nature, was the sure pledge of his eternity.

Corruption  
implied in the  
very principles,

G. H.

**C**orruption you say is proper to the corporeall nature as it stands in opposition to the spirituall; if soe, to the caelestiall bodies and the renovated world, except you will say they are spirits and not bodies

Before the sentence of death was past, both man you say and the world were corruptible; whereas the *Apostle* tells us for man, that death



death entred by sinne. Rom. 5. 12. and Moses for the world, God saw every thing he made, and behold it was very good. Gen. 2. 30.

G. G.

! Mans justie  
followes Gods  
justie.

**T**Hus the world hath an inward malady or languishing in respect of the naturall condition, & an outward wound given by the sword of Gods mouth; when the sentence of death past upon man for sinne, it stood with justice to punish so great a sinne not onely in the principalls, but in all the accessories: As if a Baron in this Kingdome should commit high treason, not onely himselfe should suffer, but his Baronie should bee extinct: This agrees with the justice of man, much more with the justice of God, who in Adam did punish his posteritie, even the childe unborne; and therefore much lesse can you exempt the then present state and condition of this world, which was Adams onely possession; should not the world bee corruptible, then it suffers nothing in respect of mans sinne, but as it was so it is, and the Creatures cannot properly bee said to be subject to vanity, or to groane under the burthen of sinne.

G. H.

**T**Hat the world should have an inward languishing maladie, in respect of its naturall condition, is contrary to that in the booke of the *Wisdomes of Solomon*, cap. 1. God made not death, neither hath he pleasure in the destruction of the living; for hee created all things that they might have their being: and the generations of the world were healthfull, and there is no poyson in them, nor the kingdome of death upon earth. And to these very words doth your Lordship seeme to allude in your booke of the fall of man, pag. 396. where you tell us, that all things in their owne proper essence were good, not onely as they were Creatures, but as they are ordained for mans use and service; in their owne roote and in their first ground of nature, they are freed and priviledged from all poyson and infection; onely some after-chance, some ill husband-man came, who after the sowing of the good wheate, did sow his owne cockle. Whereas heere you seeme to say that God himselfe was that husbandman who at first sowed the principles of poyson, infection and corruption in the world. But the very truth is, that you stagger in this point, and know not well what to determine, as appears in the same booke, pag. 26. 'I hope it will sufficiently appeare that shee is corrupted and much declined from her first perfection, which certainly was intended by the founder, and by all probable conjecture was imparted to her in her first institution.

It stood with Gods justice you say to punish the sinne of man, not onely in the principalls but in the accessories; which is true, but how you will prove the world to have beene accessorie to the sinne of man, I know not: All the race of Adam indeed were justly punished with him, because they all sinned, death passed upon all men for that all have sinned. Rom. 5. 12. And againe, By one mans disobedience many were made



*made sinners*: All this I confesse to bee most true in *Adams* posteritie, aswell in regard of sinne as punishment, but that the whole world sinned in *Adam* I no where reade, and presume you will not affirme, sure I am you cannot justifie, and consequently that your argument drawne from the justice of God in punishing sinne, in the accessories aswell as in the principals in this case, is of no validitie.

But if the world say you be not corruptible, it suffered nothing in regard of mans sinne: Will your Lordship bee pleased to heare what some great Divines have held in this point? *Jacques Montaigne* in his booke *de l'Institution de l'homme*, cap. 4. *lib. 1.* having spoken of the fall of man and Angels thus concludeth, *Hic unum tantum pariter rursus* (saith he) *ceteris omnibus incolumibus*, with whom accords *Lutherus* *de veritate religionis Christianae*, lib. 1. cap. 17. *Animantes omnes sunt vergens natura quidam ad inclinationem perfectionis suae, soli homines a possumus et ceteri & absterrent*; and againe, *Magni in illis primigenia sua natura, in nobis degeneravit in peccatum*. And to these wee may adde the noble Lord of *Plessis de veritate religionis Christianae*, cap. 16. *Quam turpiter in se est in homine, in multis quoque nostris lex illa & pollicia quae in universis in quibus singulis refugit*? and within a while after, *Denique non exceptio hominum nunquam illis mundi virtutibus quod gradum suum, quod dignitatem non sicut autem in se est & obsequat*? And if this will not serve the turne, let us heare the Prophet *David*, *They continue this day according to thine ordinance*, Psal. 119. 91. *Hee hath made them fast for ever and ever, hee hath given them a law which shall not bee broken*: Psal. 148. 6. All which passages, to me seeme to imply, that all the other Creatures, men and Angels onely excepted, still inviolably observe that law which their and our Creatour at first set them, not swarving at all from their originall copie. Some irregularities I grant there may bee in some particulars, either in excesse or in defect, which may serve as remembrancers to put us in minde of the fall of man; but that the whole frame of nature should thereby be disjoynted and become subject to corruption, and a universall declination, is more then can bee warranted either from reason or scripture, or any other sufficient authoritie, yet it may not bee denied but that the Creatures are become *subiects to vanitie*, and groane under the burden of sinne by meanes of wicked mens use, or rather abuse of them, tending to the dishonour of the Creatour, or the hurt of his servants, or the service of his enemies.

G. G.

**F**or your further assurance hereon, marke the proceedings of Gods judgement; The serpent is cursed, Gen. 3. 14. then the earth is cursed, Gen. 3. 17. Now I pray what follows a curse, surely no lesse then death as it is intimated, Deut. 21. 22. Cursed is every one that hangeth on a tree, Death and curse are so inseparable, that the sonne of God submitting himselfe to the one, could not be excused from the other. Galat. 3. 13. Christ is made a curse for us, to redeeme us from the curse of the law; whereby is implied the taking up of our sinnes, together with the death and passion of Christ; as in

The manner & degrees observed in Gods sentence.



the contrary, when after the deluge God promiseth not to bring on the earth any further suddaine destruction, hee saith, Gen. 8. 21. I will not againe curse the ground any more for mans sake. But most excellently this is set forth in the last chapter of the Bible, 22. of the Revel. 2. and 3. where the heavenly Jerusalem is excellently described, there is set out the tree of life whose leaves did heale the nations, and then there shall bee no more a curse, thereby implying no longer death or corruption: If then to be exempted from these bee a speciall priviledge & prerogative to that heavenly Jerusalem, (the prooffe whereof seemes to bee the whole scope and intent of this booke and prophesie) how can you then challenge this honour as belonging to these our earthly tabernacles.

G. H.

I Was glad to see your Lordship heere in this Section so plentifull in the quotations of Scripture, but truly I could wish some of them had beene more pertinent. You bid mee marke the proceeding of Gods judgement in the curse of the serpent, and the earth; but what from that order of proceeding can bee deduced for your purpose, or what advantage you can draw from the curse of the serpent I cannot see.

That the earth is subject to death, that is to a finall dissolution I doe not deny, nay I cannot but freely acknowledge; but that it is subject either to a naturall or lingring death, or to any death at all by reason of of this curse, as yet I finde it not sufficiently proved. It is said indeed, *Cursed is every one that hangeth on a tree*; which shewes that in speciall a curse was annexed to that kinde of death; but that death should necessarily follow upon every curse, this in my understanding it implies not: And though it bee true that *Christ* as our suretie became lyable to the curse of the law, and by reason of that curse to death; yet that death should necessarily ensue upon every curse, cannot from thence neither (as I conceive) be necessarily inferred: Every excommunicate person is accursed, and upon repentance restored againe to the Church, and so freed from death. Your selfe alleadge those words, Gen. 8. *I will not againe curse the ground any more for mans sake*; whereby is implied that the flood was a curse to the earth, yet was it so farre from bringing death thereunto, that it rather reduced the earth to its native and primitive condition, which was to bee covered with waters; a death indeed it was, and so a curse to the inhabitants of the earth, (some few only excepted) but to the earth it selfe as an element not so; and in case it had beene, the earth being safely delivered from that inundation, and restored againe to it selfe, might not unjustly bee said to have beene restored againe from death to life: And so much indeed is implied in the very next verse, *While the earth remaineth, seed-time, and harvest, and cold and heat, and summer and winter, and day and night shall not cease*; that is, saith S. Chrysostome upon the place, *Ad usque seculi consumptionem, immotum eorum permanebit ministerium*.

Your last passage touching the heavenly *Ierusalem*, which you say hath a speciall priviledge to be exempted from this curse, hurts not me  
since



since I challenge no such prerogative to these our earthly tabernacles, as you pretend; if by earthly tabernacles you meane our bodies, as the Scriptures use that phrase; and if you meane the earth, as your argument imports, I doe not wholly exempt that, neither from some effects of the curse; but that the curse brought on upon it an irrecoverable consumption, or a languishing sicknesse by degrees, inevitably tending to death and destruction, which is the thing to bee proved, that I finde not yet made good, nor I thinke can bee: What the curse upon it was, appeares there by the words immediately following; *Thornes and thistles shall it bring forth to thee*, *Tibi*, as *S. Augustine* hath well observed, *de Gen. ad lit. lib. 3. cap. 11. Additum est tibi; quia non est dictum, Spinas & tribulos pariet, sed pariet tibi, id est, Tibi jam ista nasci incipiant ad laborem, quæ ad pastum tantummodo alijs animalibus antea nascebantur*: Neither is it indeed likely but that the earth brought forth thornes and thistles before the curse, (the workes of the Creation being fully finished within the compasse of the fixe dayes) but after the curse it brought them forth for the increase of mans punishment; so as the curse rather lighted upon man who was guiltie, then upon the guiltlesse earth; and herein is *Saint Augustine* followed by *Aquinas*, and many other famous Divines.

I will onely alleadge the words of two, and those (as their workes well shew) no babes in Divinity, *Abulensis* and *Pererius*; whereof the first commenting upon the text touching the curse of the earth, thus writes, *Sed istam maledictionem terra putant aliqui esse diminutionem in fertilitate, quasi si homo non peccasset, fuisset futura feracior: & talem eam creatam dicunt, & permansuram si homo non peccasset. Sed istud non est verum; quia Deus non mutavit aliquid in natura rerum propter peccatum hominis. Nam perfectio illa & fertilitas terra, in qua creata est, pertinebat ad perfectionem operum Dei, sed indignum est quod Deus diminuat gloriam suam quæ est in operum suorum perfectione propter iniquitatem alienam; ergo non minuerat illam fertilitatem propter hominis peccatum. Item non est verisimile, quia si Deus statim peccante homine ablaturus esset terra fertilitatem, frustra produxisset eam mox tollendo, cum sciret peccaturum hominem, non ergo producere eum debuisset si ablaturus erat.* *Pererius* likewise writing upon the same words accords in opinion with *Abulensis*, *Nec putandum naturalem terræ fertilitatem propter hominis peccatum, aut omnino demptam fuisse aut diminutam, eodem modo se illa habuit ante & post hominis peccatum.* Which opinion of theirs is in my judgement very probable, in as much as that curse extended not to the other elements, much lesse to the heavens by which the fruitfulnessse of the earth is maintained; all which notwithstanding was created for the use of man, aswell as the earth it selfe; of which no doubt that of the Prophet *David* might in all former ages, and in all future ages (till the consummation of all things) shall as truly be verified, *The earth is full of the goodnesse of the Lord*, *Psal. 33. vers. 5.*



G. G.

Our decay is  
no dishonour  
to God.

**T**Hus having briefly given mine owne reasons, now I come to answer yours. I remember but two onely reasons produced; 1<sup>o</sup> that you say the preservation of the world makes more for the honour of Gods wisdom, power, providence, and the rest of his attributes, then the decay; as being most agreeable and answerable to his goodnesse; but if this reason be admitted, then your annihilation must needs be annihilated, and you might further extend your reason even to the decay of individualls, and make them all eternall, as the world is selfe is eternall.

G. H.

**O**F what strength your reasons are, it hath appeared by mine answers, as by your answers it will now appeare of what force my reasons are. You say you remember but two reasons produced by me, and yet your selfe undertake to answer three; and I presume had you advisedly perused my answers to your first arguments, you would have found more.

One of my reasons I confesse, and (as I still thinke) a very strong one is, that the Divine attributes, especially the Providence are more clearly manifested by the world from decay, then by the permission of a decay; but if this reason be admitted, then must my Annihilation bee annihilated; why so? Annihilation is the immediate worke of the Creator, and equivalent to Creation, so is not decay: Againe, betweene the decay of the world, whiles man (the onely admirer and adorer of the Divine Providence) remaines in it, and the annihilation thereof when man shall bee removed from thence, is a large difference, easily discernable by any unpartiall eye.

The Providence extends to the Individualls, but in reference to the universe; and because the universe cannot be preserved in the course of nature, without the decay and death of the Individualls, therefore hath the Providence ordained the decay of the one for the preservation of the other; the perpetuities of both being in a naturall course incompatible, impossible to consist together.

G. G.

Gods honour  
must be este-  
med by his own  
will.

**I**T is true that to mans esteeme and repute, the glorious and immortal Angels may seeme to make more for Gods honour, then poore dejected contemptible and corruptible wormes; but in verity and truth the highest Angels are as nothing in respect of God, and the poorest wormes are alike, for they can bee no lesse then nothing; Wee must then estimate Gods honour not by our owne imaginary dignity of the Creatures, but in relation to Gods will and ordinance, that his free power may appeare in disposing his owne Creatures: And we must not prescribe him how the Creatures may bee more perfect then now they are, suppose to be eternall, and so to tend more to his glory; but we must submit all to his free



free will and disposing. And hereof we must judge either by the meanes which hee useth to accomplish things, or by the promises which hee makes to that purpose; but meanes you can produce none, for the great world and the little subsist of the same principles, and are in all things alike: neither can you fasten or lay hold on Gods promises for eternitie, since all doe agree that there must bee a dissolution of the world.

G. H.

**A**S all the Creatures are nothing in regard of God, so the glory and honour of God in it selfe is altogether invariable, alwayes one and the same without either addition or diminution; yet because we in this state of mortalitie cannot see it in it selfe, therefore we judge of it according to the excellencie of his workmanship exposed to our view, which is one of the great bookes he hath given us, to read his greatnesse and goodnesse in them; and the fairer the characters of this booke are, the more legible (in regard of our capacities) are his attributes therein, undoubtedly his power, and wisdom, and bountie, shine more clearely and eminently in the celestiall bodies then in the terrestriall; *The heavens declare the glory of God*, saith the *Psalmist*, that is in a speciall and singular manner; so as to affirme or conceive that one Creature doth not more fully expresse the glory of God then another, because they are all as nothing in comparison of him, is a position very unanswerable.

That we must submit all to his free will and disposing I freely grant, (though that position by your leave, somewhat favour of *Calvinisme*) but that he hath so disposed of this goodly and beautifull frame, as to let it runne to ruine, that I deny; And as we may not prescribe to him how the Creatures may be more perfect then now they are, so we may not derogate from that perfection wherein he hath created them; this being to derogate from his honour, and through the fides of corrupt nature to wound him.

But meanes for the worlds preservation you say I can produce none, for that the great and the little world subsist of the same principles, and are in all things alike. Whereunto I have often answered, that they subsist not of the same principles, nor are in all things alike, nay in the very chiefe thing they are not alike, there being nothing in man correspondent to the heavenly bodies, by which the great world is preserved from decay: And for the elements though they have their changes in the great world, yet are their losses first or last repayed and repaired by an equivalent compensation, which in the little worlde is not so, unlesse by the little world you understand not individuall man, but mankind in generall.

Lastly, I cannot lay hold you say on Gods promises for the worlds eternitie, since all doe agree there must bee a dissolution. That there must be a dissolution by a power supernaturall all indeed agree, which may well enough stand with Gods promises, for an eternitie in a naturall course; nay in very deed I cannot see how his truth can well stand  
with



with such a decay as is pretended; his truth I meane consisting in the certainty of his promises made to mankinde, *Gen. 8. 22.* to his Church the noblest part of mankinde; *Ier. 31. vers. 35. 36.* to *Christ* the head of the Church, *Psalme 89. vers. 29. 36. 37.* and all three confirmed by the stabilitie of the Creature, as I have shewed in another place; but put case there were in Scripture no promise found for the stabilitie of the Creature, experience that it hitherto hath beene so, and positions drawne from Gods word for the confirmation of that truth, should in reason meethinkes amount at least to the value of a promise.

G. G.

The honour of  
the Primitive  
Church.

How religion  
must bee esti-  
mated.

How religion  
hath declined.

In the time of  
Moses was the  
perfection of  
the law.

**Y**our second argument in behalfe of modernitie, because Christian Religion hath fallen in the latter time of the worlds duration, doth very much faile; for we must understand that religion is not inbred and naturall unto us, but revealed; and from the time wherein it is revealed wee must thence make our comparison, and so shall you easily discern the deficiency; though I have subscribed to the Church of England, yet I prefer the Primitive Church for piety, holinesse, mortification, the glory of martyrdom, the great measure of faith and knowledge before the Church of England. I will yet adde further, that all these glorious promises concerning Christs Church, were verified in the Primitive Church; so that in effect I doe beleve that Church to bee sealed and confirmed by Canonickall Scripture, and therefore God grant that it may bee the patterne and example to all other Churches. This Primitive Church I hold farre inferiour to the Church of the Apostles, where they had the Sonne of God in person, to teach, instruct, and to governe them, where they had the Holy Ghost in a visible manner descending to sanctifie their hearts, and to make them his holy temples, that with the gift of tongues and working of miracles, they might convert all nations. Heere we are now come to our first station, all comparisons must be in the same kinde and degree; as for example, you must not compare the Church militant with the Church triumphant, neither the state of grace with the law, nor the law with the state of nature, nor the like; but every of these are to be compared with it selfe, and then you shall finde that the farther the distance is from the originall, the greater is the declination.

Though I honour and reverence the Macchabees, yet surely the Synagogue did exceed in the time of the Prophets; and though particular Prophets might bee inspired, yet was the state of the Jewes much more glorious, when Solomons Temple stood in his full beauty, and before this temple was huilt, Davids harpe made excellent musicke; but the delivery of the people under their Iudges and Governours was wonderfull and miraculous; yet alas all these times and persons come short of Moses, who spake with God face to face, and heard his voyce out of a cloud, and became the first law-giver; and therefore no doubt the best expositor of the law, and the most Zealous observer of the law: Heere is my second station.

I proceed then to the state of nature, though the Israelites might have the knowledge of the true God in Egypt, and expect the fulfilling of the propheties, yet alas this was nothing in respect of Jacobs groaning upon his death-bed; Expectabo salutare tuum Domine; Jacob might yeeld unto Isaacks sacrifice.



see, but the promise was first made unto Abraham, who was the father of the faithfull and the friend of God; and therefore received the benediction of Melchisedeck: Heere is my third station.

Circumcision  
began with A-  
braham.

So did religion decline by degrees from Noah, as may well appeare by the strange attempts of men, the confusion of tongues: Noah was in effect a second Adam, and before his time religion did decline, as may appeare by this heavy judgement of the deluge; so ascending, at length we come unto Enoch, (mistaken I thinke for Enos) who did institute a solemne divine service, yet Abel was the first Martyr with his typicall sacrifice, and he gives way to Adam, who in respect of his knowledge, his experience of Gods mercies and judgements, the losse of Paradise, the fearefulness of sinne, the horror of death which himselfe hath drawne upon all his posteritie, the traditions of the Church doe recommend him unto us as a true Penitentiarie; and not unlike, seeing that in him Semen Evangelij was first sowne, for the promise was first made unto him, Semen mulieris conteret serpentis caput: Here is my fourth station.

Adam a true  
Penitentiarie.

## G. H.

**M**Y second argument (as you call it, though I know not why) doth very much fayle you say; for that religion is not naturall unto us but revealed. Why my Lord, the question now is, whether my opinion touching the worlds preservation from decay, bee of dangerous consequence in the matter of religion: To cleare my selfe from this imputation I said, that the Christian religion falling in the latter times, accounting the worlds duration from the first creation to this present age; it must needs follow, that hee who stands for modernitie, must consequently stand for the honour of religion; so as whither it bee naturall or revealed, it is not at all materiall, it carrying the same relation to the time in which it was first instituted, whither it be the one or the other: And thus much your selfe instantly confesse, telling us that from the time wherein it was revealed we must make the comparison; but herein wee differ, I make the comparison from the time wherein it was revealed upward to the Creation, you downward to the present age. I say that the world from the Creation, or at leastwise from the fall of man (which makes no great oddes in regard of time) was never so happy in the point of religion as since the incarnation of the Sonne of God, and the publishing of his gospell; Whereunto you reply that the Primitive Christian Church is to bee preferr'd before the ensuing ages: which in very truth is no answer to mine Argument, as any novice may easily discern.

You seeme to distinguish betwixt the Church of the Apostles and the Primitive Church, which to my understanding is a distinction without a difference; and how farre downward you extend your Primitive Church, I know not; but thus much am I sure of, that it is the generall consent of all the best learned Divines on all sides, that for matter of knowledge in Divinity, this present age farre exceeds many which have gone before it. And from Constantines time downward,

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it is certaine that the Christian Church flourished more then in the ages precedent. And thus if wee compare the state of grace with it selfe (to say nothing of the reformed religion) it is not true that the farther the distance is from the originall, the greater is the declination; The Christian Church and religion have in all ages in somethings gotten somewhat, and lost in others: When it got in knowledge, it lost in zeale, and when it got both in buildings and revenues, it lost in zeale and knowledge.

That which followes touching your second third and fourth stations, is as lyable to manifold exceptions, as it is altogether impertinent; in as much as the question is not touching those stations (as you call them) within themselves, but as they have reference each to other, and make up the body of religion since the fall of man. And being thus compared will you bee pleased to acknowledge your owne words in your booke of *the Fall of man* proved by reason, pag. 5. 'Thus in this great world you may observe, that first there was a state of nature, which was the fore-runner to the law: then followed the law, which was a preparative to the gospell: now at length succeeds the gospell, wherein there is the fulnesse of knowledge, as much as is befitting our nature and present condition. It is most certaine that true religion since the incarnation of *Christ*, hath gained much in two maine points, whereof the one is the cleare manifestation of those misteries of faith, which are necessary to salvation, which before were onely shadowed forth in types & figures; the other is, the communication of these misteries to all nations, which before were shut up within the pale of *Jurie*, all the world besides lying in palpable idolatry & damnable superstition. Now the manifestation and communication of those misteries falling out in the latter ages of the world (as the duration thereof now standeth) he that undertakes the defence of modernitie, is so far from wounding religion thereby, as that he cannot but advance it.

G. G.

**I**F you will not admit this kinde of comparison wherein every religion is compared with it selfe, the beginnings with the progresse, but that you will needes tie your selfe strictly to the very times, then I would aske when Adam was first created in the state of innocency with originall grace, and should have conversed with Angels; whither doe you conceive this religion or the reformed religion to bee the more excellent? Or if herein I cannot prevaile, then I will yet ascend a little higher, suppose the blessed Angels who were the first Creatures; Surely there must bee as great a difference betweene them and us, as there is betweene *status viæ* and *status patriæ*; They are Gods most ancient Creatures, and therefore are nearest to the ancient of dayes: And God grant that I may no longer live then I doe truely honour the Ancients, and for all novelties and innovations I respect them not.

G. H.



G. H.

**Y**OU close up this discourse with a needlesse interrogation, whether *Adams* religion in the state of innocencie or the reformed be the more excellent? I will answer your question with another of the same kinde, whether you thinke the reformed or the *Romish* religion the more excellent? And though you know well enough that this controversie touching religion, is to bee understood since the fall, yet considering the sonne of God had not beene incarnate, had *Adam* persisted in the state of innocency, you might have called to minde that of *S. Gregory*, *fælix culpa qua talem & tantum meruit redemptorem*; *Adam* in his state of innocency might fall and did fall, and had not *Christ* interposed himselfe, without redemption; but such as are chosen according to the purpose of God in *Christ*, can never finally and totally fall away.

Having compared man in the state of innocency with himselfe after the fall, you goe on and compare man after the fall with the blessed Angels which never fell; whereas the comparison should have beene, if you would needes compare them, betweene man since the fall, and the Apostate Angels who were Gods ancient Creatures, as well as those which kept their first station; and yet are now so farre from being nearest to the ancient of dayes, that they are farthest off: And for the blessed Angels themselves, their condition is happier now then at their first creation, being by the mediation of *Christ* their head, so confirmed in their happines, as there is no possibility of their falling from God, as neither is there of reconciling to God.

God grant you say, that you may no longer live then you doe truly honour the Ancients; and for all novelties and innovations you respect them not. Whereunto I reply, that for my selfe I doe most unfainedly honour the Ancients as much as your Lordship, but their defects (to which as men they were subject) I thinke I am not bound to honour, but wish I may no longer live, then I truly honour vertue, and the truth wheresoever I finde it: With *S. Cyprian* the holy Bishop and glorious Martyr I professe, *Consuetudo sine veritate est vetustas erroris*; in as much as *Christ* hath said, *Ego sum veritas, non ego sum consuetudo*: And for innovations without this ground, I am so farre from respecting them that I utterly detest them; yet because the redemption of captivated truth is often branded with the odious name of Innovation, I say in that case with *Scaliger*, *Nos non sumus novatores, sed vos estis veteratores*.

G. G.

**Y**OUR third and last argument, for I remember no more, is how farre wee stand bound as to our native soyle, so to our native times, whereby your selfe are justified and your adversaries taxed with ingratitude, with an undervaluing or repining at Gods blessings, which is a kinde of disloyaltie as it were

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were to worke a discontentment in mens mindes : For satisfaction I say, that to arguments which are not grounded in reason and judgement, but are drawne from love and affection, I shall give ever a sleight answer. Your selfe confesse that some ages of the world have beene obscure and barbarous, shall they therefore who lived in those ages bee bound to say that they were glorious and flourishing times : Doe not oppose judgement to affection, when as both may well subsist together ; Were it not a great absurditie in me to preferre Cotshall before Lombardie, or Barstaple before Naples ? No doubt but his most excellent Majestie of Sweden at this time likes Germany much better then his owne Countrey, which may bee a beginning or preparative to those times which you seeme to fore-sell. pag. 47A.

G. H.

**M**Y third and last argument you say (for you remember no more) is how farre we stand bound, as to our native soyle, so to our native times; which I never proposed as an argument at all, much lesse in the point of religion, but onely as a doubt, desiring by you to be resolved, how it comes to passe that men commonly stand so much for the honour of the Countrey, and so little for the age in which they were borne, considering they have the same relation to the time as to the place of their birth. Whereunto you reply, you shall ever give a sleight answer to arguments drawne from affection, not from judgement; which indeed is a sleight put off, the question still remaining, why mens affections should rather bee tyed to the place, then the time of their birth, there being none other reason to bee given hereof (as I conceive) but the squint eye of envy against those who most excell in the present times, the edge whereof is taken off in regard of those who lived in former ages; and besides wee feele the smart of the present, but not of the times past: which I alleadged as a great prejudice against my opinion.

My selfe you say confesse, that some ages have beene obscure and barbarous; shall they therefore say you who lived in those ages bee bound to say that they were glorious and flourishing times? My Lord I doe not confesse it against my selfe (as your words seeme to imply) but professe it against you; and were you not carried by affection rather then judgement, your selfe would soone confesse it, together with all the learned men of this latter age, and withall freely acknowledge the speciall goodnesse of Almighty God to this latter age in regard of many precedent; which hee that knoweth not must surely bee ignorant, and he that acknowledgeth not very ingratefull: In which number I will not be so bold or uncharitable as to ranke your Lordship, yet in very truth I cannot but marvell that so learned & wise a man as your selfe, should so highly magnifie those times condemned for barbarisme by all the best Writers in Christendome, and withall so undervalue your owne, as if there were nothing praise-worthy in it; in so much as I verily beleeve if those men who then lived should now revive, and see the present times (being convinced by the evident beames of truth



truth flashing in their eyes) they would easily confesse that against themselves and their owne times, and on behalfe of ours, which you refuse to acknowledge.

Though *Lombardie* may be preferr'd before *Cotshall* in regard of the fatnesse of the soyle, yet may *Cotshall* bee preferr'd before it againe in regard of pasturage for sheepe, and some other commodities: And so though *Naples* may bee preferr'd before *Barstaple*, in wines, and fruits, and silkes, and buildings; yet in beefes, and muttons, & veales, & corne, & cottons, and farges, and such like more necessary for the life of man, *Barstaple* may bee preferr'd before it: And as it is in places so is it in ages, they excell each other in different respects. To say that former ages excelled us in all things is to doate too much upon them; and againe to say, that wee in all things excell them is too much partialitie towards our selves; It were good then (as you say) to joyne affection and judgement together: which I wish you practised as well as taught.

Touching his most excellent Majestie of *Sweden* (now with God) I nothing doubt but in regard of his valour, his justice, his wisdom, his temperance, his bounty, his piety, his learning, his victories, hee might as truly bee so styled as any of the Ancients; and happily you would bee troubled to parallell him in all respects, yet after ages will certainly value him at a higher rate then the present; and I am so charitable as to beleeve that his comming into *Germany*, was not so much for love of that Country (inferiour to his owne in some respects) as for the liberty of that people, the liberty of religion, the propagation of the gospell, and the honour of God; for the effecting whereof hee laid such foundations, that being dead he yet speaketh, and it may be prepared a way to those times which I point at, and you seeme to jest at, but confute not. *Moses* was onely suffered to looke into the promised land, hee entred not into it, but left *Iosua* to conduct the people thither: and so it may bee in this case, as *Vindex* first moved the stone, which-rolling along, tumbled *Nero* out of his throne, though himselfe lived not to see it done:

G. G.

**T**O conclude I will yet adde one farther answer, and it shall be inartificiale à concessis, in effect no more then an example; but in regard of your acknowledgement, of great efficacy. Your booke is full of all good learning, especially in poetry it seemes to excell all others. Pag. 255. you suppose a regeneration, as of other kindes of learning, so of Poetry: and there you say by the testimonie of *Joseph Scaliger*, a man famously learned, that *Buchanan* had attained the highest pitch of Poetry: I pray then take his owne testimony both for the time and place where he lived, as you shall finde in *Camdens Annals*, in the yeare 1582. and in the page of his *Annals* 332; nec cœlo, nec solo, nec sæculo erudito natus.

Mmm 3

G. H.



G. H.

**Y**Our next inartificiall answer (as your selfe are pleased to call it) is borrowed from *Buchanans* testimonie, touching the time & place where he lived, but I doubt you are therein mistaken; Mr *Camdens* words of him are these, *Vir qui nec calo, nec solo, nec seculo erudito, ut ille cecinit, natus*: Where, *ille cecinit*, may aswell if not better bee understood of some other Poet then of *Buchanan* himselfe. And if you will needs fasten it upon him, hee might perhaps lay some aspersion upon the place and time in which hee was borne, thereby to purchase the greater reputation to himselfe; though to speake a truth, that place, at that time did not so much abound with learned men as since it hath, having afforded to us the learnedst King (sometime a schollar to *Buchanan*) that I thinke ever reigned, *Solomon* onely excepted, who was immediately inspired by God himselfe.

Now beside those arguments of mine by you produced to shew that mine opinion is of no such dangerous consequence in the point of religion as you pretend, but rather tends to the honour and advancement thereof; you might have beene pleased to take notice, that in mine answer to your first letter, I vouched the testimonies of almost forty grave Authours ancient and moderne; the greatest part of them Divines, and among them Doctour *Goodman*, now Lord Bishop of *Glocester*, who all prove the divine Providence by the worlds preservation from decay, and constancy in that order in which it was created; but any Divine that ever indeavoured to prove it frō the decay I never yet saw, nor I thinke shall; which to my understanding is an evident argument, That the worlds decay cannot so well stand with the divine Providence as the preservation of it from decay. Moreover I there shewed by the testimonie of the most learned writers, that the worlds preservation from decay best suiteth not onely with the Providence but with the eternitie, the immutability, the ubiquitie, the goodnesse, the wisdom, the power, the truth, the justice, and the glorious beautie of the maker thereof, the stabilitie of the Creature either implying these, or shadowing them forth unto us, which the decay cannot doe.

Besides, I made it appeare that the *Epicureans* who with you held the worlds decay, denyed the Providence, and consequently that the soundest way to convince them was to prove the preservation thereof from decay, by the same wisdom and power which at first created it.

Whereunto I adde the religious uses that might be made of this opinion, in that it not onely serveth as a good evidence against chance and fortune, the stirring up of our endeavours in this present life, and the inflaming of our desires towards the life to come, but for the exercise of our thankfulness in praying God, the contemning of all humane workes in comparison of his, the breeding in us a greater and stronger assurance of his care over us, the making of us more constant in his service, the straiter uniting of us in the linkes of mutuall amitie, and friendship  
among



among our selves, the inducing of us in all our actions to preferre the publique good before the private, the arming of us to undergoe and endure with patience and contentment whatsoever crosses doe or can bee fall us, the observing of Order and the yeelding of due obedience to our superiors, the kindling of our love towards God, and lastly for the stopping of the mouthes of all ingratefull and repining murmerers against God, under the name of declining nature; And that it might appeare I have not to serve mine owne turne forged these uses out of mine owne fancy, I have made them good either out of the Scriptures themselves or the writings of reverend Divines.

Lastly to these uses I have annexed above thirty other passages out of the Canonickall & *Apocryphall* books, all tending to the stability of the Creature, and that by the judgement of the best interpreters and Expositors upon those texts.

Now had your Lordship so earnestly desired as you pretend to receive satisfaction in this point of religion, your way had beene (as I conceive) to have answered these reasons, these uses, these authorities, these scriptures, these expositions, & not thus nakedly to have singled out two or three arguments, whereof one is to this purpose wholly impertinent, and of what sufficiency your answeres are to any of them hath appeared by my replies.

G. G.

**T**Hus having layd downe mine owne grounds, & answered your arguments, give mee now leave to bring a few instances that so it may appeare how farre forth your opinion is of a dangerous consequence <sup>The danger in respect of religion.</sup> in religion; If Scripture bee the rule of our faith, this rule must bee firstly applyed, this Scripture rightly expounded by the testimony of the Ancients, and by the praetise of the Church; to refuse these were not onely to detract from Gods Providence in leaving and forsaking the Church, but to bring religion to the greatest uncertainties, and in effect to reduce the exposition of Scripture to our owne fancies; for there is no Church under the sunne, which is able to maintaine all her owne tenents without some relation to the Ancients, besides the shame and dishonour which will redounde to religion, that it should bee planted, propagated, and all the ancient monuments of piety and devotion, as Cathedralls, Monasteries, Colledges erected in barbarous and ignorant times; therefore to disparage the Ancients & to preferre modernity is of a dangerous consequence in religion.

G. H.

**Y**Our first instance, (as you call it, though wherein it differ from an argument I know not) is from the explication and application of holy Scripture, wherein you say wee are bound to stand to the testimony of the ancients; which I thinke is a safe and sound rule in matters of faith where they all agree, otherwise it is certaine that they much vary aswell from themselves, in diverse places and upon diverse occasions as one from another. It cannot be denied but the ancients

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main-



maintained many opinions which are now forsaken on all sides; and your Lordship I presume will not defend them in all, nay in some I am sure you leave them in the plaine field, & hold the contrary unto them, which being so, they expounding the Scriptures conformably to those opinions, it cannot bee but you must consequently leave them in those expositions. In mine Apologie pag. 265. I shew out of *Andradus, Bannes, Roffensis* and *Cajetan*, how much they attribute to this latter age in exposition of scriptures, and that even in comparison with the ancients; to whom might be added *Salmeron, & Pererius*. The first of which thus writeth in his 51. *disput.* upon the fifth of the *Romans*; *Argumenta petunt à Doctorum antiquitate, cui semper major honor est habitus quam novitatibus. Respondetur, quamlibet etatem antiquitati semper detulisse, & quilibet senex ut quidam Poeta dicit, laudator temporis acti. Sed illud asserimus: quo juniores eo perspicaciores esse Doctores, ita ut Aristoteles dixerit, per incrementa temporum perfectiores esse artes & disciplinas: & apud Danielem, Tu autem Daniel claude sermones, & signa librum usque ad tempus statutum: plurimi pertransibunt, & multiplex erit scientia;* the others words to this purpose are very remarkable in his Commentaries upon *Genesis cap. 6. v. 2.* *Multa quondam vel doctissimis viris aut obscura & dubia aut etiam incognita, nunc vel mediocriter eruditis perspicua indubitata, explorataque percepta sunt.* Nay the Author of the Spectacles in answer to *S<sup>r</sup> Hamphrey Lindes Vita tuta*, pag. 9. assureth us that the Church hath growne and increased in knowledge by degrees, and shall still goe on growing and increasing to the end of the world; To which purpose hee alleageth those words out of *Gregories Moralls, lib. 9. cap. 6.* *Vergente mundi fine superna scientia proficit & largius cum tempore excrescit.* Whereunto hee might well have added that of the same great Doctor, in the same place, *Quicquid in sancta ecclesia initijs latuit, finis quotidie ostendit,* & againe in his sixteenth Homily upon *Ezekiell*, *Quanto mundus ad extremitatem ducitur, tanto nobis aeterna scientia aditus largius aperitur;* Yet this is the man whom in your letters to mee, you seeme to preferre before all the rest of the fathers. It is most apparent that many things have falne out in the Christian Church, since the times of the primitive fathers, which may serve as a Comment upon many passages of the Revelation, and other prophetical writings; neither can there bee a better exposition of a prophesie then by the event. If in these kinds of exposition then wee differ from the Ancients, it is not so much to be imputed to a farther illumination, as to the benefit of time, they ayming at many things in the darke and conjecturally, which wee have seene evidently accomplished. Lastly you cannot be ignorant that many of the Ancients were much addicted to allegoricall expositions, and few of them skilled in the *Hebrew*, by reason whereof they many times missed of the scope of the text, so that to hoodwinke our selves, and in all points to tye our selves strictly to their expositions, what is it but wilfully to cast our selves into manifest errors.

Neither is this to detract from Gods providence, as if at any tyme hee utterly forsooke his Church, but rather to acknowledge and magnifie it, who hath and still doth so governe it, as hee makes the latter times



times in many things beholding to the ancient, and in some things amends the ancient by the latter, thereby to let the world see and know, that hee is the God not onely of the mountaines, but of the vallies, not onely of the former but of latter ages, guiding and governing both as in his unsearcheable wisdom hee thinks fittest; with the unpartiall eye of his never fayling providence. Neither is this to reduce expositions of Scripture to our owne fancies, but by a diligent collation of Scripture with Scripture, by the helps which the ancient have left us, by the events of things, and by the light of histories, and sciences, and languages to make use of those graces and blessings, which it hath pleased almighty God of his infinite goodnes, richly to conferre upon us.

If it bee true, that no Church under the sunne is able to maintaine all their owne tenents without some relation to the ancients: it is as true that no Church under the Sunne maintaines all those tenents which the Ancients did.

That religion should bee planted and propagated in barbarous and ignorant times no man I thinke ever affirmed, but that some latter times have beene more learned then some former, and consequently some former more ignorant then the latter, no learned man I thinke (one onely excepted) ever denied.

Cathedrals, Monasteries and Colledges were not erected in the first primitive times, and their erection arguing as you say piety and devotion should likewise in reason argue, that the times in which they were erected were more pious and devoute then the foregoing.

I doe not so preferre modernity as I would willingly wrong the ancients in their right; nor yet so extoll the ancients as to despise modernity; but shall endeavour to give each of them their due according to my understanding and their desert, and consequently it doth not yet appeare wherein mine opinion is of such dangerous consequence in point of religion as you pretend.

G. G.

**W**Hat is all humane learning but onely the learning of the Ancients? but if the modernes exceede the Ancients then experience of the present times farre surpasseth all humane learning, & Empericks must be preferred before Galenists, an opinion most prejudiciall to the professors of all sciences, to universities, Colledges, libraries, and all ancient foundations; If you say the one ought not to bee without the other, this is nothing, for I compare them together, and by your opinion a mans owne experience is the best part of learning, which derogates much from all Students in generall, and is therefore of a dangerous consequence.

In respect of humane learning.

G. H.



G. H.

**P***liny* gives us a Caveat, that it were good for a man often to have recourse to the title of his booke, that so hee may keepe himselfe close to the point hee intended. Now the point in this discourse intended or at leastwise pretended by you, is matter of religion which in this Section you seeme to have forgotten, but much more in some of those which follow after.

From religion you draw mee to humane learning, whereof I thinke there is little now extant in the world, that can plead the antiquity of 2000 yeares, & none of 3000, so as wee shall bee forced either to make the first Authors thereof, more ancient then their Ancestors, or to confesse that all humane learning was not found out by the most ancient.

Your Lordship tells us in your booke of the *Fall of man*, that all humane learning most flourished at our Saviours birth, which being so, you cannot (as I conceive) withall maintaine that the world since the first creation thereof hath still declined in learning; nay most certaine it is, that by degrees it grew on to that perfection, which was among the ancients; which by degrees againe in succeeding ages degenerated, and in these latter times revived againe; the ancients being now brought into the light, which for a long space lay in obscuritie covered with dust, and eaten with moaths, they are now every where illustrated with fayre impressions, translations, annotations, corrections, additions; this latter age having discovered as a new world, so likewise many rich mines of humane learning in all kinds, which to the ancients were all together unknowne, And truly I cannot but wonder, that any man professing himselfe a Schollar, and borne in these latter times, should either be so ignorant of them, or eagerly bent against them, as without any reservation at all, resolutely to affirme, that *All humane learning belongeth to the Ancients.*

The modernes may and no question doe in many things exceed the Ancients, by correcting their errors, adding to their inventions, and finding out somewhat of their owne which the ancients either knew not at all, or not so perfectly as now they are knowne; but yet that the experience of the present times, farre surpasseth all humane learning, no man I thinke was ever so unreasonable as to affirme, notwithstanding that the Empericks (if by them you understand the *Paracelsians*) are in some things to be preferd before the *Galenists*, no learned *Physitian* will I presume deny; which opinion how it should bee præjudiciall to universities I cannot imagine, but rather conceive that it may helpe to quicken their endeavours, when they shall perceive, that the Ancients had no monopolie of learning granted to them, thereby to ingrosse all knowledge to themselves, but that somewhat is left to be discovered by us, if our industry bee matchable to theirs, and we be not wanting to our selves.

G. G.



G. G.

**I**N particular how doe the Antiquaries leese their reputation, especially heraldry comes to nothing; for all the goodly examples by which wee are stirred up to vertue in imitation of our Auncestors, all these must fayle, when as the modernes doe either equall, or rather much exceed the Ancients. Heraldry.

G. H.

**T**O say that some of the modernes may at leastwise equall some of the Ancients, if not exceed them, is not to derogate from the Ancients; but on the other side to affirme that all the Ancients exceed all the modernes, is doubtlesse most unjustly to derogate from them. Had the most excellent examples among the ancients, now presented unto us by the *Heralds*, thought so meanely of themselves, as if it had been impossible to equall or exceed their predecessors, surely they had never beene commended unto us as the most eminent patternes for imitation; and why wee should not strive to leave the like patternes to our posterity, as yet I find no sufficient reason; nay sure I am that Heraldry consists not onely of ancient but moderne examples; And how many noble families have wee in our time seen set up by the vertue of those, who have beene the first of their house.

G. G.

**W**Here is the honour due to primogeniture? why should there bee a striving & strugling in the wombe for primogeniture? why should Jacob buy it, and Esau selling it should thereby incurre an eternall infamy and shame? and being thus bought and solde, why should the mother interpose and use her best cunning and skill, that Iacob might receive the blessing, and thereby have the possession of this primogeniture? all this is needlesse; for as modernes doe equall or exceede the Ancients, so the younger the elder by your opinion. The right of primogeniture.

G. H.

**T**hat respect is due to primogeniture I acknowledge, though in some Countries it succeed not to the inheritāce; but that the elder brother in all things alwayes exceeds the younger, that I may not grant; nay it is certaine that the younger often exceeds the elder in strength, or stature, or wit, or learning, or vertue, or honour, or meanes, or all.

G. G.



G. G.

How daunge-  
rous in respect  
of Innovation.

**I**N point of thankfulness wee should reverence the Ancients, for who planted our religion, who established our lawes, brought in civility, erected our forme of government, built all our Churches, Castles, bridges, contrived our high wayes, set and preserved our oakes and timber &c. If wee bee so meanely and basely perswaded of the Ancients, how apt shall wee bee for innovation, what daunger of a mutinee; the country boares may rise in sedition, and not without cause; for by your opinion all things may bee improved; they may justly find fault with these barbarous lawes of Saxons, and desire Innovation I should say Reformation, but both are the same in effect,

G. H.

**A**S wee stand bound in point of thankfulness, to reverence the Ancients, who made such good provision for vs, so were they litle bound to their predecessors, from whom they received nothing but irreligion and incivility, and wee should endeavour to bind our successors to us in point of thankfulness, as well as wee acknowledge our selves in some things bound to our predecessors, And no doubt but posterity will hereafter bee more thankfull to us for some good lawes, & buildings, and reformation of the great abuses in matter of religion, then the present times are.

There is not so much feare of Innovation from the country Boares ( who I thinke trouble themselves litle with my booke ) by meanes of my opinion, as of lazines and murmuring in them by meanes of yours, if they be once perswaded that nothing can bee improved by industry, but all things by a fatall necessity grow worse and worse; And for popular sedition, I thinke this Kingdome hath been as litle troubled with it, this last 70. years and somewhat upward, as ever since it was first erected into a Monarchy.

If by the barbarous Lawes of the Saxons, you meane those which they used before their conversion to Christianity, and could not well stand with Christian religion ( whereof some I have touched in mine Apologie ) your Lordship I trust being a Christian Bishop is not offended at the abolition of them, but if your meaning bee that our lawes now in force bee borrowed from the Saxons, you are therein as I take it, much mistaken; I speake for the generall, some few branches of our lawes may perchance bee derived from the Saxons, but for the bulke & body of them, we are as I conceive most beholding to the Normans, who as Conquerors tooke it upon them to give and not to take lawes.

If reformation and innovation being taken in the worst sence ( as you heere doe ) bee both the same; Synods, and Parliaments, and Courts of justice may with more thanks, spare their great paines, and charge, in meeting and consulting for the reformation of abuses, daily creeping into the Church and state; And if there need at no time any reformation, I see not but the present times, should for goodnes, be matcheable to the best



best times that have gone before us even to the golden age it selfe, truly my Lord (under favour bee it spoken) hee who shall censure every Reformation as an Innouation, must of necessity in some things favour error and vice more then vertue and truth, which sometimes are so overgrowne and overtopt with weeds, as they can hardly bee discerned.

G. G.

**W**HEREAS in the common speech of man there is nothing so usuall as to professe honour to the Ancients; and your selfe doe very often use this phrase, for the honour and reverence which I beare to antiquity, yet doth the whole scope and intent of your booke tend to the disgrace and dishonour of antiquity.

G. H.

**T**Hat the whole scope of my booke tends to the disgrace of antiquity, if I should say it were no other then an unjust imputation, your Lordship I doubt, would tell mee I were unmannerly; but sure I am it is somewhat uncharitable. It is true, that sometimes in some things I equall modernity with antiquity, and in other things I happily preferre it, as no doubt the ancients themselves would were they now alive, is this to disgrace antiquity? If in some things I preferre the younger brother before the elder, is this to disgrace the elder? If I say that the modernes are reasonable Creatures aswell as the Ancients, is this to disgrace the Ancients? My scope is not to disgrace antiquity, as I have often told you, but to vindicate modernity from that scorn and contempt, which some ungratefull murmurers against the times in which themselves were borne, doting too much upon the vizard of Antiquitie, endeavour to cast upon it. Antiquitie I unfainedly honour, and reverence, but why I should bee bound to reverence the rust and refuse, the drosse and dregs, the warts and wenns thereof I am yet to seeke. Your selfe make the most flourishing estate of the world, to have beene at the time of our Saviours incarnation, which fell out almost 4000 yeares after the worlds creation; by which meanes you consequently preferre not onely those times before all the precedent ages, but these too before the greatest part of them, if the world decay by the same degrees that it rose to perfection; And besides, you often compare the great world and the little world; as then in the little, so in the great world reason will tell you, that old age or antiquity is to bee accounted by the farther distance from the beginning and the neerer approach to the end; and as gray beards are for wisdom and judgement, to bee preferred before young Greene heads because they have more experience in affayres: so likewise for the same cause, the present times are to be preferred before the infancy or youth of the world, wee having the history and practise of former ages to informe us, which they wanted. Your selfe then in disgracing the present times disgrace

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Antiquity, properly so called; the times wherein wee now live being in propriety of speech the most ancient since the worlds creation; And to take antiquity in your owne and the common sence, as to give divine honour to the blessed Saints or glorious Angells is to dishonour them: so to make the Ancients Angels, or more then men free from all errour, is not to grace but to disgrace them, by attributing that unto them, which themselves (were they sensible hereof and could expresse their minds herein) would doubtlesse disallow and disavow.

G. G.

**T**Hus being prest to shew how dangerous the opinion is, I have in part opened it, and doe earnestly intreate you that I may receive satisfaction therein. No doubt but this exorbitant commendation of modernity, is a very pleasing doctrine to all the new inventors of these times. Long since I have read some of the Lullianists, though Lullius himselfe dyed in the yeare 1288. and therefore is to be reckoned among the Ancients, (for so in every 300 yeares I do undertake to shew an apparent change and decay in nature) yet the Lullianists I conceive to bee moderne, and indeed the Paracelsians and Ramists are of their broode, & so are all they who not searching into the true grounds of learning, doe notwithstanding take upon them, to reforme and aime at the advancement of learning; these are rare wits who will needs bee wise above measure; but very lately I have harkened after the fratres roseæ crucis, I did adresse my selfe to one of them who was a principall and an eminent man amongst them; hee shewed me some manuscripts and entred into a large discourse of philosophy, and in truth I understood very little, but at length I found that all his Demonstrations were grounded upon metaphors, and then I did discover his vanity; But to passe over these forraine Currantoes, and to come to our owne Climate, to speake according to this Meridian, Many have bin the projectors of our times, I have searcht into some of them, & here I shall acquaint you with a little story. There is no Projector who can have a good & a valid patent in law, unlesse hee pretend some publique good, and that it tends not wholly to his owne private profit; to this end there must bee a fyne and some yeerely rent paid to the crowne. Now of these Projectors not one amongst forty have found good successe; and sayling in their projects, there fines and rents have bin unpaid to the crowne. A gentleman found out this project to begg all the arrearages of their fines & rents which were behind & unpaid; and could he have prevailed in this suite, no doubt but he should have gottē more by this one project the they did by all theirs.

G. H.

**Y**OU were therefore by mee pressed to shew the daunger of my opinion in matter of religiō, because in all your letters you ever beate upon it, & never left crying out of the great daunger therof, but never offered to shew it till now; And having now purposely after long study and premeditation undertaken it, how you have performed it I leave that to the judgemēt of others. Your selfe confesse you have done it but in part, and truly (if selfe love and partiall affection have not too much clouded my judgment) that part is so little, as it is in a manner as good as nothing; yet because you earnestly intreate mee that you may receive satisfaction therin, I shall as earnestly intreate you, either to take satisfaction frō mine answers, or to shew me why you do not; w<sup>ch</sup> mee-thinks is a very just & reasonable request.

My



My exorbitant commendation of modernity you say is a very pleasing doctrine to all new inventors of these times; and among these you range the *Lullianists* the *Paracelsians* the *Ramists* & the *fratres rosea crucis*; Whither my commendation bee exorbitant or no cannot appeare (as I conceive) but by disproving mine instances and arguments, which you undertake not, nor I doubt intend, but by flourishes and generall termes, which cannot decide Controversies.

Now for the particulars you instance in, I have little to say of the *fratres rosea Crucis*; but whereas you seeme to condemne them as being too much addicted to metaphors, I wish that many of the Ancients, and namely *Origen*, and his followers, had not beene as blameable in the same kinde in the allegorizing of Scriptures. Touching *Paracelsus* I have already delivered my opinion; And for *Lullius* and *Ramus*, if by the true grounds of learning you understand *Aristotles Philosophy*, I verily beleeve, they read more in it then those who most sharply censure them; and withall that in some things better vse may bee made of their Logick then of that of *Aristotle*, But as the best way is to joyne *Galen* and *Paracelsus*; so *Aristotle* and *Ramus*, who no doubt was in his time as much envied by some as *Ramus* is now.

In defence of our Projectors I have as little to say; They have been in all ages and allowed in the best states, and in case their projects have taken successe, well rewarded. Had no way beene given to them, wee should doubtlesse have wanted many things, which wee now find very beneficiall to the publique; And if any fayle in their projects, the greatest losse is commonly to themselves. Lastly, I beleeve some projects which might have proved of good use, have beene choaked in their birth, out of a vaine opinion, that nothing could any way bee improved, and that it were in us meere folly to thinke wee could add any thing to the inventions of our Predecessors; Which opinion had they likewise entertained of their Predecessors, wee had still continued in meere barbarisme. There is at this present a project on foote (God send it good successe) for the setting up of a fishing trade upon our owne coasts; and truly considering it hath pleased God of his goodnes in a manner to put it into our mouthes, it is strange our Predecessors should hitherto so much neglect it, making long voyages into forraine parts for the same commodity which they might have found at home, in the meane time quietly permitting forrainers to carry it away.

G. G.

WHEN as you desire to adventure the whole cause upon this one point, I did never refuse any offer you made, nor was wanting to any thing you required but have ever performed all, though I could speake much more in this cause then I have heere done, I will adventure all upon this, yet I have heretofore brought one argument which is better then all these; and it was to this effect, that whereas the honour of the dietie seems more

Religion tends  
most to Gods  
honour.

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to bee interested and ingaged in religion then in nature, and that religion hath no other scope or end but to build and erect a new world in the ruines of this world, then supposing that reasons were doubtfull on both sides, or equally ballanced ( for herein wee differ and both are alike confident of our owne proofes ) yet surely my opinion which supposeth that by reason wee discern the beginning of nature, the ending of nature, must needs make more for the truth of religion, and so consequently for Gods honour and providence, then your opinion, which supposing the eternall duration of this world, if it doe not absolutely exclude another world to succeed, yet surely it doth not enforce it; it makes no way for it, but leaves it indifferent, and therefore makes lesse for the honour and truth of religion then my opinion doth.

## G. H

**M**Y desire hath alwayes beene that you would bee pleased either to receive satisfaction, or shew why you did not; and this as yet you never performed. And now considering you are so willing to adventure the whole cause upon this one point of religion, mee-thinks you should in reason have fortified it better, and not thus imperinently fly out against inventors, and projectors, and I know not what, & then fall backe againe to another argument heretofore brought, and better then all yet spoken of; If it hath beene heretofore brought, it hath likewise beene heretofore answered, but hereof (as your fashion is) you take no notice; and if it bee better then all the rest, I wonder you would thrust in so many digressions betweene; but let vs a little examine the strength of it.

To your first proposition, That the honour of God seems to bee ingaged in religion more then in nature; if by religion you vnderstand the Christian, it being of much narrower bounds then nature, it should rather seeme that the honour of God, is in that respect more ingaged in the latter thē in the former, many thousands observing the providence, the wisdom, the power and goodnes of God, in the course and government of nature who never heard of the Christian religion, nor dreame of any world to come.

To your second proposition, that religion hath none other scope or end but to build and erect a new world in the ruines of this world; I say that religion hath diverse other scopes, and ends, the glory of God himselfe the Author of religion, being undoubtedly the last and consequently the principall end thereof; And for the better attaining of this end it sets him forth unto us as a most holy, just, true, wise, powerfull, mercifull, bountifull, provident Creator, preserver, and disposer of all things; and for the manifestation of all these attributes, the worlds preservation from decay makes more then the decay thereof; inasmuch as the one necessarily implies his continuall care watching over it, the other seems to call in question and rather to argue a neglect of his owne workmanship, or to open a gap to chance and fortune; I know (saith wise *Saloman*) that whatsoever God doth, it shall bee for ever; nothing can bee put to it, nor any thing  
taken



taken from it; & *God doth it that men should feare before him. Eccles. 3. 14.*

Another scope of religion which concernes us, and is subordinate to the former, is the fitting and preparing of us for another world, but that it should bee built and erected in the ruines of this, that I find not; In my fathers house, saith our Saviour, are many mansions, not shall bee, but are; which undoubtedly hee speaks of the world to come, in which the Saints and Angels shall everlastingly raigne in perfect happinesse with him and his father. Now this world to come may in some sense I grant, bee said to bee built in the ruines of this present world, because wee shall then bee put into the full possession thereof, aswell in regard of our bodies as our soules and not before. In relation whereunto the holy Scriptures speake of a new heaven and a new earth, upon the dissolution of these wee now enjoy, not new in themselves but in regard of us and our bodily presence in them.

For application of these propositions you say, That your opinion which supposeth that by reason wee discern the beginning and end of nature, must needs make more for the truth of religion, and so consequently for Gods honour and providence. Though I have evidently demonstrated that reason cannot discern so much, unlesse withall shee discernes the making of something out of nothing, and the reducing of it backe againe unto nothing in a naturall course, (which your selfe will not admit) yet because heere you doe but suppose it, I will not dispute it; it being granted then for the present that reason discernes both these, what have you gained? surely nothing to your purpose, in as much though Reason might discern this worlds end, yet the building and erecting of a new world upon the ruines thereof, it cannot possibly discern; And besides, though you talke heer of the ruines and end of this world, yet in truth your opinion is not that it shall bee ruined, but onely renovated and purified, as appeares in the very next Section, the matter, and forms, and properties of things still remaining as they are.

Now for my opinion it supposeth indeed and sufficiently proveth, that in the ordinary course of nature this world may be perpetuall, but withall it professeth, that by a supernaturall and extraordinary power (when there shall bee no farther use of it) it shall againe bee abolished by the same hand that made it; And then shall the bodies of the Saints being raised from the dust and reunited to their soules, enter into the joy and happines of that other world which shall never end. This latter profession is I confesse a part of revealed truth, not grounded upon nature, nor to be demonstrated by naturall reason, but beleaved by faith. Whereas you then would make the erecting of a new world upon the ruines of this, to bee the onely scope of religion, and yet withall discernable by reason, I see not but you may thereby wholly exclude religion, there being very little or no use thereof but such as the light of reason may afford; and then the most rationall man shall bee the most religious: which I presume you will not defend; yet for right reason I will say thus much, that as it doth not inforce, so neither doth it exclude the mysteries of our faith.

N n n n 3

Your



Your conclusion is that my opinion makes lesse for the honour and truth of religion then yours doth: which differs much from that which you undertooke to prove, That my opinion forsooth was of a most dangerous consequence in point of religion; And thus have you now seen the validity of your great argument, which if it bee better then all the rest, as you affirme, then may you bee pleased from hence to make the estimate of the force of the rest.

G. G.

The conflagration of the world excludes the Annihilation.

**A**T the feet of accompts when in the exchequer wee desire a quietus est, they set downe & remanet nihil; My selfe desiring now at length to have my quietus est from you, I will heere say remanet nihil. I pray wherefore serves conflagration to purge and purifie the world, if instantly it must bee annihilated? Creation and Annihilation stand in opposition to each other; as then there could bee no preparation to creation: so needs there no preparation to the Annihilation, both are without the compasse of nature and have no reference to naturall causes. If you admit fire onely for punishing not for purifying, then advise how farre forth it may stand with Gods justice to inflict double punishment. Thus the deluge was never intended for an utter destruction of this world, neither is the conflagration; for it stands with Gods wisdom to observe some Analogie in all his works.

G. H.

**Y**OW might have had your *Quietus est* before you begunne, if you had so pleased, yet rather then you will bee quiet you must needs sling out of your way, and have another boute with my Annihilation, and I must follow you. You demande to what end the conflagration serves to purge and purifie the world, if instantly it must bee annihilated? And I demaunde againe, where you reade that the Conflagration is ordained for the purging of the world? *S. Peter*, I am sure tells us, that it is ordained to burne up the earth and the works that are therein, but for any purging or purifying of the world therewith, I finde not a word in him or any where else in holy Scripture; And if it shall purifie the world, then certainly the heavens the noblest part thereof, which never yet contracted the least tincture of corruption, and consequently cannot need any purification.

If there bee indeed the same reason of Creation and Annihilation, as you heere affirme and that most truly; I wonder upon what ground in another place you could assure mee, that Annihilation implies a manifest Contradiction: which by the consent of all Divines is not in the Divine power to effect; And againe, there being the same reason of Annihilation and Creation, I as much mervaile by what light of reason you could finde out Creation, and yet make Annihilation most un-



unreasonable, specially considering, that both (as you say) are without the compasse of nature, and have no reference to naturall causes. Can you find out that by a naturall discourse which hath no reference to naturall causes?

Now for the preparation to them, none at all you say is to be admitted in either; which in the Creation of the first matter is true, it being made out of nothing; but all other materiall substances being made out of it, it served as a preparative to them; and thus the worke of one day was a kinde of preparative to another (if we take them severally as they are described) till the whole worke of the Creation was fully finished. And such a preparative may the Conflagration bee to the Annihilation.

What you meane by *double punishment* I understand not, when you please farther to unfold your selfe therein, I will as you wish me farther advise thereof.

The deluge could not bee intended for an utter destruction of this world, in as much as it destroyed not the fish, nor the vegetables, nor touched the higher regions of the aire, much lesse the elements of fire, or the celestiaall bodies. And besides, mankinde together with the severall kindes of beasts and fowles were preserved in the Arke, that so the habitable world might bee peopled and stored againe after the deluge; but after the conflagration it shall not be so, the world then is no more to be inhabited: As then it stood with the wisdom of God not utterly to destroy it by the deluge, being againe to be inhabited; so likewise it stands with the same wisdom utterly to destroy it, when it shall be no more inhabited. And herein is observed a better Analogie (as I take it) then in that by you proposed: which I see not how it can stand with your assertion in the precedent Section, That a new world is to be erected in the ruines of this present, which cannot be without the destruction of the old.

G. G.

**A**nd because both of us pretend that wee fight onely for Gods Providence, and therein you will adventure the whole cause, supposing it to bee most proper for our professions; I doe againe accept this offer, and to that end Your offer is accepted. I will here lay downe punctually both our opinions, and then doe I appeale to your selfe and to the Church, which of them are the most pious, godly, religious, and doe make most for the honour of Gods Providence, and have the greatest correspondencie with our Christian profession. And this being once adjudged, I will subscribe to that opinion.

G. H.

**I** Willingly accept of your appeale, and for my selfe I shall unfainedly be most ready to submit, and subscribe, to the judgement of my deare mother the Church of *England*, not onely in this, but in all other controversies.

N n n n 4

G. G.



## G. G.

**I** Say that this world being made of nothing, had a power or rather an impotencie in it selfe (as all other Creatures have) to returne unto nothing; but this impotency is more especially competent to this world rather then to Angels and Spirits, in regard of the naturall principles and composition subsisting of contrary qualities, and these ever active and opposing each other; yet should they at first have bin bridled and moderated by Gods speciall Providence, which should have bin to the world as a tree of life; and thus the world and thus man himselfe should have beene eternall: yet this eternity should neither have beene naturall, neither yet necessarily tyed and chained to the nature; but it was like originall grace which might have continued, but was taken away: Thus man should then have had periods of his age, and the world should have had a succession of seasons, both which naturally imply a corruption; which corruption should have beene prevented by a speciall providence; for supply of which providence God did not necessarily tie and oblige himselfe, but he might withdraw and with-hold it, as himselfe thought fit, without any breach of his promise; yet still God intended the eternity, and therefore man should have had a translation, and the world in the fulnesse of time should have beene elevated to some better condition.

## G. H.

**H**AVING done for this time with your digression about Annihilation, and having proposed your Appeale, you jumpe over to the stating of the question, which *Logicians* will tell you (not onely the Modernes but the Ancients) should have beene done at first: And truly great reason it should be so, being intended to prepare a way, and adde light to the arguments, and instances, and solutions, which are to follow after.

You say that all Creatures being made of nothing, have a power or rather an impotencie to returne unto nothing; and I beseech your Lordship what is that returning unto nothing but *Annihilation*, by withdrawing that divine influence from them which first gave them being, and still supports them in that being which at first it gave; as long as that power upholds them, they have no power to returne to nothing, but that once leaving them they have no power to keepe themselves from that returne.

Corporeall substances I grant are more subject to composition, and consequently to corruption then Angels and Spirits; but Annihilation without the manutention of their maker, the highest Cherubins or Seraphines are as subject to it as the least gnat that flies in the aire, or the filliest worme that crawles upon the face of the earth.

This world you say (thereby meaning the corporeall Creature as it stands in opposition to Angels and Spirits) naturally subsisteth of contrary qualities, ever active and opposing each other: In which position you either include the celestially bodies, and so make them to subsist

of



of contrary qualities as well as the elementary, against all experience, reason and authoritie; or you exclude them as being no part of the world, which are indeed the noblest of all, upon which all the rest under God in a manner depend; without which the rest would soone returne into their originall Chaos, and in comparison of which (man onely excepted) all the rest are as nothing; which I have the rather observed heere, because commonly where you mention the world, you leave out this principall verbe, as beeing not worth the naming.

What you meane by brideling and moderating these contrary qualities by a speciall Providence I know not; but sure I am that by an ordinary Providence they are still so moderated, as that they can never totally and finally prevaile each against other, but by an extraordinary power.

If God intended the eternity of the world, as you heere affirme, in all likelihood hee rather so fitted and ordered it at first, in regard of the inbred and naturall principles thereof, then afterward by his speciall Providence, which implies a supernaturall concurrence; and so the world should have subsisted not in any naturall course, but by an extraordinary and miraculous power though man had never sinned: which in very truth is a very miraculous doctrine, and such as I thinke was never broached by any Divine before; it is as if a skilfull Architect should intend a lasting peece of building, which were in his power so to make, and yet would rather chuse so to contrive it, as for the standing of it, it were necessarily to be upheld with props. And besides, it casts a foule aspersion upon the maker, as if hee in the first Creation powred in the poyson of corruption into his owne worke, and then provided an antidote against it, whereas hee might as easily have prevented the poyson, or rather forborne the powing of it in, as provided the antidote. Nay this doctrine of yours is flatly repugnant, not onely to that in the *Wisdom of Solomon*, *That the generations of the world were healthfull, and there is no poyson of destruction in them*, but of *Moses*, *Behold it was very good*; and of your selfe too in your booke of *the Fall of man*: where you tell us, This poyson was not inbred but brought in by some after chance: as the 'Envious man sowes tares among the good wheate.

The periods of mans age imply indeede a corruption, because they never returne againe, but the succession of the seasons of the yeare imply it not, because they still returne againe according to Gods promise; *Gen. 8. 22.* And by this promise hath hee obliged himselfe, yet not to any speciall, but to an ordinary Providence in preserving his owne ordinances.

That man should have beene translated is very likely, that so the earth in proceffe of time being replenished with inhabitants, roome might thereby be made for posteritie; but why the world also should bee elevated to some higher condition, above that in which God created it, for mine owne part I finde no reason of it, or warrant for it; and how you will both elevate it to a higher condition, & yet withall make  
it



it eternall by a specially providence in the same condition in which it was created, I am utterly to seeke. My Lord in very truth here be such strange peeces of *Divinity*, as I verily beleeve you must bee beholding to the invention of modernitie, or rather of one single moderne Author for them; for I will be bold to say, that either in Scripture or antiquitie you can finde no colourable ground to maintaine them.

G. G.

Gods glory in  
the variety of  
his workes.

**T**his I conceive to bee the great difference betwixt the materiall and spirituall world, the one comming nearer the nature of God who is a spirit, is therefore more like unto God in a certaine and stable continuance, and so that end was created absolutely perfect in one instant; but the materiall world came to perfection by degrees; in the Creation hereof there was observed a kinde of generative order, which shewes a possibilitie of the dissolution, and so by the variety of his workes the Providence of God appeares more glorious; this should have beene the condition of the world, if sinne had never beene committed.

G. H.

**T**hat the Providence of God appeares more glorious in the variety of his workes, is most true: and also that the spirituall substances come nearer the nature of God then the materiall; and that there is a possibility of dissolution in both I deny not, but that the one of these should decay by degrees, because it was created by degrees; and the other, because they were created in an instant, continue in a stable condition, this I see not proved; nay certaine it is, that the matter of the one was created in an instant, as well as the substance of the other: which should argue the stabilitie of the one as well as of the other. And more then so diverse good Divines, and among them *S. Augustine* and *Cajetan* are of opinion, that not onely the matter but the first formes of all things were created in an instant, and so distinguished by *Moses*, into the workes of severall dayes for our better apprehension. Once I am sure, that your Lordship in your Sermon of the religion of the dumbe Creatures, compares them for their stabilitie in their condition to the blessed Angels.

G. G.

**B**ut by the sinne of Adam as there was a propagation in respect of his posterity, so was there a contagion in respect of all the Creatures: and more, the whole world became infected with him, for punishment whereof God takes from man originall grace, and leaves him in *puris naturalibus*. Man is expelled Paradise, bereaved of the tree of life, and thereby deprived of meanes for preserving himselfe; Adde hereunto the sentence of death which past upon him: so likewise the world is changed in state and condition, whereas before there was a sweet calme and harmony in all parts, now the discord and opposition appeares; for this is the fruit and effect of sinne, which putteth an enmity betweene God  
and



and the Creatures, the Providence of God so cunningly contrives, that forthwith the Creatures rise up in tumults, and uproares amongst themselves, as seeming to fight in Gods quarrell, and to revenge upon each other the injuries done unto God. Here the earth is cursed, which in effect is the sentence of death; by the earth the whole world is implied, for it is the center which points out the circle: This sentence was not immediately executed upon man, much lesse upon the whole world, the length of mans age is uncertaine, the length of the worlds age is much more uncertaine; we see our condition in the death of others, and by the destruction of Paradise, by the generall deluge, and by the decay of all individualls, wee judge of the decay of the world, which subsisting of the same principles cannot bee exempted from the same lot and condition: Thus the deluge had naturall causes and a long preparation, and the world having the principles of corruption inbred in it selfe; God for the due deserts and punishment of sinne, may justly permit and suffer them to worke their owne naturall effects.

God will not  
preserve this  
world in a  
full estate for  
eternitie.

## G. H.

THat by the fall of man the whole world became infected with sinne, may not bee yeelded; where is no act of reason nor free choyce of the will, there can be no actuall sinne, nor originall, but by propagation; so as unlesse wee shall say, that the dumbe Creatures are propagated from Adam, or have in themselves an exercise of reason and freedome of will, they can in no sort bee capable either of actuall or originall sinne, and consequently not infected with sinne at all.

That the world since the Creation is changed in state and condition in regard of mans use I grant, that proving discord and opposition to him, which unlesse hee had fallen had not beene so; but in respect of it selfe the sinne of man could not alter the worke of God, or marre that sweet harmony which hee had set in it, as I shewed out of *Abulensis*, *Montanus*, *Vives*, *Morney*, *Pererius*, and others; much lesse did it put an enmity betwixt God and the Creatures, neither doe they revenge upon each other the injuries done unto God, these are meere fictions and fancies of your owne braine without any sufficient warrant. The Creatures as being the workmanship of his owne hands, and constantly persevering in their obedience, are as deare unto their maker as ever, and he as bountifull unto them; they never were in any point injurious to him by sinning against him, but hee rather seemes to bee injurious both to him and them, who taxeth them with disobedience, and him with injustice, in punishing them for disobedience, and both undeservedly: If this be not to wound him in his justice, and them in their innocency, through the sides of I know not what imaginarie corrupt nature, I know not what it is.

In what sense the earth was cursed, not in it selfe which was guiltlesse, but unto man who had sinned, and how that curse may be said to bee the sentence of death I have already shewed: now that the whole world should bee implied in that curse, because it is the center, is a strange assertion backed with as strange a reason; will you imply celestiall



stiall bodies, and all the other elements in the earth alone? Truly my Lord, this is to make good the old proverbe indeed, by confounding not onely fire and water, but heaven and earth together: And if in the earth the whole world be implied, because as the Center it points out the circle, I pray tell mee what you thinke of the Center of the earth it selfe; can you shew me any markes of the curse there? surely were it accursed in it selfe, they should in reason as well be found there, as in the surface thereof; by the circle which the Center points out, you should in reason meane the heavens, but I doubt it will trouble you as much to shew any prints of the curse there, as in the fire or water, or in the Center of the earth. The whole world I grant is a curse to them that are accursed, either as accidentally occasioning sinne, or as instrumentally inflicting punishment for sinne; yet is there no part of it (man only excepted) accursed in it selfe, *For every Creature of God is good*: neither is it a curse to such as are freed from the curse by Christs taking it upon him selfe, it being sanctified to them by the word of God and prayer. *1. Tim. 4. v. 4. 6.* And againe, *To the pure all things are pure, but unto them that are defiled and unbelieving nothing is pure. Titus 1. 15.* The whole world and all the parts of it are a curse to the one, but to the other no part of it; *inasmuch as all things worke together for good to them that love God. Rom. 8. 28.*

If the worlds age bee so uncertaine, I wonder how by the great decay thereof, and the fierie constellations, you can know so certainly, that it is now in its old age, languishing with a long consumption, neare approaching to a finall period.

That in the death of others we see our owne condition I grant, but that wee may by the destruction of Paradise, or the generall deluge, or the decay of individualls judge of the decay of the world, that I deny. For the destruction of Paradise, your Lordship therein differs from the Ancients, who held, notwithstanding the flood, it still remained safe and untouched, and *Enoch* in it; for mine owne part I am rather of opinion with you, that the Ancients were herein mistaken, and that Paradise is indeed defaced, yet not in the ordinary course of nature, but by an extraordinary judgement; and so was the deluge likewise caused, though you be pleased to tell us of naturall causes, and a long preparation. There was indeed a long preparation in regard of the premonition, but for the matter thereof, I find no such thing; or if part of the matter were naturall, yet surely the manner and measure of working were supernaturall; so as from a supernaturall judgement inflicted upon the inhabitants of the earth, to inferre a naturall and generall decay in the heavens, and all the elements and mixt bodies, is doubtlesse a very feeble argument. Now for the decay of individualls, I say first that they doe not all decay; there is no decay in the elements save onely in their parts (which are againe repaired) never in their whole bodies: there is no decay at all to be found in the Sunne, or Moone, or starres, which I trust you will not deny to be individualls. And for the mixt bodies, they subsist not of the same principles as the universe doth, which is preserved from decay by meanes of the celestiall bodies, the principall  
part



part, and most soveraigne principle thereof, which in the sublunarie individualls is not to be found; and though they consist of the same elementarie principles, yet the cause is different; these principles (as I have said) being in the universe, alwayes supplied by an equivalent compensation, but not so in the individualls; which notwithstanding, though they thus decay in themselves, yet they still live in their Successors, the one decaying and dying, that so they may give place to the other, and the other succeeding, that they may supply the vacant roome; that so the earth be neither overburdened with excesse, nor by defect left voide.

Though I should yeeld that the world had principles of corruption inbred in it selfe, yet all corruption tending to generation, there can bee no feare of the whole frame of nature, but it will still subsist without any naturall death or decay; and if there should bee any corruption without a succeeding generation of some other thing, one of these two must needs thereupon ensue, that either that part of the first matter which was actuated by the forme corrupted, must bee annihilated, or left destitute of all formes: both which are alike impossible in the course of nature.

## G. G.

**T**hus the world now tainted with sinne, subject to a curse, subject to vanity, it stands with Gods mercy that this sinne, curse, vanity, should not bee of infinite continuance; therefore hee suffers the world of it selfe to decline by degrees, yet before it comes to that extreame old age, weakenesse and miserie, God takes pittie on the world, thus languishing in a lingring disease; and seeing death is the wages of sinne, God doth suddenly interpose, hee burnes and consumes the world with fire, that so hee may purge and purifie it, and in the ashes thereof raise up a new frame, a new world, sanctified, glorified, which without spot or sinne may last for eternity, as the punishment of mans sinne was not a reprobation and utter casting away, as it was in the Angells, but rather a chastisement and correction, whereby God tooke occasion to enlarge his mercies, and to give man a better condition; so shall it bee in the state of this world, there shall bee a death and corruption, but no Annihilation.

God will not preserve this world in a full state for eternity.

## G. H

**N**O part of the materiall world (man onely excepted) is tainted with sinne, nor subject either to a curse or vanity, but in relation to sinfull man.

It stands indeed with Gods mercy, and not onely with his mercy but his truth and justice, that this world should not bee of infinite continuance, and therefore hath hee promised the abolition of it, and the putting of us into possession of a better; but no where (that I know) the suffering of it to decline by degrees of it selfe, and truly had the

O o o o

world



world since the fall of man, still languished in such a lingring disease as you speake of, no doubt it had long ere this arrived to that extreame old age, weakenesse, and miserie which you mention, if not to death it selfe: which is indeed the wages of sinne in man, but that it is likewise the wages of sinne in the death of the world, save onely in reference to man, I no where finde; and if the great world bee tending to death of it selfe, as doth the little world, why God should rather interpose by his extraordinary power in cutting off the one, then the other, as yet I see no sufficient reason: Neither is it thought toward man an act of mercy, though he languish with some lingring disease, to burne him with fire being yet alive, thereby to hasten his death and put him out of his paine. And here I shall make bold, to put you in minde of advising with your selfe, how far forth it may stand with Gods justice to inflict this double punishment, and that upon an innocent (as the whole world is, man onely excepted) the one of naturall decay, the other of a supernaturall judgement by fire, which you say shall burne and consume this world, that so it may bee purged and purified. Why my Lord, those things which are onely purified are not consumed, and if they be consumed, there is nothing left to be purified; yes, in the ashes of this, God you say, will raise up a new frame, in the ashes of this? then indeed it is consumed but not purified; a new frame? a new world? then this is not purified, but another made and raised out of the ashes of this: And in truth, you doe not sufficiently unfold your selfe which of these two you hold, either the making of a new world, or the renewing of the old; but why either the old should bee renewed, or a new made that might last to eternitie, (mankind being from hence removed) you never yet vouchsafed to assigne any end, nor I thinke either you, or any man else, can assigne any that should satisfie themselves, much lesse others. Mee-thinkes you speake of a sanctified and glorified world without spot or sinne, as if this were to be the place of eternall rest and happinesse of the glorified Saints; but the Scriptures I am sure point us out another place, and then what use shall be of this, or any other raised up in the ashes of this, I know not.

The punishment of mans sinne you say, was not a reprobation or utter casting away, indeed in the elect it was not, but in the reprobate (of whom you seeme to speake, comparing them with the Apostate Angels) you must either hold it to have beene a punishment of sinne, or turne *Calvinist*, who holds (as you say) That God may and doth reprobate without relation to sinne, only to manifest his absolute power. The same may be said of that which followeth; the punishment of mans sinne is indeed, a chastisement onely and correction in regard of the elect, but in the reprobate an utter casting away; and if by this chastisement God tooke occasion (as you say) to enlarge his mercies, and to give man a better condition, then might the reformed religion, in that respect excell that of *Adam* in the state of innocency, though you are pleased before to make your selfe merry with the comparison.

Lastly, there shall bee you say a death and corruption of the world,  
but



but no Annihilation; Why my Lord, what is death and corruption but a separation of the essentiall forme from the matter, it possessed and informed? I would demaund then, when the world shall die and bee corrupted, what shall become of the essentiall forme thereof, being separated from the matter? either it must subsist of it selfe and by it selfe without any matter to informe, or in some other matter out of the world, or bee annihilated; I see no remedie but of necessitie you will bee forced to admit one of these three. Now I presume you will not admit of either of the two former, and consequently you will bee forced to admit of Annihilation. And besides, if the world upon the death thereof bee endued and actuated with a new essentiall forme, then is it not the same world renovated, but a new world newly instituted: And thus whiles you runne away from Annihilation one way, you runne upon it another way; and withall upon such rockes, as I doubt you will hardly escape from shipwrack.

I have done with your state of the question; but will your Lordship bee pleased now a little to reflect upon what you have said, and to take somewhat a narrower view thereof.

You say, that all Creatures have a power, or rather an impotencie to returne to nothing; and yet make Annihilation a strange monster to bee wondred at. You say, that this world hath in it such a power or impotencie, rather then the Angells; whereas both subsist equally and meerely by the divine manutention. You say that this world (as it stands in opposition to the Angells) subsisteth of contrary qualities opposing each other; forgetting the heavens as it should seeme to be any part of the materiall world. You say, that God intended the eternitie of the world, and yet endowed it with such naturall principles as imply corruption without a speciall providence, and miraculous preservation. You say, that the world (though man had not falne) might of it selfe have runne to ruine, without any breach of Gods promise; and yet cannot deny, but that after the fall, and after the flood too, he tyed himselfe to an orderly and perpetuall succession of the seasons of the yeare in their due times. You say, that the world though man had not falne, should have beene elevated to some better condition; which I thinke never any Divine before affirmed. You say that there is a possibilitie of the dissolution of the materiall world; which I never denied, but alwayes constantly maintained, not onely a possibilitie or probabilitie, but a most infallible certainty thereof. You say that there is no possibilitie of dissolution in the Angells, and yet ranke them among those Creatures, which have a power or impotencie of returning to nothing; and compare the worlds corruption only to a fatherly correction, but the reprobation of the Apostate Angells to Annihilation. You say, that the Angells were created absolutely perfect, but not the materiall world; whereas Saint *Augustine*, and with him diverse other great Divines hold, that the latter was created in an instant as well as the former; and your selfe will not deny but the first matter was created in an instant, as well as the Angells; and the formes of all individualls were created in an instant, though not all in the



same instant: neither can Creation bee but in an instant, so as all the parts of the world, not only in regard of their matter, but their formes were created in an instant as well as the Angells; which because they consist not either of essentiall or integrall parts, could none otherwise bee created but perfect in an instant, I meane the individuall Angells; but whether the whole number of them were all created together in one instant, that God onely knowes; and we know, that some of them fell away from God; which argues, that they were not at first created so absolutely perfect, as the elect Angells now are. You say, there was a kinde of generative order observed by God in the workes of the Creation; wherein you dissent from all Divines, and the text it selfe, and derogate from the power of the Creatour; who therefore seemes to have created the fruits of the earth the third day, and the lights of heaven the fourth, thereby to make it appeare, that in the workes of the Creation hee observed not any such generative order as you speake of, but that the Creation was a worke meerely supernaturall, and that worke to bee dissolved by the same supernaturall power, and none otherwise. You say, that the whole world is infected with sinne; whereas no part of the world is capable either of originall or actuall sinne, but onely man. You say, the world is changed in state and condition; I should aske by whom? would God marre his owne worke? could any Creature marre it? You say againe, the sweet harmony of all the parts of the world is turned into discord and jarring; but if I might be so bold, I should heere againe aske who broke the strings, or brought them out of tune; would God marre his owne musicke? or could man, or divells, or angells marre it? Truly I thinke if men perceive it not, it is either because they are not capable of that musicke, or their mindes are out of tune, which makes them conceive the fault to be in the harmony of the world. You say, there is an enmitie betweene God and his Creatures; as if hee could hate those workes of his owne hands, in whose power it is not to make themselves any other then hee made them; or they hate him, who cannot bee but obedient to him. You say, that by the earth the whole world is implied; and so confound not onely fire and water, but heaven and earth. You say, that the Center points out the circle, and yet cannot shew any prints of this curse, either in the Center of the earth, or in the celestiall bodies, which are the Circle. You say, that the worlds age is much more uncertaine then mans age; and yet assure us that it is now in its old age, neare approaching to a finall period. You say that wee may judge of the worlds decay by the destruction of Paradise, the generall deluge and the decay of individualls; whereas some individualls decay not at all, and in them which decay, it is ordained for the worlds preservation; and the two former were effected by a supernaturall meanes, from whence you would inferre a naturall decay of the heavens, and consequently of the whole world. You say, that the world subsisting of the same principles with the individualls, cannot be exempted from the same lot and condition; and yet you cannot shew any sublunarie individuall compounded of the heavens and elements as the world is,  
nor



nor in which the elements are by compensation recompenced, as in the world they are. You say that the deluge had naturall causes; which is partly true in regard of the matter, but in regard either of the manner or measure not so. You say it had a long preparation, which is true in regard of premonition, but not causality. You say, that the world hath the principles of corruption imbred in it selfe; contrary to reason, contrary to experience, contrary to *Moses* and *God* himselfe; *Gen.* 1. 31. contrary to the Author of the *Wisedome of Solomon*: cap. 1. 14. contrary to your selfe in your booke of *the Fall of man*, pag. 26. and againe most apparently, pag. 396. You say that the world since the fall of man hath still languished in a lingring disease; which were it so indeed, it would doubtlesse have breathed out the last long agoe. You say that death is the wages of sinne, not onely in man but in the world; whereas man onely is capable of sinne, and not the world. You say that *God* in mercy taking pittie of the world will burne it; whereas *Divines* tell us, that it is an act of power and justice, rather then mercy; and if it bee an act of mercy, it is rather in regard of his children, who thereupon are to bee put into possession of a better world, then of the world it selfe. You say it shall bee consumed with fire, that so it may be purified; which termes are incompatible and cannot both stand together, if it be consumed, nothing is left to bee purified; and if it be purified it is not consumed. You say, that in the ashes of this world a new frame shall be raised; which if it be so, then are we not to expect the purification of the old. You say that your new world shall be sanctified and glorified, without spot and without sinne, as if you intended to make it the resting place of the Saints; which notwithstanding, in charity I will hope is not your meaning. You say this new world shall last to eternity; but being often pressed thereunto, you never yet vouchsafed to assigne any end thereof, why it should so last. You say the punishment of mans sinne was not Reprobation; and yet condemne *Calvin* for saying, that *God* reprobates man without relation to sinne. You say, that *God* by correcting sinne, tooke occasion to enlarge his mercies, and to give man a better condition; and yet by way of jesting you demand the question, whether I thinke the reformed religion, or that of *Adam* in the state of innocencie, the more excellent. Lastly you say, that in the state of this world there shall be a death and corruption, but no Annihilation; whereas death and corruption imply a separation of the essentiall forme from the matter, which must of necessity subsist of it selfe, or in some other matter out of the world, or be annihilated; and if you will yeeld to none of these, it cannot possibly die and be corrupted.

And have wee not heere my Lord a question soundly stated, so as I durst now appeale to your selfe, how pious and religious your opinion is, and so passe to the examination of mine owne opinion as you are pleased to report it.



G. G.

God sparing  
man, hee will  
likewise spare  
the world.

**O**N the contrary by your opinion this world might or should continue in a sinfull state for eternity, and God should no sooner take away the abuse, but he should take away the use, having refined the world by fire he should then annihilate it, though hee spares the principall sinner which is man, yet hee should not spare the faire fabricke of this world which never offended but onely in man; thus God himselfe should loose the labour of the six dayes, and the end of the Creation (which should be the most excellent part, and of the greatest perfection) it should be a nothing; thus the wisdom, power, providence of God himselfe should tend to nothing: Here I pray more fitly and properly apply all those arguments, whereby you interest and ingage all the attributes of God, in the eternity of the world, they will abundantly serve to prevent this Annihilation.

G. H.

**T**He stating of my question, as my selfe in a large chapter have unfolded it, your Lordship is very well content to passe over in silence, without taking any notice of it, and by catching at scattered peeces heere and there, to frame such a state to your selfe, as might make for your best advantage and my greatest disgrace, but I will follow you, and take it as I finde it.

You say that by my opinion the world might or should continue in a sinfull state for eternity; That it should I never said, nor that it might, Gods decree for the destruction of it presupposed, nor yet that it is in it selfe subject to any sinfull state; let man be removed out of it, and it will soone bee as free from sinne as ever: It is man who by reason of sinne cannot continue to eternity in this world, but the world it selfe, being in it selfe voide of sinne (did it so please the maker of it) no doubt might continue.

By my opinion God you say should no sooner take away the abuse, but hee should take away the use of the world. That the abuse of it shall bee taken away by the destruction of it I grant, and so it might without that destruction by mans removeall out of it; but man being once from hence remooved, what farther use shall then be of it, I cannot yet understand; but should bee much bound to your Lordship, or any man else to instruct me therein.

By my opinion you say God having refined the world by fire shall then annihilate it, whereas I never affirmed that it was to bee refined, nor yet know why it should, unlesse there were some farther use to bee made of it; neither can you hold the refining if you hold the consuming of it, death and refining, ashes and refining, corruption and refining, a new frame and a refining of the same thing cannot stand together.

By my opinion you say, God should spare the principall sinner which is man, and yet should not spare the faire fabrick of the world which never offended but onely in man; Whereas I never distinguished of  
any



any principall or lesse principall sinner, but ever constantly affirmed that man is the onely sinner, and withall that only man is punished for sinne; so farre was I from saying that the principall sinner is spared, or that the faire fabrick of this world which never offended, was punished for mans sake, as you confidently affirme; Where by the way I cannot but wonder, that you should a little before in stating your owne opinion, tell vs of the discord and confusion, the tumults and uproares of all the parts of the world, languishing for many thousand yeares in a lingering disease, and here to serve your turne vouchsafe it the glorious title of a faire fabrick; or how it never offended but onely in man, and yet is tainted and infected with sinne, injurious to God, an enemy against God, and for sinne subject to decay and death in a naturall course.

By my opinion you say God should loose the labour of the sixe dayes & the end of the Creation: Whereunto I answered, that to speake properly, the worke of the sixe dayes was no labour to God, and consequently in a proper sence, destroying it by his owne will and power, he cannot bee said to loose his labour; And I beseech you my Lord, if this world which wee now inhabite shall bee consumed with fier, and a new one raised up out of the ashes thereof as you affirme; doth not God therby loose his labour of the six dayes aswell as by Annihilation? And here I must pray you to remember, that man the principall worke of the creation, for whom all the rest was ordained and to whom it was referred, shall still remaine to eternity together with the places & instruments assigned for his eternall happines or torment; The Angels likewise (as I conceive) were created within the compasse of those six dayes (though I know the *Greeke* fathers bee of opinion that they were created long before this world) so as though the rest should bee annihilated, yet could not God bee said thereby to loose his labour, the noblest peeces of his worke still remaining; the empyreall heaven alone appointed for the dwelling place of the glorified Saints, & the throne of the divine majesty being as farre beyond this world, as this world is beyond a mole hill.

Now for the end of the Creation; A man is said to loose his labour indeed, when hee is frustrated of that end to which hee intended his labour, which in this case cannot be verified; the end of the Creation in Gods intention, being none other that ever I heard or read of, but the advancement of his owne honour, and the use of man, who being remooved from hence to a better place, hee can have no farther use of it; And for the advancement of Gods honour, man being remooved, no other Creature shall bee left capable thereof; In which regard the end of the Creation being at an end upon mans remooveall from hence, I see not to what purpose the Creatures should remaine; And as great a doubt there is not onely about their choice, which shall remaine and which not, why some and not others, but about their condition in which they shall remaine, whether in a state of generation as now they are, or in a state of perpetuitie without generation, which in beasts, and fowles, and fishes, and vegetables, is altogether incredible.

O o o o 4

By



By my opinion you say the wisdom, power and providence of God should tend to nothing; Why my Lord is mankind nothing? are the Angels nothing? is the duration of the other Creatures hitherto nothing? and the Creator himselfe onely knowes how long they are yet to last; so as those arguments whereby I interest and ingage the attributes of God, not in the worlds eternity (as you say) but in a possibility thereof, doe not at all serve, much lesse abundantly serve, as you tell us, to prevent this Annihilation. Whiles the world lasts, it may serve as a cleare looking glasse or fayre volume, for a man to see and read the divine attributes in it, but man being remooved from hence, and beholding the Creatour not in a glasse but in himselfe, not in an image but face to face, this glasse may be broken, and this booke shut, or burnt, or both reduced to nothing, without any prejudice either to man, or to the maker: Now if you would be pleased to shew mee, how man being remooved from hence, and having no more to doe with this world, those divine attributes shall appeare to the senselesse and unreasonable Creatures, in your new or renovated world, I will promise you to annihilate my annihilation. I must professe, for mine owne part I know not how to understand it, unlesse perchance as you elevate the world, to a pitch of higher and nobler condition, so you will elevate the beasts, to a higher state of reason and religion; which I am the rather induced to beleeve, for that you have already published a Sermon, touching the religion of the dumbe Creatures, even in this base condition as now they are.

G. G.

**A**Nd in a word instance in any one thing which is annihilated, & I will yeeld the Annihilation of the whole world.

Nothing is  
annihilated.

The formes of dumbe Creatures are not annihilated, but as their bodies are resolved into the bodies of elements, so their formes into the formes of elements; & therein the formes have an analogicall materiality, whereby they differ from humane formes; the soules of men; in that they are educes out of the matter, & are as compounded of formes, so resolved into formes of elements; The apparent colours in cloudes or in glasses, though they want a materiall mixture, yet are they in their first principles; the opacitie and perspicuitie of bodies, shadowes which seeme to bee non entities, yet standing in relation they subsist in the grounds and fountaines of that relation, and therefore in the same position they retorne againe the same; Heer you will bee pleased to apply in a metaphysicall sence, that axiome concerning the links and chaines of generation & corruption, how they doe mutually draw on each other, for so a new world shall succeed this old world, and thereby prevent Annihilation; but whereas you would apply that axiome, only for preserving of things in their now naturall being (under favour bee it spoken) herein wee differ.

G. H.



G. H.

Y<sup>O</sup>u wish me to instance in any thing which is Annihilated, & then you will yeeld the Annihilation of the whole world; But suppose I could give you no such instance, is not the scripture, authoritie sufficient without an instance? you say a new world shall bee raised up in the ashes of this, can your Lordship give mee an instance for that? or were it reasonable in mee to demande it? And to your demande I say first, that if you can shew mee what Creatures shall remaine, in what condition they shall remaine, and to what end they shal remaine, or any one of these, so as to give your selfe satisfaction, I will utterly renounce my Annihilation.

Secondly, if an instance may bee given, I hope you will bee mindefull of your promise, which I shall endeavour. When our Saviour turned water into wine, I would gladly know whither the forme of water were not annihilated; as also what became of that new starre, which appeared in *Cassiopea*, anno 1572; and of that dove, in which the holy ghost appeared at our Saviours baptisme: Once I am sure that the Romanists in defence of their transubstantiation, cannot but maintaine an Annihilation of the bread, as well in regard of the matter, as the forme. Some of these instances I have formerly given you, but to them you vouchsafe no reply; I have likewise instanced in the properties, accidents, and essentiall formes of the elements, the mixt bodies, the vegetables, and the dumbe Creatures; The identitie of all these depends upon the identitie of the subject, in which they inhere, and which they informe; so as their subjects being once dissolved they vanish into nothing; at leastwise in regard of their identitie, which certainly is something; they can never returne againe to the same identitie, nor passe from one subject to another in that respect. There passeth a relation betweene the father and the sonne, the father dies, I would willingly learne now, what becomes of this relation, whither it do not so die with the father as it is utterly annihilated? and yet I hope you will not deny relation to bee something, otherwise wee must of necessity loose one of our predicaments. The sound of the winde whiles I am now writing, passeth by mine eare, I would aske what becomes of this sound; if it vanish and vanish into nothing, it is doubtlesse annihilated; and yet a sound I am sure you will yeeld to bee something. The like may bee said of the time past, which by your owne confession hath beene something, but being no more existent, either must bee annihilated or turned into some other thing, which I presume cannot be assigned; I could easily give you infinite instances in this kind, whereas you demande but one.

You reply, that the formes of dumbe Creatures are not annihilated, but as their bodies are resolved into the bodies of the elements, so their formes into the formes of the elements. Which assertion of yours to mee seemeth very strange, inasmuch as the formes of the dumbe Creatures, are indued with the faculties of life, of vegetation, of motion, of sense,



sense, which in the formes of the elements are not found; And besides, their essentiall forme consists not of divisible parts, but in an indivisible point; so as being dissolved, it cannot bee divided among the elements as you would have it, and in case it could, yet now subsisting in another subject, or rather in other subjects, it cannot bee denominated the same forme. If I should grant you, that the materiality of these formes as they informe mixt bodies, is both at first compounded of the elements, and at last resolved into them, yet as they are indued with the powers of vegetation and sense, they can no more bee resolved into the elements, then the elements can impart those powers; they may impart what they have, but what they have not, they cannot impart. That which you add touching apparent colours, that being in the same position, they returne againe the same; is true specifically but not numerically, the same they are in kinde, but not individually the same, because they want the same *hic & nunc*, as Logicians speake. The individuall colour then so appearing, is undoubtedly annihilated, as soone as the causes of such appearance are remooved, though the specificall still remaine subsisting in the same grounds and fountaines of that relation; So as I think, I could not have brought a more apparent instance against you, then you have heere done against your selfe from these apparent colours.

But now my Lord, how if I instance in your owne opinion touching the worlds decay; this I am sure is likewise good against you. You maintaine that there is a decrease as in mankind, so in many other kinds of vegetative and sensitive Creatures, if not in all; a decrease I say you maintaine in their quantities, and that a very great decrease since their Creation; now quantitie as you know is an accident inhærent in the matter, and to it inseperably united, as qualities are to the forme; the quantity then of the species of things decreasing, the portion of matter likewise answering to that quantity must of necessity decrease; and both that matter and quantity bee added to some other thing, or bee annihilated; so as you will bee forced either to assigne mee somewhat which is increased as much by this decrease, or grant Annihilation in the very course of nature, and that not onely of accidents, or materiall formes, but of the very first matter immediately created by God: which I constantly and confidently beleeve, cannot possibly bee annihilated in the course of nature, nor yet by the force of any Creature, as neither can the specificall formes, or specificall properties of things, but onely by God himselfe; though you bee pleased to teach us in your booke of the fall of man pag. 271. 369. 384. & in diverse other places, That the Creature hath not onely an impotency, as heere you speake; but an inclination to returne backe again into that nothing, from which it was made; Whereunto in your first letter you add another proposition, That God will hasten that destruction which the world or nature inclines unto, From which two propositions thus layd downe, the Conclusion in my Logick is inevitable, That God will hasten that Annihilation, which the world now inclines unto, and consequently in his due time will actually annihilate it; So as I need not now seeke any farther  
for



for instances to draw you to yeeld the Annihilation of the world, your selfe have brought such an instance, borrowed from the perpetuall decrease of the Creatures, without increase in others; and such an argument from their naturall inclination thereunto, and Gods hastning that inclination, as from henceforth I shall beleieve, that in opinion you hold it together with mee, though for disputations sake, or the solution of some doubts, you bee pleased with your pen to fight against it.

You conclude this section with an advice, that in a metaphysicall sense I should apply that *axiome*, concerning the links and chaines of generation and corruption, how they mutually draw on each other, to your new world succeeding this old; which in very truth I thought had beene impossible for any learned man to write. Why my Lord did *Aristotle*, whose *axiome* it is, and whom in your booke of *the fall of man*, you make to bee the miracle of men, ever dreame of any new world to succeed this? did ever any Philosopher, Christian or heathen, ancient or moderne, ever apply it but in a physicall sense? Can there be a corruption of the old, and a generation of a new world, and yet the old be only renovated, purified & refined? or can they mutually draw on each other, and yet the new world last to eternity without any corruption or alteration, without any new formes or accidents to succeed? Truly heere be such paradoxes, as I must professe, herein to differ from you for ever; but by this it appeares, that these linkes and chaines of generation and corruption, perpetually succeeding each other, have so fettered & maniced you, as you know not how to unloose them; and I will bee bold to say, neither you, nor any man else to the worlds end will ever bee able to unloose them.

But now my Lord, what is all this rattle, for the shewing of that which you undertooke, in the opening of my opinion, touching the power and providence of God in the preservation of the world from decay, that it was not forsooth, so religious as yours? This maine matter which should have bin insisted upon, you quietly passe over, and fall upon a by point of Annihilation, altogether impertinent to the question in hand; for whether the world bee annihilated or not, it may be preserved in a naturall course, & by naturall meanes without decay, till by a supernaturall power it bee dissolved: So as you might well enough have spared all this paines, it being nothing at all to your purpose; And yet how stoutely you have fought against my Annihilation, and maintained your imaginarie new world, raised out of the ashes of this old, I now leave to your owne unpartiall judgement alittle more advisedly to consider.

G. G.



G. G.

How farr wee  
agree or dis-  
agree.

**T**O make the application of all; that this world as now it is should bee destroyed, herein we both agree; that God shall interpose his immediate power in destroying it, herein wee likewise agree; now seeing the whole worke is to bee adjudged onely by the end, and that both of us doe joyne in the end, then you cannot charge my opinion to bee any disparagement to Gods providence, wee differing onely concerning the meanes which God useth for effecting this end. You will admit onely Gods extraordinary power, I say, that it stands with wisdom and providence, to fit and proportion meanes to the end, that nature supporting grace might no way oppose it, as being a great wound to Gods providence; if reason and religion should thwart and contradict each other, as if truth should bee contrary to it selfe, or that there were not one and the same God of both.

G. H.

**Y**OU are now come to the application of all, which indeed should bee the life and soule of all this long discourse; Herein you first undertake to shew, wherein we agree, and then wherein we differ. We agree you say, in the destruction of this world; but two words they say must goe to a bargaine, to this agreement I consent not. My selfe indeed hold the worlds destruction, simply, absolutely and plainly; but you cannot hold it without equivocation; for to renovate it, is not to destroy it, to purify it, is not to destroy it, to purge it, is not to destroy it, to refyne it, is not to destroy it, to elevate it to a higher condition (these bee all your owne words) is not to destroy it; destruction implies the separation of the soule from the body, the matter and the forme, which none of those words imply but the quite contrary. Your Lordship then must of necessity unfold your selfe a little better in this point, before I can subscribe to this Article of agreement.

Next you say, wee both agree in Gods interposing his immediate power in destroying it. Yea but by this meanes (as you heare us in hand) God should spare the principall sinner which is man, yet he should not spare the faire fabrick of this world, which never offended but in man; he should loose the labour of the six dayes, and marre his owne worke; none of which you will admit, and yet admit of Gods interposing his immediate power in the destruction of his owne worke; which Contradictions how to reconcile I know not, but shall desire your Lordships helpe for the solving of these riddles, before I subscribe to this agreement, as also why God should punish the world first by a naturall decay, which would undoubtedly bring it to destruction, and then againe by a supernatural power in effecting it himselfe; or how destruction which in ordinary construction is an act of justice, can bee said to be an act of mercy and pittie in relation to the same object, as in another place you tell us; Or lastly, how God may bee said to destroy by his immediate power, where hee fits and prepares meanes thereunto, as

fiery



fiery constellations to the burning of the world & the turning of it into ashes. My Lord some explanation in these points will be very requisite before I yeeld my consent to this second proposition of agreement.

If the whole worke bee adjudged onely by the end, as you say; then certainly is that worke to bee adjudged more noble and excellent, which cannot possibly come to an end and bee ruined but onely by the hād of that Architect who first framed it, then that which in the course of nature and by a naturall decay may runne to ruine; So as, in the end wee doe not joyne as you pretend, You say this world may have an end in the course of nature, I say it cannot; as in the course of nature it had not a beginning so neither shall it have an end, nor can have an end in the course of nature. And againe, I say indeed it shall have an end, as the Scriptures speake; you say it shall bee renewed; I say it shall bee a worke of Gods immediate power, so as no naturall second causes or ordinary meanes shall concur therein: you say that meanes shall bee fitted to the end.

Heere then are many differences, & I still charge your opinion with disparagement to Gods providence ( notwithstanding, that you would faine seeme to joyne with mee in the destruction of the world, though indeed you doe not) in that you charge his workmanship, with such a decay, which would at last of it selfe bring it to utter confusion, if not to nothing; Surely, to a right judgement Gods providence and actions doe more manifestly appeare, by the little and small alteration in nature; for I would gladly aske, if a clocke or instrument of iron were made, which should daily want mending, would yee commend the workman? but suppose this clocke should continue for many yeares, perfect and sound without reparation, then certainly the workman should have his due praise and commendation: so is it in the frame of this world, which hath now continued for many thousand yeares, without alteration and change, & therefore therein Gods providence, power and protection doe more eminently appeare. Your Lordship perchance may suppose these words to bee mine, but if you please once more to looke into *the fall of man* pag. 271. you will soone acknowledge them to be your owne; And againe, in your Corollary annexed to that booke, pag. 441. speaking of this world, and the Creatures of God therein, you say, that seeing it hath stood with Gods mercy first to produce them, it cannot but stand with the goodnesse, and constancy of his will, still to continue them, and to preserve his owne most excellent workmanship; So that now, all things rely not on the weakness of their owne foundation & pillars, but on the invincible strength of Gods power, the most certaine assurance of his promises, the most infallible effects of his providence. It is not I alone then, but your selfe who charge your owne opinion, of the worlds decay in the course of nature, with disparagement to the divine providence.

You say, that it stands with wisdom & providence, to fit and proportion meanes to the end, which is true in the naturall effects of an ordinary power, but in the supernaturall effects of an extraordinary power not so; inasmuch as the lesse the meanes are, and the lesse they are

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proportioned to the end, the more appears the greatnes & excellency of the power, in attaining the end, without their assistance or concurrence in producing the effect. When our Saviour annointed with clay the eyes of him that was borne blind, heere was meanes indeed, but how proportioned to the end, which was the opening of his eyes, no mortall eye can I thinke discern, it being rather in the course of nature, more fit to put out the eyes of a seeing man, then to open the eyes of a blind. And the like may bee observed in the rest of our Saviours miracles; which no doubt hee purposely did, that so the beams of his miraculous power, might more conspicuously shine in the weakenes of the meanes, as also in the naturall unfitnes & disproportion of the meanes to the end.

Touching nature and grace, reason and religion; except corrupt nature did oppose grace, there would bee no need of religion, and except naturall reason did thwart religion, there would bee no need of grace. Notwithstanding it cannot bee denyed, but nature guided by grace, and reason rectified by religion, may concur to the producing of excellent effects; yet some effects there are of grace and religion, which nature and reason cannot possibly reach unto, and consequently not concur in the producing of them, as the eye of reason reacheth to some things, which the eye of the sense cannot discern: so the eye of faith and religion reacheth to some other things, which the eye of reason cannot discern; yet are none of these being disposed aright, contrary one to another; and no doubt but there is the same God of them all, making the sense to serve reason, and reason to serve religion, yet so that reason may, and many times doth worke without the assistance of the sense, and religion without consulting with reason; it stedfastly beleeves the trinity of persons in one essence, & the union of the godhead and the manhood in one person, whereof reason can find no meanes fitted and proportioned to such incomprehensible mysteries.

G. G.

God will ever  
use meanes.

**T**Hus for advancing of Gods providence, and for the honour of religion, I make Hagar to attend upon Sarah, philosophy the handmaide to divinity; I pray doe you give me but one instance, wherein the providence doth not use meanes, over and above the extraordinary power. Thus in religion the Creatures are materialls in our sacraments; so in all Christs miracles hee never refused the ministry of Creatures, but these not sufficing, hee added his owne extraordinary power, thus in the deluge hee used the cloudes for his floodgates. And will you conceive, that such a deadly blow should bee given unto nature, yet no token, nor signe thereof, to appeare in nature, which might serve as a forewarning or preparation, or at least might make it appeare, that nature is capable of such a judgement, and subject to such a passion; my opinion is likewise more reasonable and probable then yours; for you will admit no naturall means but fly to the miracle; when as it stands with Gods wisdom to use imbred and natrall meanes, to worke the effects of his providence.

G. G.



G. H.

**T**hat *Hagar* should attend upon *Sarah*, and Philosophy waite upon Divinity, I cannot but allow of very well; but beleeve mee my Lord, if you suffer philosophy to checke divinity, where she cannot find meanes fitted & proportioned to the end, the maide will soone grow too bold with her mistresse, and then you will bee forced (if you desire to give *Sarah* content) to turne *Hagar* packing, or at least to curbe her sawcines in that point. *Let no man*, saith the Apostle, *spoyl you through philosophy*; and truly for mine owne part, I know not what it is, for a man to suffer himselfe to bee spoyled through philosophy, but to resolve of beleeving nothing, but what hee can find out meanes for, by discourse of reason and in the course of nature; This is to set the cart before the horse, and to make *Sarah* attend upon *Hagar*, divinity to waite upon philosophy.

You desire but one instance, wherein the providence doth not use meanes over & above the extraordinary power; I will satisfy your desire, & give you such a one as I know not what you can reply thereunto. I trust you will not deny the Creation to bee a worke of the Providence, and am sure you can therein find no meanes over and above the extraordinary power of God; when nothing was as yet made, there could not possibly bee any meanes used, for the making of something out of nothing. And as allmighty God proceeded in the worke of the Creation, by bringing the world from nothing to something without meanes: so no doubt but hee may, and in all likelihood will, without meanes reduce it from something to nothing, that so the end may in all points, hold correspondency with the beginning, and both bee knowne to bee his immediate worke. For the beginning, your selfe a little before are pleased to grant, that the Creation had no reference at all to naturall causes, which is as much in effect, as if you had said, that the providence used no meanes therein over & above the extraordinary power; & why you should so stiffly oppose the same kind of proceeding in the worlds end, I cannot imagine, but onely for your owne ends.

Againe when you speake of using meanes, your meaning must needs bee (as in the precedent Section you have fully expressed your selfe) of meanes fitted and proportioned to the end. And so much appeares by your according of nature and grace, reason and religion, Philosophy and Divinity; now for such meanes I will seeke for instance no farther the the worke of the first day. Darkenes covering the face of the deepe, God said, Let there bee light, and there was light; what meanes I pray did the providence use heer for the creating of light? surely none other then that which the Apostle speaks of 2. Cor. 4. 6. *Hee commanded the light to shine out of darkenes*; So unlesse you will say that darkenes was a meanes fitted & proportioned to the creation of light, I see not how you can assigne any such meanes, nor indeed any meanes at all; And doubtlesse herein also your observation touching Gods observing a kind of generative order in the workes of the

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Creation,



Creation, will prove lame and fall very short. Now what I have said of the first matter, and the light the first dayes worke, may as truly bee verified of the Angells, the providence using no meanes at all, over and above the extraordinary power in the Creation of them. These I take to be instances enough, and such as will not easily bee disproved.

Thus in religion you say, the Creatures are materials in our Sacraments; true indeed, and without these they could not be Sacraments, no more then a man can be a man without a bodie and a soule; the inward grace being as the soule, and the outward materials as the bodie of the Sacraments. But you doe not shew how the bread and wine in the one, or water in the other, are fitted and proportioned to the end, whereunto the Sacraments are ordained, which is the conveying of grace to the soule; water is not proportioned to the washing away of sins, nor bread to the strengthening of faith; Reason and Philosophie will not yeeld this, much lesse finde it out, though it bee no miracle in regard of the promise.

So in all Christs miracles you say, he never refused the ministerie of the Creatures; What in *all*? surely my Lord, you must either limit this proposition, or falsifie the Gospell, there is no remedie. It is manifest, *Math. 15. 28.* that in dispossessing the daughter of the *Cananitishe* woman, (who was grievously vexed with a Devill) he refused the ministerie of the Creatures, nay he cured her by his word only, being at that time farre absent from her. Thus *Marke 11. 20.* when he caused the fig-tree to drie up on the sudden, and to wither away by the roots, he used not the ministry of any Creature, onely he said, 'No man eate fruit of thee hereafter for ever: which was indeed a kinde of curse, but no use of meanes. Diverse other miracles he did, nay I will be bold to say the greatest part, using none other meanes then his bare command, or assent to the request of poore Petitioners, or the imposition of hands, or prayer to his father, and crying with a loud voice, as he did in raising *Lazarus* from the grave, in which he had laine dead by the space of foure dayes; Now to command, to grant petitions, to impose hands, to pray to his father, to cry aloud, are not (as I take it) to use the ministerie of the Creatures. And where he used them which was not often, they were not in any naturall manner fitted and proportioned as ordinary meanes, to the end; nay rather he alwayes used such, and in such sort, as thereby to shew that hee was the Lord of the meanes, as well as the end, making them sometimes to worke, (if at all they wrought in producing those miraculous effects) not onely beside or above (as you would have it) but cleane contrary to their naturall properties. And if you will in all Christs actions fit and proportion naturall meanes to the end, I will bee bold to say, hee never wrought any miracles, that being onely a miracle, which transcends the sphere of natures activitie; and on the other side, where meanes are proportioned to the end, that must needs be within the latitude of her activitie, or else the proportion failes, for in case the proportion of meanes  
bee



bee fitted to the producing of the effect, they cannot but bee effectually even in a naturall course; and by this meane you will make Christs miracles no miracles.

You say, that Christ in the deluge used the cloudes for his floud-gates; which is improperly said of Christ as mediatour, in which sense you spake of him immediately before. Neither were those floudgates caused by naturall meanes, nor yet proportioned to that end; The great deepe was likewise to that end broken up, and that by a supernaturall power; and it is certaine, that of such an universall deluge overflowing all the face of the earth, and rising fiftene cubits above the highest mountaines, Philosophy can yeeld no sufficien treason. But now if you please, to instance in some other miracles of the old testament; what ministry of the Creatures I pray were used, for the standing still of the Sunne upon *Gibeon*, and the moone in the valley of *Aialon*? or for the going backe of the shadow in the diall of *Ahaz*, and returning of the sunne ten degrees? or what meanes was the blowing of ramms hornes, fitted and proportioned to the battering of the walls of *Ierico*? Hereupon you go on, and aske the question; whether I conceive, that such a deadly blow should bee given to nature, and yet no token, no signe thereof to appeare in nature; Truly if the blow were naturall, I should conceive it altogether impossible, but being altogether supernaturall, I cannot but conceive it very possible. Was it not a great blow trow you to Nature, when the Sunne, the visible God (as it were) of nature suffered? was put to a stand, and forced to retyre? yet we reade not of any forerunning token thereof, appearing in nature; Neither doe I thinke, that in nature there appeared any signe of that deadly blow, which by the generall floud was given to the world; forewarnings there were of that long before, and so of this, and forerunning signes there shall bee, but no causes that I reade of. I beseech you my Lord what signes were there of the Creation, or what tokens will you give us of your renovated world, or of the conflagration of this? you speake sometimes of fiery signes, and I know not what, things most uncertaine; but certaine it is, that a naturall decay cannot bee the signe, much lesse the cause of such a supernaturall fire. Such a decay indeed, consuming and annihilating (as being admitted, of necessity it must a great part of the world) might well serve, as a very effectually signe of the Annihilation of the whole; but how the decay of the world, should bee a signe of the burning or refyning of it, or of the raising of a new world in the ashes of this, that cannot I conceive,

Your opinion you say, is likewise more reasonable and probable then mine, for that I will admit no naturall meanes, but fly to the miracle. Why my Lord, the question is, which opinion is more *religious*, and you assure mee that yours is more *reasonable*; and why so I pray you? because forsooth, I will admit of no naturall meanes for the worlds dissolution; if you bee pleased to point mee forth any naturall meanes in the Creation, I will instantly admit of naturall meanes in the dissolution, otherwise I shall crave the like libertie in the one as I

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know



know you will assume in the other. And for my flying to the miracle, I wonder you would charge mee with that; as if it were possible to bee a christian and not to fly to miracles. Will you not fly to the miracle for the worlds creation? and will you then charge mee for flying to the same in the worlds dissolution? do not your selfe maintaine, that God will suddenly interpose his extraordinary and immediate power, in the destruction of it? and I beseech you, what is this but a miracle? what is the fire ordained for the worlds conflagration, but a miracle? what is the turning of it in so short a space into ashes, but a miracle? and lastly what is the raising of a new world out of the ashes of this, but a miracle? all these miracles you must of necessity fly unto, and many more for the defence of your opinion, and yet blame mee for flying to one.

But it stands you say, with Gods wisdom to use inbred and naturall meanes, to worke the effects of his Providence; true, of his ordinary providence in the course of nature, but not of his extraordinary above natures pitch; such workes hee effecteth by his extraordinary power, and extraordinary meanes, if hee use any; and except you will rise higher then inbred & naturall meanes, for working some effects of the Divine providence, truly my Lord wee may burne our bibles, and shut up our Churches, and renounce our profession, so as while you plead so much for the reasonableness of your opinion, I much doubt it will at last relapse upon irreligion. God grant I may no longer live, then I beleeve the Articles of my Creed, and the mysteries of our Christian religion; without flying unto inbred and naturall meanes, fitted and proportioned to all the works & effects of the divine providence; Herein I may pretend Gods wisdom, but I shall finde it to my smart to bee none other then mine owne folly, and vaine curiosity in the end, and loose my selfe in a bottomlesse gulph, or endlesse maze of disquisition.

G. G.

My opinion is  
for the eternity  
of the world,  
which you deny.

**T**Hough I deny the eternity of the world, in that sinfull and miserable estate and condition wherein now it subsists, whereas you say it might and should thus continue for eternity; yet I doe affirme and constantly maintaine the eternity after the renovation, but this you would wholly annihilate; if then eternity makes more for Gods providence, then annihilation, my opinion is to bee preferred before yours; or if eternity in a state of integrity and perfection, be to bee preferred before eternity in a sinfull state and condition, still my opinion is to be preferred before yours, as being a more excellent argument of Gods providence; and that my opinion is much more probable then yours may hence appeare; whereas you say that reason cannot discern the Creation, though it see all the fruits and effects of the Creation, then can it much lesse discern the Annihilation when as no effects nor fruits thereof shall remaine, and therefore you can pretend no reason to conclude your Annihilation. Meethinkes I am like a man that drew out his sword to fight with a shadow, and having backt and hewd it and cut it, at length hee found that hee had killed nothing, yet still hee esteemed himselfe as a conqueror, for that his enemy was nothing; and thus I may say of the Annihilation: yet heere give me leave privately to put you in minde, whether



*ther the Annihilation doth not wonderfully trench upon that Article of our faith, the resurrection of the bodie, and therein I referre my selfe to some arguments which I have formerly used, to which I doe intreat you to give satisfaction.*

G. H.

**I** Still deny the condition of the world to be sinfull, save onely in relation to man; remove man out of it, and sinne will soone be removed with him: And if in this state you deny the possibilitie of the worlds eternity, why doe you tell us in your booke of *the Fall of man*, speaking of the world in this present condition. 'That to establish and continue the government is a worke of no lesse glory then at first to obtaine the conquest; pag. 271. That it is not unknowne unto us, that God by vertue of his promise to preserve and continue the same excellent order, which was first instituted in the Creation, hath tyed him'selfe to impart some things unto the Creatures as necessary and essentiall to their beeing, without which the Creature cannot subsist: pag. 13. That the lesse the alteration is, the more it would argue the excellency of the workeman, as in the framing, so in the continuance of his worke; pag. 382. That this inferiour world consisting of the same different and contrary elements as man doth, yet still continues in the same state, which man doth not; and then you aske the question, why there should not be a state of consistencie in man, as well as in the whole world. That it is strange the heavens should so long continue without change or alteration, and man for whom they were onely ordained, should not live to see one revolution of them. That the superior causes move by a most certaine and unchangeable rule, as the divine providence hath appointed them. The like passages you have in diverse other places of that booke, as also in your *Corollarie* annexed thereunto, and in your Sermon of the religion of the dumbe Creatures, whom you there compare to the Angells, for their stable and immoveable condition. And all this you affirme of this present world, even in this sinfull and miserable estate, which you here deny; so as I see no remedie but you must either blot out that, or deny this deniall, if you will bee constant to your selfe, and so you shall acquit mee, for saying that this world in this present condition, might continue to eternitie if it so pleased God; for that it *should* (as you would put it upon mee) I never said.

You doe affirme you say, and constantly maintaine the eternitie after the Renovation, but this I would annihilate. What eternitie I beseech you my Lord, do you maintaine? of this world, or some other after this? of this world you say after the renovation. Why you made it an Article of agreement betweene us a little before, that this world should bee destroyed; can the same world be destroyed, and yet by renovation be eternall? can this world be consumed, and a new world be raised in the ashes of this, and yet this world bee eternall? can the essentiall nature of this world, consisting of the principles of generation and corruption



ruption be removed from it, and yet this world be eternall? can it bee eternall being devestd of its inbred and naturall principles, which as you assure us draw it on to decay? My Lord, you may perchance affirme some other world after this to bee eternall; but that this world consisting of the same essentiall, inbred, and naturall principles (without which it cannot be said to bee *this world*) should be eternall, if you will bee constant to your selfe, that I am sure you cannot constantly maintaine. And for my selfe though I annihilate this world, when there shall be no farther use of it; yet I maintaine and constantly maintaine another world after this, not here below (as you doe) but in the highest heavens which shall last to eternitie.

If eternitie you say, makes more for Gods Providence then Annihilation, your opinion is to bee preferred before mine. Why my Lord, the maine question betweene us is not touching eternitie and Annihilation, but touching a possibilitie of the worlds eternitie, or a necessary decay in the course of nature; You are to prove, that the decay and consequently the death of the world in the course of nature, makes more for Gods Providence, and is therefore to bee preferr'd before my opinion of the preservation of it from decay, and consequently of a possibilitie of eternitie: This question you baulke throughout your discourse, and fall upon a by point, standing in comparison betweene the Annihilation of this world, (when there shall bee no farther use of it) and the raising of a new eternall world out of the ashes of this; and if this be reduced to ashes, truly the state of it will bee little better then Annihilation: And againe, how your new world shall make for Gods providence I know not, except you will place some Creature in it that shall be capable of God and his providence.

If eternitie you say, in a state of integritie and perfection, be to bee preferred before an eternitie in a sinfull state and condition; still your opinion is to be preferred before mine, as being a more excellent argument of Gods providence. Why my Lord, I hold an eternall state of integritie and perfection no lesse then you doe, though not in this world, either as it is, or renovated; but in those new heavens and new earth, whereas (as *S. Peter* speaketh) dwelleth righteousness: and this I hold to be a farre more excellent argument of Gods providence, then to dreame of the renovation of this world, or the raising of a new one succeeding this, in which none shall dwell that understand either what righteousness, or the providence, or eternitie are.

You say, that your opinion is much more probable then mine, because reason cannot discern the Annihilation. Why my Lord, I never affirmed that reason could discern it; neither will you I presume affirme, that it can discern either the renovation of this world, or the raising of a new out of the ashes of this; so as none of these being discernable by reason, to reason they are all probable alike, onely herein I take mine to bee more agreeable to reason, in that I affirme there being no farther use of the world it shall no longer be; you affirme it shall remaine, or another shall succeed in steed of this, without assigning any use of either.

Just



Just so my Lord you have indeede all this while fought with a shadow; you should have fought with Gods preservation of the world from decay, and you have fought with the Annihilation of it, which as I have said is nothing to your purpose; for whether this world bee renovated, or another raised out of the ashes of it, or it bee wholly annihilated, in the maine point it comes all to one, that till then by the divine providence, in the ordinary course of nature it may be preserved from decay.

You put mee in minde whether Annihilation doe not trench upon the Article of the resurrection; and for this you referre mee to some arguments formerly used; to which you desire satisfaction: whereas I have already given you ample satisfaction therein, but you take no notice of it; you neither receive satisfaction, nor vouchsafe to tell me why you doe not. Your first doubt was, how the bodies of the Saints should rise againe, the world being annihilated. Whereunto I answered, that Annihilation was not to goe before, but to follow the resurrection. Your other doubt was (for I remember no more) what place the bodies of the Saints should finde fitted to them, the world being annihilated. Whereunto I answered, that the place prepared for them, was the highest heavens, the heaven of heavens, as farre beyond those heavens we now looke upon in beauty and excellencie, as they are in amplitude and scituation; or as these heavens which wee looke upon are beyond the earth. And though this highest heaven be to us invisible in this state of mortalitie, yet is it not in it selfe altogether immateriall, but suteable to the glorified bodies of the Saints; And thus you see, Annihilation being a meere shadow, a nothing cannot trench upon the Article of the resurrection. But on the other side I very much doubt, that your opinion of fitting and proportioning naturall meanes to the end, in all the workes of the divine providence, doth very much trench upon that Article; which I beleeve, as I doe the Creation and Annihilation of the world, but despaire ever to make it good by reason or Philosophie; it being to reason altogether impossible, that the matter and forme being once disjoyned, can ever againe be reunited, so as to make the same individuall subject, which was formerly compounded of them; and *Aristotles Philosophie* will tell you, that *Aprivatio* *ad habitum numero eundem non datur regressus*.

G. G.

I Doe intreat you, and most earnestly intreate you, and as farre forth as is fit in modesty I doe presse you to answer these doubts, though they are simple and weake, and happily not worth the answering; yet for the quiet of my minde, I pray satisfie them. When you have so done and not before, then whereas you have often proposed the Catholique visible Church, I shall joyne issue with you in that question. I confesse we differ in some opinions, happily it is but my mistake, upon your better information I should bee very glad to become your Convert; or if you desire rather to returne to the first controversie (for I leave all to your owne choyce, I will not propose but follow your directions) because we  
will



will make short worke, a quicke dispatch, you may bee pleased to remember that Morney and Eureux, being greater and wiser then our selves, appointed Iudges to determine a Controversie betweene them; I pray let us doe the like. Whereas hitherto wee have contested upon equall termes, I will then give you some advantage, if you please to accept it in love.

1<sup>o</sup> Whereas you equall, or rather preferre our moderne inventions before the Ancients, I will labour to prove that therein they exceed us in a ten-fold proportion.

2<sup>o</sup> Whereas you compare or preferre the moderne workes of piety, and charity, before the Ancients, I will therein likewise labour to prove they exceeded us in a ten-fold proportion.

3<sup>o</sup> Whereas you complaine much of the impostures and delusions of the Ancients, I will labour to prove, that these moderne times doe not onely equall theirs, but therein exceede them in a ten-fold proportion.

If I faile herein either in the proofes, or in the proportion, I will subscribe to your opinion.

4<sup>o</sup> If you had rather have mee stand upon the defensive part, then set mee downe any Arguments in writing, or point mee out any Arguments in your booke; if I doe not give them a full satisfaction in the judgement of Philosophers, I will subscribe to your opinion.

#### G. H

**Y**OU intreat mee, you earnestly intreat mee, you most earnestly intreat mee, and in a manner presse mee to the answering of your doubts, for your satisfaction and the quieting of your minde; which doubtlesse you would never doe, did you conceive your arguments to be so weake and worthlesse as you pretend; It cannot be that such an opinion and such importunitie should stand together: Howsoever I have now endeavoured (as you see) to give you satisfaction; and shall now make bold as earnestly to intreat your Lordship (for to presse you I dare not) either to take satisfaction from my answers, or to let me understand why you doe not.

Touching the Church, I never doubted of the visibilitie thereof; but that the Church of Rome hath erred in matter of faith, is I thinke as little to be doubted.

Concerning your Lordships motion of referring our Controversie to the determination of Judges, appointed to that purpose, I cannot dislike it, so they bee judicious and unpartiall; but who they shall bee, where they shall meete, or in what manner wee shall proceede, will bee as difficult a matter to bee determined, as the Controversie it selfe.

For your offer of advantages, mee thinkes (under favour) you goe not the right way to worke, by comparing this latter age with all precedent Antiquitie, which carries above a tenfold, nay above fiftie fold proportion to it; which is as if you should tell me, that you would grant me some great advantage, by taking upon you to prove that fiftie men are tenfold as strong as one; And is not here a great advantage

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trou you? but if you bee pleased to compare this last Centenarie with any one preceeding, this indeed would seeme to carry with it some face of equalitie; yet even this way too, no small advantage would bee given from me, you having the libertie to make choice of any one out of more then fiftie, to oppose against that single one to which I am tied alone; And besides, for inventions, mens necessities for the most part force them to it; so as wee being not straitned with those necessities as the Ancients were, no marvell if wee be not so fruitfull as they were in inventions of that kinde. And for workes of piety and charitie, the Ancients being borne in hand by those in whom they reposed the greatest trust; That those workes were satisfactorie for sinne, meritorious of a reward, and availeable to shorten the paines in Purgatorie by the deliverance of their owne soules, and the soules of their friends from thence; it is not to be wondred if therein they exceeded us, but rather that wee should equall them; which notwithstanding comparing time with time, from the entrance of *Queene Elizabeth*, to this present time, I beleeeve it to bee most certaine, opposing it to the like measure of time in former ages, and if I should say that in this proportion wee exceed them, I thinke I should arrogate nothing unduly to our selves, nor unjustly wrong them. And lastly I doe not remember that any where I make so great a complaint of the impostures and delusions of the Ancients as you pretend; (except perchance you meane the frequent and foule breach of faith in the *Romans*) but in case it bee so, that therein wee exceed the Ancients, it will withall follow, That wee as much exceed them in cunning and activity of wit, and consequently decay not in all things. Now the Comparison being thus stated, as in reason it should, if you exceedingly faile not in proofes, I will subscribe to your opinion; and yet withall mee thinkes it were but reason, you should hereunto adde (the decay by you being pretended to bee generall) That as the Ancients exceeded us in inventions and workes of piety and charitie by a tenfold proportion: so they likewise as much exceeded us in age, and strength, and stature, living in the ordinary course of nature ten times as long, being ten times as tall and as strong as now men are. And the same proportion should also in equitie bee held in the Sunne, and Moone, and starres, in the elements and mixt bodies, in the fowles, the beasts, the fishes, the creeping things, the vegetables, the mineralls, and all: which I dare say you will not affirme, and am truly of opinion (all things duly and rightly considered) you have as little reason to affirme this as here you doe.

For the setting downe of mine Arguments to bee answered by your Lordship it shall not neede, till you have either broken or unlinked that inviolable chaine of generations and corruptions, succeeding each other by turnes in these sublunarie bodies, or shovne a perpetuall and universall decay in all the celestiall bodies, specially in the Sunne since the first Creation; Neither of which I am confident will ever bee done by your selte, or any man else, in the judgement of any  
learned



learned and upright Arbitratour; beleeve mee my Lord, your Metaphysicall notions about a new world to bee raised out of the ashes of this will not serve your turne in the first, nor your imaginarie approach of the Sunne to the earth, nearer then in former ages, in the second.

G. G.

**T**H E S E are no challenges but friendly offers, proceeding out of infinite love to truth.

G. H.

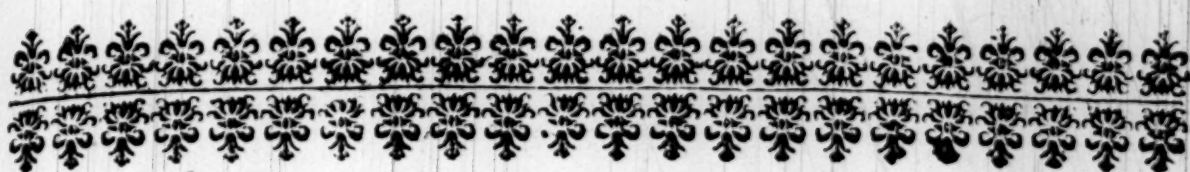
**T**Hese you say are not challenges but friendly offers; I accept them, hoping you will bee pleased to remember they are your owne offers, and I having yeelded to them, you now stand engaged to the performance of them, for so much as concernes your part. They proceed you say out of your love to truth, which if it bee so infinite as you pretend, mee thinkes your paines in finding it should not be confined within so narrow bounds.

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**W**Hen I well hoped that his Lordship had received satisfaction from my precedent answers, and so had made an end of his Arguments, I received from him these ensuing, drawne into a narrower compasse, and tending to the confutation of my whole booke; which I have likewise endeavoured to answer, that I might give him all the faire contentment I may; but truly confesse I should not have published them, had not his Lordship very lately by letter urged mee thereunto; neither could I well bee wanting to his Lordships call, least hee might happily professe that I had wronged him in suppressing them.

G. G.

**F**or your first booke I shall say little, the two first chapters are in the nature of a preface; the third and fourth chapters treat onely of generalls, which in the succeeding bookes are more particularly handled; in the fifth you answer our objections, but I conceive you doe not propose them in their full strength; for prooffe whereof so many sheetes have passed betweene us, which may serve to enlarge that chapter.

G. H.

**Y**ou tell mee that to my first booke you shall say little; and yet a little after you say, that your greatest exception is against my first chapter; as if the first chapter were no part of the first booke.

The two first chapters you say, are in the nature of a preface, whereas the second containes the reasons inducing the Authour, to the writing and publishing of that discourse; the invaliditie of which reasons when you have sufficiently shewed, and withall produced more sufficient, for the publishing of a discourse against the worlds preservation from an universall and perpetuall decay, I will subscribe to your opinion.

To my third and fourth chapters you have no exception, though the former of them containe the state of the question; and the latter my generall proofes for the worlds preservation from decay, which is in truth the very foundation of all the ensuing discourse; so as in policie you should have attempted at leastwise the undermining and blowing up of this, in case you had intended the ruine of that.

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In the fifth you say I answer objections, but propose them not in their full strength; whereas those drawne from reason I made bolde to borrow from your Lordships booke of *the Fall of man*, proposing them in your owne words; whereunto I shaped answers, but you as yet no reply thereunto. And for the generall objections taken from the authoritie of *Cyprian*, *Esdra*s, and the Canonickall Scriptures, I have set downe the very words of the two first at large, and for the third I have omitted nothing to my knowledge, or for my advantage: Yet for the adding of a fuller strength to these objections, so many sheets you say have passed betweene us, which may serve to inlarge that chapter; which being so, when that chapter together with the rest shall come to a third impression, what strength you have added to those objections, and what satisfactions I have framed to those additions, will then appeare.

G. G.

**I**N this first booke two things there are which I thought fit to observe, the Authours which you there quote for your selfe, they are so few, so poore, so contemptible in respect of those whom you acknowledge to be your Adversaries, that I wonder much they did not make some impression in you: this weeke I had occasion to reade a little in S. Gregorie, and truly I finde his opinion cleane contrary to yours, and therefore you might have reckoned him among your other Adversaries.

G. H.

**I**N my first booke (you say) you observe, that the Authours which I quote for my selfe are so few, so poore, so contemptible in respect of those whom I acknowledge to be mine Adversaries, as you wonder it wrought not some impression in mee; Whereas in that booke I undertook not to muster up those Authours who are for me, and yet if you please to peruse that booke againe, you will finde them whom upon occasion I therein quote as friends to my opinion, neither so few nor poore as you pretend. There you may finde quoted *Moses*, *David*, *Solomon*, the Prophet *Ioel*, *Iustin Martyr*, *Arnobius*, *S. Augustine*, *Orosius*, *Plato*, *Philo*, *Aristotle*, *Quintilian*, *Tacitus*, *Vallesius*, *Contarenius*, *Bodin*, *Lipsius*, *Scaliger*, *Camerarius*, *Ramus*, *Aquinas*, my Lord of *St Albans*, *Ludovicus Regius*, *Ovid*, *Manilius*, *Pontanus*, *Du Bartas*, *Camden*, *Bectius*, and others; neither poore nor contemptible, but of so great account in the Common-wealth of learning, as I wonder it wrought no impression in you. Now for those whom in that booke I acknowledge to be mine Adversaries, beside *Lucretius the Epicurean*, they are the counterfeite *Esdra*s, *S. Cyprian* and *S. Ambrose* mislead as it should seeme by him, and all of them contrary to themselves in other places.

But had your Lordship beene pleased to adde hereunto those Authours, whose full and punctuall passages I have alleadged for my cause in other parts of that booke, as also in mine answer to your first letter, in very truth I cannot but exceedingly wonder they should

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worke no more impression in you ; I there quoted *Theodoret, Vives, Lactantius, Morney, Dionysius, Cyrill, Zanchius, Musculus, Lessius, Hyperius, Hunnius, Seneca, Cicero, Claudian, Hooker, Basil, Nyssen, Nazianzen, Ambrose, Chrysostome, Hierome, Arias Montanus*, and lastly *D<sup>r</sup> Goodman*, now Lord Bishop of *Glocester*, besides a great number of other most famous Divines and Philosophers, aswell ancient as moderne ; yet all these it seemes have wrought little upon you, no not *D<sup>r</sup> Goodman* himselfe.

Having occasion you say to reade in *S. Gregory*, you finde his opinion cleane contrary to mine, so as I might have ranged him among mine other Adversaries, but had your Lordship beene pleased to point me out that passage in *S. Gregory*, I should have beene more beholding to you ; which I presume you would not have omitted either in curtesie to mee, or for your owne advantage, had you read it in *S. Gregorie* himselfe. The truth is, I finde somewhat to that purpose in his *Homilies* upon the Gospells, where by reason of the great calamities of the times, he presseth upon his Auditors the neare approach of the worlds consummation, as if it had beene then instantly at hand ; whereas it hath now lasted above 1000 yeares since those his Sermons, and is at this present freer (God be blessed for it) from those pressures he there speakes of, then at that time it was.

But now my Lord will you be pleased to revise what *S. Gregory* himselfe saith, as I have laid it downe, pag. 265. which I am sure is cleane contrary to your Lordships opinion, for matter of knowledge expressed in many places, so as in that respect he may very well be ranked and reckoned among my best friends, and your greatest adversaries.

G. G.

**B***Ut my greatest exception is against your first chapter, where you rip up so many old errours; doe you not hereby disgrace Antiquity? and give a blow to Religion? which was founded in antiquity, established in antiquity, had his growth and progresse with antiquity, and so descended to modernitie; And doe you not here open a gap to all innovation and projecting, which may passe under the faire pretence and colour of reformation.*

G. H.

**Y***OU said before, that you had little to say to my first booke, and yet having runne through some chapters thereof, you make a leap backe againe to the first, and assure mee that your greatest exception is against that, because therein I rip up many old errors; whereas through that chapter I have not so much as ripped up one my selfe, but onely shew such as others have ripped up, and a great part of them not by moderne Authours, but by the Ancients themselves, (such I meane as lived above a thousand yeares since) noting the errours of their predecessors; which if they bee errours, why should your Lordship except against the ripping of them up? and if they bee not, why doe you not vindicate them from that imputation?*

But herein you say, I give a blow to religion; which way I beseech you my Lord? do I there touch upon any error in any point necessarie

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to



to salvation? or can the errors of Infidels, or errors in Philosophie, or in historie civill, nationall, naturall, give a blow to Christian religion? and if you will give no way to the Reformation of old errors, you will thereby condemn not onely the reformed religion in regard of Poperie, but the very Christian religion it selfe in regard of Paganisme; and then may your Lordship from thence be pleased to conjecture whether of us gives the deadliest blow to true religion. Did S. *Augustine* or *Epiphanius* give a blow to religion, when they published Catalogues of old errors and heresies? errors are as weedes and drosse, which being removed, are so farre from giving any blow to the mettall or corne from which they are taken, as it makes the one the brighter, and the other much the better.

G. G.

**A**Nd now I come to those exceptions which concerne your booke in generall. All your arguments are drawne from the ordinary course of nature, when as the conception and dissolution are of a higher speculation, and even naturall alterations are scarce sensible; the Sunne moves swifter then an arrow, yet seemes to stand still; much lesse is the dissolution so easily discerned, which notwithstanding, because it is not palpable, you would therefore deny. The decay of the world is not so much as the losse of ten summer dayes, yet these were lost in the Julian yeare, therefore your reasons, your authorities, not supposing this error, are become void; some little difference there must bee in regard thereof; though you mention the correction of the yeare for the honour of modernity, yet you make no application to shew the difference of times, and failing herein you faile in the question.

G. H.

**W**EE are now come to your generall exceptions. All my arguments you say, are drawne from the ordinary course of nature, whereas the conception and dissolution are of a higher speculation; I suppose by *conception* and *dissolution*, you meane the beginning and ending of the world; which you affirme to bee of a higher speculation then the ordinary course of nature, and so doe I too; and yet in your last arguments you much blame mee for so affirming, and if my professed opinion bee, that the world did not begin, nor shall end in the ordinary course of nature, from whence I beseech you, but from the ordinary course of nature should I draw mine arguments? higher speculations then the ordinary course of nature, belong not to meere naturall reason, but to faith and religion.

Naturall alterations you say are scarce sensible, much lesse is the dissolution so easily discerned; which I easily beleieve, that by naturall reason being not at all discernable, which in the course of nature is not to be found; if any perpetuall alteration tending to an universall decay were at all sensible, undoubtedly a finall dissolution would be as clearly discernable to reason; such an alteration being the necessary, both antecedent and cause of a dissolution, and againe a finall dissolution, the necessary both consequent and effect of such an alteration.

You



You compare the decay of nature to the motion of the Sun, which though it moves swifter then an arrow, yet it seemes to stand still; yea but though we see not the Sunne move, yet we see that in 24 houres it hath runne an incredible circuit; so incredible as that good Mathematicians, and those not a few conceive thereupon, rather the earth to move and the Sun to stand still; now if we saw but the ten thousandth part of such sensible effects in the decay of nature, within the like compasse of time, or within the compasse of ten thousand times as much time, it were indeed sufficient to convince my opinion of error, though we saw not how or by what sensible degrees it decayed.

The decay of the world is not so much you say, as the losse of ten summer dayes in the *Julian* yeare; not? then is it very little indeed, ten dayes carrying not the proportion to the duration of time, from *Julius Cæsar*, to the time of the reformation of the Calendar by *Gregory* the thirteenth, as one unitie doth to fiftie thousand, which indeed is so insensible, as it is almost impossible to finde it in the worlds decay; for the purpose, to say that men within the space of this last fiftene hundred yeares, have lost the fiftie thousandth part of their stature, is a thing so insensible, as it must needs bee most uncertaine; and yet in your booke of *the Fall of man*, pag. 359. you affirme that in *Galens* time (who lived about 1400 yeares since) in letting of blood men usually tooke fixe or seaven times as much as they doe in these dayes; which you there say is a strange difference, and so indeed it is, but whereas you adde, and yet undoubtedly a truth, you most apparently contradict your selfe heere, assuring us that the decay is not so much as the losse of ten dayes in the *Julian* yeare; Truly my Lord, if the decay bee no more then so, wee need not feare any hasty dissolution of the world by the decay thereof.

Your inference from hence is, that my reasons and authorities not supposing this errour, are thereby become voide. What errour I beseech you? if I have erred in the proportion, it is you who have led me into that errour, by telling me that within lesse then 1500 yeares since, men had usually fixe or seaven times as much blood in their bodies as now they have; whereupon it will follow, that they were then usually fix or seaven times as long, as bigge, as tall, as now a dayes they are. But my Lord, the truth is, that my reasons not onely suppose but demonstrate no decay at all, (universall I meane and perpetuall) which being never so little, would of necessitie in tract of time draw on a dissolution of the world, and not onely so, but an Annihilation thereof in the course of nature, both which are altogether impossible; for you then to say, that my reasons are become voide, as not supposing the pretended error in the proportion of the decay, is certainly an errour in you not pretended nor supposed, but true and reall; and what I say of my reasons may as justly be verified of my authorities.

What you meane by that which followes touching my failing in the question, because mentioning the correction of the yeare for the honour of modernitie, I make no application to shew the difference of times, I must confesse I understand not.



G. G.

**T**O prove a generall truth, you are not to cull out your instances, but take them as they generally fall out (e.g.) the lives of men, take the chiefe Apostles and their successors, take all the old Confessors, compare them with the Foxian Confessors; or more particularly, take the two first moneths in the yeare, compare their Confessors with our Modernes; take all the Ancient writers of this nation; and for the more indifferencie compare them by the Alphabet, or I will take your owne instances of the Romans, their 7 Kings raigned 244 yeares, shew mee the like now under the Sunne, but in all Christian Kingdomes, the last twelve raigned no longer, and these are exceeded by the former twelve, and so comparing them by twenty and twenty, the more ancient doe ever exceed, unlesse two or three, and there is an apparent cause to the contrary.

G. H.

**Y**OU tell me that I cull out my instances in the lives of men; Why my Lord, what is that to the heavens, the elements, the vegetables, the fowles, the fishes, the beasts? what is this to the strength, the stature, the learning, the manners of men? what is this to my reasons and authorities, touching the length of mens lives? nay, what is this to the instances themselves? them you cannot disprove, but onely blame me for culling them out, which I must of necessitie doe, except I should instance in the particular men of every age.

You bid mee take the chiefe Apostles and their successors with all the old Confessors, and compare them with the Foxian Confessors. This you may call a culling too if you please, in regard of all other men, or societies of men living in the same age with them. Which of the Apostles you terme chiefe, or how farre you will extend their Successors I know not; nor yet well conceive what you intend by the Confessors, unlesse you meane the registred Saints and Martyrs; but this am I sure of, that all the Apostles (S. Iohn onely excepted) suffered violent death; so did the greatest part of their immediate successors, so did the Foxian Confessors; and what comparison then can here be in their ages, for the discoverie of the inequality in the length of mens lives? specially the precise length of their lives being not alwayes expressed, or uncertainly set downe; and besides to oppose all the old Confessors, that is all of the first three hundred yeares after Christ, (for so long lasted the persecution) to the Foxian Confessors (as you are pleased to call them) is such a disproportion, as if a man should oppose three to three hundred; nay, there were then many times put to death more in one day, then all the Marian Martyrs recorded by Mr Foxe.

From all the old Confessors you come to particularize in the two first moneths, wishing mee to compare their Confessors with our Modernes, but you direct mee not where I may finde their ages; our common Calendars have them not, and very few of them shall you finde either in their Legends, or Martyrologies, or Ecclesiasticall storie,



storie, and yet without the certaine knowledge of their severall ages, how you will compare them with the Modernes, I know not. Again, you wish mee to take all the ancient writers of this nation, and for the more indifferency to compare them by the Alphabet, what shall I compare? the ancient writers of this nation with the moderne? bee it so, but where shall the list of your ancient writers beginne, and where shall it end? or where shall I find their ages recorded? *Bale* and *Pitts* have named a great number of them but remeber the ages of very few.

To your instance in the *Roman Kings* I have already made answer in my third booke pag. 201. wherunto may bee added, that from *Saul* to *Zedechia*, who was carryed away captive into *Babylon*, there were 21. Kings of *Iudah*, who raigned in all 466 years, and they lived in all 938. years; to the age of *Hezechia* was added 15. years above the course of nature, of these, 4. came to violent deaths.

From King *Charles* upward, to *K. Henry* the first, exclusive were. 21. Kings of the line of *England*, who raigned in all 490 years, and lived in all 982. years, of these. 6. came to violent deaths, and might have lived much longer.

And so the same number of Kings in this latter age raigned 24. years more then those auncient Kings, and exceeded them in their ages, 44. years.

From the first yeare of the raigne of King *David*, till the first of King *James* of *England*, were upon the point of 2632. years in all, which time (as appears by the former calculation) there was little or no difference in the ages of men.

I have likewise observed that in auncient times there were. 4. generations in 100. years; one with the other as will appear by the genealogie in the. 3. of *S. Luke*, for so many times 4. as there are of the persons in succession from *David* to *Iesus*, so many hundred years you shall find in the time, and so shall you find in the time of our Kings, and in that of *France*, & in the genealogies of most men now living, or thereabout.

G. G.

ALL your generall instances make against you. pag. 163. all your Authors take them whole and entire, they are your Adversaries, especially *Pliny* & *Columella*, who are your best Authors, but writing in *English*, & leaving the application to our selves, you should not have neglected our owne records, especially those in the tower, (viz) *Antiquæ chartæ*, *Rotuli chartarum*, *R. clausarum*: *R. Patentium*, all the inquisitions extant from *magna charta*, the labyrinthes and mazes of the *Exchequer*, the severall offices of the Kings and Lord Treasurers remembrances, the office of the Chamberlaine of the *Exchequer* where doomes day booke is kept, the office of the pells, and the great rolles of the pipe, which are extant from the 1<sup>o</sup> *Hen. 2.* and divers other offices of record at *Westminster* besides the chappell in the rolles, the customes of copyholders and the Court rolles, ancient rents, inventories, expence in hospitality, as I sent you out of the Abby of *Glassebury*.

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G. H.



G. H.

**W**EE are now come to your third exception, wherein you first tell mee, That all my generall instances make against me; and for this you point mee to pag. 163. of my booke; where I find instances of the length of mens lives, but *generall* instances I find none, and except they bee *generall* they cannot confute my booke, nor that part of my booke, unlesse my reasons and authorities prove likewise insufficient; Neither are all my instances touching that point in that page, & those which I produce in that page, are brought to shew that men of latter ages, have equalled those of the former in length of life; and though some of those instances are ancient in regard of us, yet are they not onely equalled but exceeded by some of these latter times, both in Christendome, and among the Infidels, as I have made it apparent in the very next Section of that chapter.

Next you tell mee, That all my Authors take them whole and entire are mine Adversaries, specially *Pliny* and *Columella*, who are my best Authors. all my Authors against mee? then have I bad lucke indeed; yet if my reasons bee sufficient, my booke as yet is not sufficiently confuted. And for my Authors I will bee bold to say, that if they bee brought against mee, they must first bee brought against themselves, & consequently can bee of little validity against mee; nay more then so, I will undertake that no one Author either is, or can be brought against mee in one place, but (if hee have written a volume of any bignes) I will bring him in another place as expressly against himselfe.

But specially you say, *Columella* and *Pliny* who are my best Authors are against mee; Why you should terme them my best Authors I know not; in other places I am sure you preferre *Aristotle*, not onely before them, but all other writers in humane learning; and yet I presume you will not say, that take him whole and entire hee is mine Adversary; And for *Columella* I am confident, that you cannot bring mee so much as one passage out of him which makes against mee; so farre is he from being mine Adversary being taken whole and entire, that in whole chapters hee purposely disputes for mee against mine Adversaries; and besides I alleage neither him nor *Pliny* to prove the preservation of the world from decay, but onely to shew that in their opinions the earth is not decayed.

Nor for *Pliny*, hee seems indeed in one chapter to bee mine Adversary in the point of mens stature, (for which you are beholding to me) yet therein hee resolutely affirmes nothing, but *Propemodum observatur*, and thereof brings such instances, and yeelds such a reason grounded upon an erroneous supposition, as are altogether insufficient to prove his observation; but on the other side, in the very entrance of his naturall history he resolutely affirmes, *Mundum & hoc quod nomine alio calum appellare libuit, numen esse, credi par est aeternum, neq; genitum neq; interitum unquam*. If the world bee endlesse how doth it suffer a perpetuall decrease? and if it suffer any such decrease how is it endlesse? Thus in

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one branch or twigg hee seems to incline to you, but in the whole body of the Controversie is wholly and resolutely mine.

For that which followes in this Section it is brought (as it seems) rather to let us know your skill in our Courts and records, then to confute my booke, yet such records I should not have neglected, had they not layen out of my way aswell as my profession.

G. G.

**A**S your Authors for your instances; I should have used these; All ancient Armories in the whole kingdome, all ancient pitched feilds. two in my knowledge Tewxbury where Lancaster, Bosworth where Yorke was overthrowne, certaine commons being there lately inclosed, in digging ditches, the very arrow heads, and old rusty weapons did testify for mee; or in the Survey of London, Aldermanbury Church S. Laurence, spittle feild; or take our forces, Stow reports that neere. 800. years since King Edgar had 3600. ships only for defence; Stephanides, that about 500. years since London alone did send forth 20000 horse, 60000. foote, the city is now five times greater, all weake beggerly Monasteries suppressed, the gentry abounds with coach horses, yet whither we candoe the like, I leave it to consideration, notwilling to discover the strength of kingdomes; so for diet, I. Mansell Priest entertained Kings, Queenes, Nobles, with. 700. messe of meat A<sup>d</sup> D. 1256.

G. H.

**T**His last exception confutes my booke, by telling mee what manner of instances I should have used. Some ancient Armories I have surveyed as in my booke I make knowne, and the difference which I found in their armour and weapons from the present I there expresse, yeelding the reason why theirs exceeded ours, because long peace and the late invention of gunnes have almost taken away the use of them. Till King Henry the seventh's time, their arrowes were matchable with any from the conquest, the Cornish men then shooting arrowes of a full cloth-yard long; but afterward the use of gunnes growing more frequent they decreased,

What you find in the survey of London, Aldermanbury Church, S. Laurence or spittle feilds I know not, but am sure that all this makes nothing to the maine question, touching the universall and perpetuall decay of the world, and if in these you find any instances seeming to inferre a decrease in humane strength and stature, I pray consider first what I have observed touching the altars, the pulpits, the bedsteeds, the benches, the doores, the roofes, the tables, the tombes of the Ancients, and then let mee know from you the particulars of those places you speake of.

Stow you say, reports that King Edgar neere 800 years since, had 3600. Ships onely for defence. But I can hardly beleieve that so great an Antiquary as Stow could be so much mistaken in Edgars time who entred his raigne in the years 959. which is not yet 700. years since  
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wanting 26; and the mistake of the number of ships by the addition of a cypher might bee as easy, 3600. for 360; but to take it as you would have it, did not *Edgar* herein exceede all his Predecessors? if hee did, there is no such universall and perpetuall decay as you pretend, if hee did not, why should you not rather name us some of his predecessors for your better advantage? but in very truth my Lord I cannot but wonder, that your Lordship should instance in shipping, wherein it is most certaine that this Iland never flourished as at this present it doth; or if wee are therein decreased is not the *Hollander* increased to the astonishment of the world? so is *Spaine* since their discovery of the new world; and *France* much beyond that it hath beene; and for us I dare say, that many harbours in this kingdome have now belonging to them more good ships, then the whole kingdome had in *Edgars* time; all whose fleete one of his Majesties would as easily cast off or crush in peeces, as a lyon would so many puppies.

For your *Stephanides* I must ingenuously confesse I have little acquaintance with him, neither doe I know of what standing or credit hee is, but if *London* sent forth so many horse and foot 500 yeares since as you speake of, surely it was then much stronger then 1000 yeares before that, and consequently felt no decay, but rather gloried in a great increase of power at that time, and now you say it is five times greater then it was 500 yeares since; which should argue, that if it decrease in forces, yet it hath much increased in buildings, and so the decay is not generall: but in good earnest my Lord, can it in reason bee five times greater in buildings and yet lesser in forces? wherefore doe buildings serve but for men? and wherein doe forces consist but in number of men? so as in reason the number of buildings increasing, should argue that the number of men and forces are thereby increased, and I verily beleeeve if *London* were put to it at this present, it were able of all sorts to arme 100000 fighting men; and for shipping it as farre exceeds it selfe what it was 500 yeares since, as it doth in buildings, and I beleeeve much more.

Touching *Iohn Mansell* Priest, I doubt if the 20000 horse, and 60000 foot of the *Londoners* had met with his 700 messe, they would have left but a poore pittance for the Courtiers. I have looked into our Chronicles, and in that yeare or neare about it, I finde no mention of any *Iohn Mansell* Priest; but in the yeare 1251 (during the raigne of King *Henry* the third) I read of one *Sr Iohn Mansell*, who I thinke did better service by his faithfull Counsell to the King, then *Iohn Mansell* Priest did with his 700 messe of meate; and besides if you cannot name any Priest, who ever entertained the Court with so many messe before him, then is Modernity therein to be preferr'd before Antiquitie, his times holding the same proportion to those who lived 400 or 500 yeares before him, as these present times doe to those wherein he lived. And thus have I answered your generall exceptions, and yet I doe not finde my booke confuted.

G. G.



G. G.

**T**Hese exceptions had reference to your second and third bookes, but some do take the greatest exceptions to your fourth booke; had you compared modernity with antiquity for vertues, surely it had beene an excellent and most incomparable worke; for it would have stirred us up in a pious emulation more and more to exceed them, but when you cast dirt on the Ancients and insist onely in the vices, vereor ne repetendo doceas. Again the booke proves nothing, unlesse you will suppose modernity to be a state of innocency; for entering into comparison, you should have paralleled us; but you never touch upon vices.

G. H.

**T**Hese exceptions you say, had reference to my second and third booke; Whereas my second booke treats chiefly of the heavens, & the elements, which you touch not in any of your exceptions; Had you substantially proved the perpetual decay of either of these, you had thereby given indeed a mortall wound to my booke, but that I am confident will never bee done, by your selfe or any man else. And for my third booke it seems you would faine catch at somewhat in mine instances, but for my reasons & authorities (which take up the greatest part thereof) you are well content quietly to passe them over in silence. Lastly, in that booke I shew how this last age hath exceeded many of the precedent, in Arts, & Sciences, & Languages; but hereof not a word in any of your exceptions, nor yet of the stature and strength of men, but by glances; And have wee not heere a goodly Confutation, of my second and third bookes?

But some you say, do take the greatest exception to my fourth booke (amongst which some it should seeme your Lordship is not the least) for that I compare not modernity with antiquity for vertue but for vice; as if there could be an increase of vice without a diminution of vertue, or a diminution of vice without some increase of the opposite vertue, When I prove that this age is not so luxurious as the former, do I not thereby consequently imply that this age is more sober then the former: as hee who affirms that the evening is not so darkesome as the morning, thereby implies that it is more lightsome. Neither is it true that I insist only in the vices of the ancients, unlesse you will make justice and prudence, & fortitude to be vices; for in all these have I shewed, that the Christians farre exceeded the ancient pagan Romans whose cause you plead. Neither doe I cast dirt in their faces (as you pretend) but onely discover that which their owne writers have cast in the faces of their owne nation, many ages before I was borne; and some of their most monstrous vices I have purposely omitted, even blushing to write that which they blushed not to act, nay boasted of being acted; & for other vices, why should I feare the teaching of the by reprooving the, rather then S. Paul? who his epistle to the Romans not only reprooves them in generall, but layes them open in particular to the view of the world.

The



The reason why I have not insisted upon the vices of the present times, is because they are sufficiently knowne: as many no doubt practised by the Ancients are to us altogether unknowne; yet I have noted the one and silenced the other for the honour of Christian religion; and I verily beleeve it may easily bee shewed, that since it came into the world the manners thereof have bin much reformed; and God forbid any good christian should otherwise conceive.

G. G.

**T**O deale more plainely with you, many are the exceptions against that booke, you doe expresse a very great hate to the Romans, some of your weake readers may happily conceive, that you meane Roman Catholiques, for otherwise you doe ill to compare the Heathenish Romans with us Christians, you should have compared them with our Canniballs or naked Indians, and here you should have found an excellent straine for your discourse; how the poore rouges runne about like vagabonds naked & hungry, without houses, or civill societies, yet had they their great wedges of gold, a great compasse and fruitfulness of land, but alas they knew not the use of their owne wealth; Heere you might find excellent commendations of modernity; they tooke the horse and the rider to bee but one creature; the prediction of an eclipse they thought it as impossible, as of future casuall contingences; a looking glasse was sold for a horse load of gold: heere was a Royall exchange,

G. H.

**Y**OU now begin to deale plainely with mee, and tell mee among many exceptions against that booke, one speciall one is, That I expresse a very great hate to the Romans; Whereas I never expressed any hate at all against their persons, but onely against their vices; And hee who excepts against that ( to deale as plainely ) I have great reason to except against him.

Some of my weaker readers you say, may happily conceive that I meane the *Roman* Catholicks; And truly my Lord they had need to be very weake indeed that so conceive. I presume that none so weake will meddle with my booke, or if they doe, it matter not much what they conceive. How farre the present Romanists may justly bee termed Catholicks I will not dispute; but this I doubt is too true that many of those whom you are pleased to call Catholickes, nay the very heads of the Roman Catholicks have in all kind of monstrous vices equalled, if not excelled the very worst of the *Roman Emperors*: so as if some happily of my weaker Readers so conceive mee, surely they shall not therein bee much deceived.

But I doe ill you say to compare the heathenish Romans with vs, Christians; and I pray why so? my scope beinge as I have often said to shew the excellency of Christian religion in the reformation of manners, being practised without apish superstition on the one side, or peevish singularity on the other. And how could I shew the excellency of Christian religion, but by comparing the Infidels with the Christians?

No



No you say I should have compared them with the *Cannibals* or naked *Indians*. Why my Lord, are there now no Infidels to bee found in the world but these? what thinke you of the *Grand Signior*, the *Sophy* of *Persia*, the great *Magore*, the King of *China*, the *Cham* of *Tartary*, *Prester John* and the like; some of which in matter of state will not yeeld to the Romans; and when the Romans were in the prime of their vertue, were there no nations thē in the world thinke you, matchable with the poore *Cannibals* or naked *Indians*? or did not the Romans themselves rise by degrees from barbarisme to civility?

But heere you say, would be an excellent straine for my discourse, to describe these poore rogues running about like vagabonds; And then your selfe discourse in painting forth their incivility & misery, Whereas if they content themselves with that condition of life, I for my part hold them in better case then the Romans, who were never quiet, but like savage beasts roaring after their prey, and running about like wolves or lyons seeking whom they might devoure; better it is to bee without houses then to burne and spoile so many townes and citties, as the Romans did; better for a man not to know the use of his wealth, then to be ever gaping after the wealth of others, and not to spare their lives to get their wealth. You know the golden age is by the Romans themselves fayned to be without any use of gold; and Sir *Thomas Moore* in his *Vtopia*, holds that the world without the use of it might be much happier then now it is; so that to sell a horseloade of gold for a looking glasse, where there is no use of gold, I should thinke it no bad exchange.

G. G.

**S**upposing their error who might apply things to the *Roman Catholicks*, yet your most judicious Reader might heere conceive, that because you would bee sure to hit the marke, and to point out the *Antichrist*; therefore you would use some preparatives, whereas some are apt to beleewe, that God leaving the *Jewes* and going to the *Gentiles*, the *Roman Empire* then wholly consisting of *Gentiles*, and in effects representing the whole state of the *Gentiles*, therefore it was not unlike but the seate of the Empire might bee the mother Church to the Empire, & so to the *Gentiles*; that what they did before vanquish with the sword and brought under the yoke of subjection, they might now convert them in religion, and so recompence them with free Christian liberty; But your selfe not standing so well affected to them, doe therefore heere describe their vices and thereby imply, how improbable it is that they should have the *Apostolick* sea; for God would never make choice of such a sinfull nation to bee his chosen and peculiar people, the meanes to convert all others. And truly I should easily yeeld unto this, if you would bee pleased to poynt out some other *Gentiles* lesse vicious then the *Romans*.

Rrrr

G. H.



G. H.

**Y**OU heere goe on with another straine of your discourse, and tell mee that a judicious Reader might conceive that I discovered the vices of the *Romans*, thereby to prepare a way for the pointing out of *Antichrist*. Now though it bee true that some of the Ancients imagined, *Nero* to bee *Antichrist*, yet to bee true to you, in setting downe the vices of heathenish *Rome*, I never dreamed of any such matter, nor I thinke any judicious reader besides your selfe ever conceived mee so, considering that so many of the first Roman Bishops were persecuted to death by those very *Roman Emperors* whose vices I relate.

The *Roman Empire* you say, wholly consisted of Gentiles; and yet afterward you teach us, That God would not suffer his sonne to come in to the world untill first the *Jewes* became a branch of the *Roman Empire*. Again you say, that the *Romans* in a manner represented the whole state of the Gentiles; which if it were so, I desire to learne why *S. Paul* in so many places, under the *Grecians* comprehends the whole state of the Gentiles, terming all the rest *Barbarians*, in comparison of them.

That the seat of the Empire should bee the mother Church of the Empire, and so of the Gentiles, is another straine of your discourse; it being most certaine that *Ierusalem* was the mother Church in regard of christian religion; And if the motherhood should follow the *Emperiall* seate, then must *Constantinople* challenge it, when the seate of the Empire was remooved from *Rome* thither.

The *Roman Emperors* I grant, did vanquish with the sword, & brought under the yoke of subjection many nations, to which they had no right; and so doe the Roman Bishops usurpe to themselves a jurisdiction over all christian Churches for which they can shew no sufficient warrant; And so farre they are from recompencing those whom they have brought under their yoke with christian liberty, that they would utterly deprive them of that liberty, with which Christ hath made them free, and in which the Apostle bids them Stand fast.

You put upon mee a tricke of policy in describing the vices of the *Romans* which I never intended, as if forsooth I thereby purposed to deprive it of the honour of the Apostolicke Sea; Whereas I know no Commission either of *Rome*, or any other Church or citty, for the bearing of that title. Sometimes I confesse by the Ancients it is called *sedes Apostolica*, and so are other Churches where the Apostles were Bishops and commonly resident; but that it should by vertue of that title challenge a universall jurisdiction over all other Churches, that they never intended; And if *S. Cyprian* had so thought I much wonder, hee had not yeelded to *Cornelius* Bishop of *Rome* without any more adoe.

Lastly you wish mee to point out some other Gentiles lesse vicious then the *Romans*, and then you will yeld that it was improbable they should have that speciall priviledge conferred upon them Whereunto I may safely reply that it rests upon you to shew, that any other were



as vicious; which if you cannot, then stand you bound by your logicke and promise, to yeeld that the Romans were unworthy of such honour, and I verily beleeve when you have runne thorough the stories of all ages and nations, you will never bee able to paralell them in the height of all kind of vices.

G. G.

**B***ut take the heathenish Romans, what testimonies doe you use against them; surely Poets, Satyrists, Advocates; as if posterity should judge of these times by bills in chancery and starrchamber wherein commonly there is not one true word. I pray remember how much your selfe do vilify the testimonies of Poets for the golden age, and so rejecting your owne witnesses, they are now become not fide digni; but I pray who discovered these vices, made bitter invectives against them, and reprehended the Romans? surely none but the Romans; you should then have spoken something in their commendation and not condemned the whole nation. So likewise for their cruelty against Christians, you doe ill to silence their martyrdomes, for they were Romans that suffered, and therein consisted their glory. Did not this proceede from your hate to the Romans? you should have insisted in the sinnes of the old world which drew on the deluge, or in the sinnes of Angels which was a proude and insolent affectation of the diety; alas the Romans are but modernes in respect of them, and therefore herein you plead against your selfe.*

G. H.

**Y***our last refuge and ( as it should seeme ) that wherein you put the greatest confidence is the disgracing and disabling the testimony of my witnesses, who you say are Poets, Satyrists, Advocates, where what you meane by Advocates I know not unlesse you understand such as for a fee are hired to speake; but in that sense neither are all my witnesses Poets, nor all my Poets Satyrists, nor any of them Advocates. Without a fee or any sollicitation they voluntarily testifie and plead against their owne nation, which is the richest kind of testimony that can bee devised, specially in matter of their owne knowledge, and of their owne tymes, against which there can bee no exception. Neither can they bee likened to bills in Chancery and Starrchamber, wherein you say there is not commonly one true word ( which I know not how to gaine say because I have beene little acquainted with them ) but of this am I sure, that those bills for the most part proceede out of bitterness, and malice, but why those Poets whom I produce should out of malice write against their owne nation, no sufficient reason can bee alleaged.*

*But now my Lord tell mee I beseech you, in good earnest, doe I use the testimony of none other but Poets for discovering the enormous vices of the Romans? My Lord under favour bee it spoken in this imputation it should seeme; you seeke not so much the search and opening of the truth, as the vilifying of mee and my booke; why is it possible that having read my booke so often and so accurately as you pretend, but you should there have found and acknowledged for the prooffe of the excessive vices of the Romans, other witnesses besides Poets? some of which I wil name because you wil needs put me to it, not*

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for ostentation in the mustering of names, but for mine owne just defence against your unjust accusation, that so the Reader by this one may make an estimate of the rest of your positions.

The witnesses then which there to that purpose beside Poets I alleage, are these; *Iosephus, Eusebius, Cyprian, Tertullian, Lactantius, Ierome, Augustin, Orosius, Sulpitius, Salvian, Arnobius, Cassiodorus, Gregory the great, Paulus Diaconus, Olympiodorus*: These were no Poets my Lord, nor these; *Cicero, both the Plinies, Plutarch, Quintilian, Salust, Varro, Columella, Gellius, Macrobius, Florus, Alexander ab Alexandro, Appian, Herodian, Valerius, Dion Cassius, Xiphilin, Marcellinus, Justin, Livy, Pacatus, Seneca, Suetonius, Tacitus, Athenaus, Spartianus, Vopiscus, Lampridius, Capitolinus, Apulejus, Vlpian*; Nor these, *Budæus, Lypsius, Andreas Rey, Albericus Gentilis*, and Sir Walter Rawley; None of these were Poets, but either Doctors of great account in the christian church, or historiographers, Orators, or Philosophers highly esteemed in the Roman state; or latter writers renowned for their learning and judgement, yet many of these I quote often and at large. And is it possible then that your Lordship should bee so conversant in my booke, and yet so farre wrong mee, your reader, your selfe & your cause, as to beare the world in hand, That my only or best witnesses were Poets, Satyrists, Advocates?

But I vilify you say, the testimonies of the Poets for the golden age, & so rejecting mine owne witnesses they are now become not *fide digni*; not *fide digni* if I use their testimony against themselves, & their owne nation? And beside, I use their testimony in very few things which I find not confirmed by some other of their gravest writers.

Againe you demaund who discovered those vices, made bitter invectives against them, and reprehended the Romans: surely, none you say but the Romans. for which I should have spoken something in their commendation, & not cōdemned the whole nation. None but the Romans? why, was *Tertullian* a Roman? *S. Augustin* a Roman? *Lactantius* a Roman? who made indeed most bitter invectives against those very Romans, whom you goe about to defend. And for the Romans themselves who reprehend those vices, for the most part they doe it but coldly, their Satyrists only and *Seneca* excepted, who was indeed a kind of Satyrist in prose, yet some vices there were, which they all commended as selfe-homicide; & so doth *Ennius* the cruelty of *Africanus* in shedding blood; in whose person hee thus speakes.

*Si fas cadendo caelestia scandere cuiquam est;  
Mi soli cali maxima porta patet.*

*Scilicet quia magnam partem generis humani extinxit ac perdidit*, saith *Lactantius*. And this no doubt was not onely the practise but the opinion of that whole nation. Yet that there were among them great examples of vertue, specially in their rising Empire, and that those Authors who seriously reprehend vice are therefore to be commended, I deny not; but withall affirme, that in the height of their Empire, & in their declining state, their whole nation was more generally tainted with horrible vices in all kinds, then any I thinke in the world since hath beene.

But I doe ill you say to silence their martyrdome, for they were  
Romans



*Romans* that suffered, and therein consisted their glory. True indeed amongst others, the *Roman* Bishops were famous for their suffering; but I much wonder your Lordship should forget, that as they who suffered were some of them *Roman* Bishops, so they suffered from the *Roman* Emperors; The Bishops were *Christians*, and the Emperors *Pagans*, and my scope was to shew for the honour of *Christian religion* how much the *Pagans* exceeded the *Christians* in all manner of vice, and consequently the *Christians* exceeded the *Pagans* in all manner of vertue; And to this end have I shewed the cruelty of the one and patience of the other, and to this purpose expressly observed, pag. 331. that 33. *Roman* Bishops, from S. Peter to Sylvester were all martyred, and did not this proceed from my hatred to the *Romans*? My hate is not, nor ever was to *Christian Rome*, but he who hates her not both as *Pagan* and *Antichristian*, I see not how he can well be a good *Christian*.

You say, I should have insisted in the finnes of the old world, which drew on the deluge; or in the sinne of the Angels which was a proud & insolent affectation of the dietie; for that the *Romans* are but Modernes in respect of them, & therefore herein I have pleaded against my selfe. In respect of them? why then Antiquitie and Modernitie are relative termes, and as the *Romans* may be termed Modernes in respect of them, so may they be termed Ancients in respect of succeeding ages. If then I compare *Pagan Rome* with *Christian Rome*, I beseech you my Lord how doe I pleade against my selfe? I doe not say that the vices of the *Romans* exceeded the rebellion of the Angels, or that of the old world; nay both of them in some sort exceeded the irregularitie of the *Romans*, and herein you plead against your selfe: but the reason why I made choice of the *Romans*, was, because they are held the patterns in all kind of vertue, to shew how the world is therein generally mistaken, & that for the honour of *Christian Religion*, which hath yeelded more examples of vertue, and lesse of vice, then ever the ancient *Romans* did.

G. G.

**B**ut to save this needlesse labour, I confesse that all times have beene alike vicious; for as in the Creation it is said, Erant omnia valde bona, so after the fall, Omnes aberravimus; and our wayes are become Lubicrum in tenebris. The reason is, because the father of sinne hath ever beene alike sinfull since his first fall; and consequently his suggestions to sinne, have ever beene answerable, for that he should bee tyed up in chaines, this is a speciall priviledge not to be drawne to a president. I conclude then, that vices have ever beene at their full height without any abatement, so farre forth as bodies were capable, and occasions offered, the malignity and corruption of mans nature hath ever beene sinfull, quoad ultimum posse; In peaceable times pride and luxurie have ever shewed themselves, while warres are accompanied with bloody designs.

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G. H.



G. H.

**A**Fter all this adoe and seeking by all the meanes you could devise to palliate the vices of *Pagan Rome*, you will now at last save all this needeleffe labour : which might have bin done sooner with more ease both to your selfe and mee. But how will you save it ? marry by confessing that all times have bin alike vicious. What all times vicious alike ? then doubtlesse is there no declination in matter of manners, & consequently no such universall decay as you pretend. Can all times be vicious alike, and yet the latter times be more vicious then the former, or the former lesse vicious then the latter ? This is a riddle to mee. In your last papers sent me before these, you undertake to prove, that these moderne times exceede the impostures of the Ancients by a tenfold proportion ; Imposture I ever tooke to bee a vice, and can these times exceede the former therein by a tenfold proportion, and yet all times bee alike vicious ?

You Conclude, that vices have ever bin at their full height without any abatement, so farre forth as mens bodies were capable & occasion offered ; as if education wrought nothing, example nothing, morall precepts nothing, religion nothing in the reformation of manners. Christian religion brought with it a resemblance of the golden age, saith *Lactantius*, no say you, vices have ever bin at their full height ; By their fruits shall yee know them saith our Saviour ; no say you, vices have never any abatement. *Quemadmodum temporum vices, ita & morum*, saith *Tacitus* ; and *Seneca*, *Non expectant uno loco vitia sed mobilia & inter se dissentientia, tumultuantur invicem fuganturque* ; No say you, All times have bin alike vitious ; Who is it I beseech you my Lord who now gives a deadly blow to Christian religion, you or I ? it was in these latter ages ( if wee compare them with the precedent since the creation ) that a great part of the world hath bin converted to the christian faith ; yet say you notwithstanding all this, All times have bin alike vitious, vices have bin ever at their full height without any abatement ; And do you not stand up bravely heere for the honour of Christian religiō ?

That mans nature since the fall hath ever bin sinfull I grant ; but I pray my Lord to what end serve the lawes of God and man, to what end grace and the gospell but to bridle and restrain the malignity of corrupt nature ? and if all these worke nothing, as good bee without them as with them. That pride and luxurie have ever shewed themselves in peaceable times more or lesse I grant, as also that warres are accompanied with bloody designs ; but that those bloody designs in time of warre, or that pride and luxury in times of peace alwayes shewed themselves in the highest degree, ( even when occasion was offered ) that I utterly deny ; neither can it in my poore judgement become any Christian to affirme it.

In the entrance of this Section you tell us, That in the first Creation, *erant omnia valde bona* ; Which being so, I pray teach me my Lord how they come to bee *valde mala* now, as you beare us in hand. Did the maker



maker himselfe marre them? or was it in the power of any Creature to marre them? Men and Angells being rationall Creatures, and consequently indued with freedome of will, might marre themselves as they did, but the worke of God in the other Creatures they did not, they could not marre; so that being created *valde bonis*, no doubt they so continue still; And then what will become of your imaginarie decay; you may easily guesse.

G. G.

**B**ut in describing the vices and sinnes of the Romanes, doe you not seeme to describe another world? such drinking, pag. 370. such huge platters, pag. 374. such a strange resolution of sword-players, pag. 345. such large and spacious houses, pag. 404. I could insist in many, but I am ever sparing in my quotations.

G. H.

**I**N describing the vices of the *Romanes*, I seeme indeed to describe another world; such excesse in drinking, such gluttony in their huge platters, such thirst of blood in their sword-playes, such vanity in their buildings, as this present world I thinke can hardly afford the like; to which I will adde if you please, (because you are so sparing in quotations) their pride and curiositie in their apparrell and dressing themselves, their outrageous gaming, their extreame arrogance in admiring and commending, and even deifying themselves, their grosse and base flatterie, specially toward their Emperours, both living and dead; their impudent, nay impious vaine-glory, and boasting of their owne nation and Citie, their manifest injustice in waging warre, under pretence of assisting their Confederates, their monstrous ingratitude toward their best deserving Citizens; & lastly their wonderfull folly in setting their ablest men, only upō a bravado to sheath their swords one in anothers bowels, in daily feeding the eyes of the people with wanton or bloody spectacles, and commending them for dispatching themselves in a rage, who (the heat of that passion being over) might have lived long to doe their Countrey good service.

G. G.

**A**S you have expressed your hate, so give me leave to testifie the honour and reverence which I beare to the Romanes; for I doe verily beleeeve, that as the Jewes had a Ceremoniall law containing types and figures of Christ: so these Romanes had the Morall law in a most excellent manner, as preparatives to a Christian resolution and mortification. And when I compare the Romanes with others, alas all others are but base and obscure in respect of them; they gave lawes to the whole world, they are examples and presidents in every kinde of vertue, they live and to this day subsist, as well in the monuments and trophies of their learning, vertues, and conquests, as in their marble statues,

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tues, and in them meethinkes I see more then an ordinary nature; insomuch that God who in his infinite providence doth observe every the least circumstance, would not suffer his sonne to come into the world, to be borne of his owne people, untill first his owne people became a branch of the Roman Empire, and Christ in his preaching did preach obedience to Cæsar, in token whereof as an earnest he paid tribute for himselfe, and for S. Peter. How much did S. Paul boast of his Roman priviledge, and how much was that Citie honoured or rather sanctified, by those two great Apostle-Martyrs, in the effusion of their bloud.

G. H.

I Must here againe professe that I have expressed no hate to the persons, but to the vices of the *Romanes*; but you desire you say, to testifie the honour and reverence which you beare them. What, to the *Pagan Romans* as they are ballanced with the *Christians*? this is my comparison, and if this be your meaning, surely the *Christian Religion* is little beholding to you.

That the *Jewes* had a Ceremoniall law, containing types and figures of *Christ*, we are bound to beleeve; but that the *Romans* had the Morall law in so excellent a manner, as thereby to prepare a way to *Christian* resolution and mortification, though you verily beleeve, yet I very much doubt. Could they have the Morall law in so excellent a manner as you pretend, and yet bee generally tainted with so many notorious vices, in so high a degree as I have made it appeare, and S. Paul hath touched in his Epistle to them? who to magnifie the vertue of *Christian Religion*, every where much beates upon the enormous sinnes of the *Gentiles*, and among them chiefly of the *Romans*, before their conversion to *Christianitie*; but you on the other side are become the Advocate of the *Gentiles* to pleade for them, and to magnifie their vertues, thereby abating the efficacie of *Christian Religion*, which found them not lambes, but of wolves made them lambes; it found them vicious in the highest degree, but made them vertuous. The whole, saith our Saviour, have no need of the Physition but the sicke; and therefore hee came into the world when it was desperately sicke, that the dangerousnesse of the disease might make the cure the more remarkeable. Wee never reade of so many deafe, and dumbe, and halt, and blinde, and paralitically, and leprous, and possessed with uncleane spirits, as at that time; and as it was in the diseases of the body, so no doubt was it in those of the minde, that so the skilfulnes and honour of the Physition might be the more eminent and conspicuous in both.

Now for the particulars wherein you instance, *Christian* resolution rather consists in suffering then in killing, which was the *Romans* common trade; And I beseech you, what could be more opposite to *Christian* resolution in suffering, then to commend their Citizens for dispatching themselves with their owne hands, rather then they would suffer from others? And for mortification I know not what vertue they had to prepare a way to it, unlesse wee should say that excessive luxurie in all kindes, insatiable covetousnesse, barbarous cruelty, pride, vaine-



vaine-glory, arrogancie, selfe-love, ambition, flattery, hypocrisie, ingratitude, made way for mortification; and truly we may as well say, that darkenes makes way for light, or sickenesse for health.

You goe on and tell us, that all others are but base in regard of the *Romans*; what all Christians base in regard of the *Pagan Romans*? That I hope is not your meaning, and yet I know not how to expound it otherwise.

They gave lawes I confesse, though not to the whole world (as you pretend) yet to a good part thereof; and so doth the Grand Signiour at this day, but by what right or justice they subdued those nations, upon whom they imposed those lawes, that I find not cleared by themselves, though much questioned by others; and to impose lawes where is no right, what is it but oppression? Cut-throats, and Pyrats, and out-lawes, may by a strong hand impose lawes upon just and honest men; and shall wee thinke the better of the one or the worse of the other for that?

They are examples you say, and presidents in every kinde of vertue; and from whence hath your Lordship that, but from their owne writers? now though their testimonie bee good against themselves, yet you know who hath said, *If I beare witnesse of my selfe my witnesse is not true*; It is more then probable, that they fained many things in commendation of themselves and their owne nation, which now passe currant, because uncontrolled. Againe, though some of them were examples of vertue in their rising Empire, yet when it came to the height, they fell faster from vertue then before they rose by it; but take them at best, did not the Apostles, the Martyrs, the Confessors afford more and better examples, in all kinde of vertue, then ever the *Pagan Romans* did? they left such examples of piety, of chastitie, of modesty, of obedience, of patience, of humility, as the *Romans* never heard of; nay some of these vertues, as namely humility in esteeming others better then themselves, charitie in loving their enemies, patience in suffering wrongs without seeking revenge: these the *Romans* were so farre from practising, as they conceived them to bee vices rather then vertues; And were not heere goodly presidents for the Christians to imitate?

In the monuments of their learning I grant they live; yet was their excellencie specially in Historie, Oratorie, and Poetry; but for Physicke, Philosophie, and the Mathematickes (the most usefull parts of humane learning) the *Arabians* and others who have lived since them, have gone farre beyond them. And for their trophies of victorie, I may truly call them, the ensignes of opression and injustice.

Their Statues which they commonly erected to themselves, I cannot but marvell your Lordship should name as a part of their praise, since it was indeede a speciall peece of their vanitie, thereby in a manner idolizing themselves, vainely imagining to consecrate themselves to eternitie in a stone. And though you in them seeme to see more then ordinary nature, yet their mortalitie and the ruine of their Empire proclaime that it was indeed but ordinary, and that all mortall power like *Nabucadnezars* image stands upon feet of clay.

For



For a close of this point I should make bold to demand, whither if the *Romans* had the Morall law in so excellent a manner as you pretend, they did not exceede all that went before them in matter of moralitie, and if they did, how can the world bee said still to degenerate in manners. And againe, if their moralitie were but a preparative to Christian resolution and mortification, then these though comming after in time, being the perfection and accomplishment of that preparative, must needs as farre exceed it as the bodie doth the shadow, or the substance the figure, or to take your owne comparison, as Christ doth the types of the Ceremoniall law; and if so, I pray what have you gotten by the great reverence you beare to these *Pagans*, against whom both the Scriptures and Fathers crie out so loud?

It is true that *Christ* was not borne untill the *Jewes* were unjustly brought under the *Roman* yoake; but what of that? as the derivation of his birth from the *Jewes* makes rather against them then for them, inasmuch as comming amongst his owne, his owne received him not; so it rather makes against the *Romans*, that the *Jewes* (of whom the *Messias* was borne) were then a branch of their Empire, inasmuch as they cruelly persecuted not onely the *Jewish* nation, but the Disciples of the *Messias*, whom they called *Jewes* at first, because himselfe was of that nation; and though he were put to death at *Ierusalem*, and by the false accusation of the *Jewes*, yet was it by authoritie derived from the *Romans*. The *Roman* souldiers were the principall instruments in his passion; and as long as our Creed remaines, the name of *Pontius Pilate* will not be forgotten, who most unjustly condemned to death the Judge of the world, the Lord of life. And such another corrupt Judge was that unhappy *Felix*, (a bird of the same nest) who though hee trembled as he sate upon the bench, while *Paul* arraigned as a prisoner at the barre, reasoned of the judgement to come, yet even then out of a wicked custome, he gaped after a bribe, and hoped that money should have beene given him for *Pauls* enlargement. And these are the jolly fellowes whom your Lordship doth so much honour and reverence, as the best examples and presidents in all kinde of vertue.

That our Saviour preached obedience to *Cesar*, and paid tribute for himselfe and *S. Peter*, cannot be denied; but doth obedience argue vertue in him to whom it is yeelded? or tribute goodnes in him to whom it is paid? greatnesse I confesse it argues in regard of his office, but not goodnesse in his conditions. His Apostles likewise preached obedience and payment of tribute to *Nero*, was *Nero* therefore a good man? or shall we conceive the better of him in that respect? indeed wee have great reason to conceive the better of the *Christians*, who yeelded obedience to such a monster, but the worse of him who handled them so cruelly, notwithstanding their obedience.

That *S. Paul* made use of his *Roman* priviledge, thereby to escape the scourge I finde, but that he boasted of it so much as you pretend, or at all, that I finde not; but in good earnest my Lord, doth the Apostles making use of the *Roman* priviledge, argue the vertue of the *Romans*? *Christians* I hope may make use of some *Turkish* priviledges, and yet *Turkes* prove no whit the better for that.

Lastly



Lastly you say, that Citie was much honoured, or rather sanctified by those two great Apostle-Martyrs, in the effusion of their blood; why my Lord, is it possible you should bring this as an argument for the commendation of the *Romans*? truly you must needs have very little to commend them for, when the powring out of the blood of such Martyrs must bee brought to honour, and sanctifie them; Was *Ierusalem* sanctified for killing the Prophets, and stoning them that were sent unto her? then let the persecution of *Christian Religion* passe for holinesse, and *Nero* be registred for a glorious Saint; but the Citie you say was hereby sanctified: Why my Lord, our question is of the Citizens, not of the Citie; and can the Citie bee sanctified with that with which the Citizens are polluted? and for the Citie it selfe, of her is it spoken (yet not without relation to her inhabitants) upon her forehead was a name written, *Misterie, Babylon the great, the mother of harlots, and abominations of the earth, drunken with the blood of the Saints, and of the Martyrs of Iesus*; and then it followes in the next Chapter, *Come out of her my people that yee be not partakers of her sinnes, and that yee receive not of her plagues*: so as it should seeme shee was not thought to bee sanctified then, but rather stained by the blood of the Martyrs.

G. G.

Thus we differ in all your bookes, onely for the end wherein you make such excellent use of the last and generall judgement, therein I doe concurre with you, which makes mee beleieve that after some little agitation of questions betweene us, it is not impossible but we may agree in the conclusion, as no doubt we doe at this time agree in the intention; for both of us aime at the truth, and the advancement of Gods glory.

G. H.

Since we differ in the maine Controversie, no marvell that we differ in all the foure bookes which looke all one way; but as your Lordship differs from me, so doe you likewise from your selfe, as I have made it appeare by diverse passages taken as well from your booke of the fall of man, as your Sermon of the Religion of the dumbe Creatures; And till you have reconciled your selfe to your selfe, I shall have little hope of your reconcilement to mee; Hee must agree with himselfe, who desires upon faire termes and reasonable conditions to agree with others.

If your Lordships intention be to aime at the truth, and the advancement of Gods glory, meethinkes you should not professe your selfe a champion of them who were the greatest enemies of that truth, and opposers of that glory: And againe, meethinkes you should either professe your selfe satisfied with my replies, or shew me why you are not; one of the two till you be pleased to doe, it is altogether impossible (as I conceive) that any agitation of the question, should ever bring us to agree in the conclusion.

G. G.



G. G.

**A**Nd now good Mr Archdeacon, that I may speake my minde most plainly, the Ancients are little, the Romans are lesse, and surely the Modernes are not much beholding to you; my meaning is not in respect of your owne worth and learning (for therein they are much bound unto you, and shall ever be to your memory) but for your testimonies concerning them; while you expect a more flourishing state to succeed, you vilifie the present, as if we had but figures and types, onely buds and blossomes, while the fruit is behinde. Thus you propose strange hopes, or rather fancies for future times; and surely those times are least of all beholding unto you, for you will suddenly annihilate them.

G. H.

**T**O deale as plainly with your Lordship, (under favour be it spoken) you are much mistaken; you seeme to conceive that the end of my writing, was to make men beholding to me, whereas it was rather to let me know how much they are beholding to God, who hath so divided his gifts and graces, as he hath thereby made all ages beholding to him, there having beene no age (as I conceive) since the first Creation, but hath exceeded all others in some respects, and againe in other respects hath beene exceeded by others; that so none might account themselves wholly neglected, none boast as being onely respected by him.

But the Ancients you say are little, the *Romans* lesse, and the Modernes not much beholding to me. For the Ancients I shall ever desire to give them their due, but to deifie and adore them beyond their deserts, as if they were more then men, or to credit all their assertions as oracles, that I presume was not their desire. Touching the *Romans*, it were but folly and envy to derogate from that which was vertuous in them, yet to call their vices vertues, that shall I never doe; and lastly, concerning the Modernes, if it hath pleased Almighty God of his goodnesse to bestow some speciall gifts upon them, which he denied to former ages, shall we be so ignorant as not to know it, or so ingratefull as not to acknowledge it. Truly my Lord, the age in which you live, I may justly say, is not at all beholding to you, making it to bee the lees as it were, and dregs of all former ages: notwithstanding, that every man (as I conceive) bee no lesse bound to honour the age, then the nation in which he was borne and bred.

Yea but I vilifie the present times, you say, whiles I expect a more flourishing state to succeed; bee it so, yet this is not to vilifie modernitie, as you pretend, the present times being alwayes moderne in regard of the time past; so as those succeeding times when they shall come to be present, will then bee no lesse moderne then the present times now are; nor yet to say that a more plentifull measure of grace may be powered out upon the future ages, is it a vilifying of the present, considering Almighty God hath dealt more graciously with this present age in  
some



some respects, then with some other precedent; and as in some other respects, former ages exceeded this: so may this for any thing wee know, that which is to come. I vilifie none, but observe and admire the prints and characters of the divine Providence in all, which you too much vilifie, as if it extended onely to former ages, and not to the present; as if he had but one blessing in store, or the infinite treasures of his goodnesse could in tract of time be drawne drie.

I propose you say strange hopes, or rather fancies for future times; Why my Lord, if they be fancies, my comfort is that they be not mine alone; nay I trust your Lordship is not ignorant, that a great part of the Ancients were strongly possessed with the same strange fanfie, or one very neare it; they in effect stiffely maintaine that which I onely propose problematically or conjecturally; except you will deny the Conversion of the *Jewish* nation to the *Christian* faith, (which the *Christian Church* ever constantly held) you cannot condemne my opinion touching a more flourishing state of the Church to bee expected, as a strange fanfie; if that Prophecie of the Apostle, *Then shall all Israel be saved*, be not yet accomplished, undoubtedly it shall be; and if you will be pleased to shew mee, where I may find the thousand yeares for the binding up of Satan, I will no more expect them to come. This favour I have heretofore desired at your hands, but you still make your selfe merrie with my strange fancies, never answering my arguments: the one is easie to doe, in the other you finde more difficultie, which makes you imbrace the one and decline the other; but herein you may perchance purchase applause from some, not approbation from all.

But these future times you say are least of all beholding to mee, for that I will suddenly annihilate them. Suddenly? why the question is about the binding up of Satan for a thousand yeares, and can that bee done, and yet those times be suddenly annihilated? and beside, whether the end of the world shall presently insue upon the expiration of those yeares, I determine not; so as the sudden annihilation of those times is no worke of mine, but a fanfie of yours.

Thus hoping your Lordship will bee pleased to take my endeavours in good part, and to winke at my imperfections; I humbly take leave and rest

Your Lordships

to be commanded

G. H.

srrr

To





TO these precedent answers of mine, it pleased his Lordship to make none other reply but by way of Digression. They are in number foure, whereof the first is touching the double matter of the celestially and elementarie bodies. The second about the *Decupla proportio* of the elements. The third concerning the Assumption of the blessed Virgine. The fourth of the pretended writings of *Dionysius the Areopagite*. These I neither intended nor desired to bring to light; partly for that they were but Digressions, & partly because some of them contained matter of doubtful interpretation; yet because his Lordship would needs have it so, (chiefly, as hee saith, because two of them containe points of Divinitie) I was content to obey, and to let them goe with the rest to the presse. The occasion of these Digressions is to be found in his Lordships first foure arguments, and my answers thereunto: the two last, pag. 49. and 50. lib. 5.

G. G.

*Touching the double matter.*

- I. **I** Wonder how Moses could bee thought to favour your opinion, when as in the very first entrance, he makes the matters distinct; In principio creavit Deus cœlum & terram: so then they did never convenire in aliquo tertio, as all sublunary bodies did; and this was terra inanis & vacua, which I take to be the Chaos very fitly described in your 4 verses; so that Ovid looks not so high as to the matter of the heavens, but you would faine cover the materiall heavens with a Chaos, that so you might uncover it with Annihilation: I confesse there be many expositions of Moses words, and I doe approve some of your owne expositions, yet withall I say they may very fitly imply the double matter. Now to satisfie your doubts wherein you crave my helpe. pag. 35.

- II. **I**t is an error to say, that the forme onely distinguisheth; though it is most true, that where the forme is, there the forme is the onely cause of individuation; but ens & unum convertuntur, there is an entitative unity as well as a formall unity. Thus the matter it selfe differs from the forme, in respect of that essence which is proper to it selfe; and therefore we say in a schoole subtilty, that the first matter is actu ens, but not ens actu, namely that it subsists actu



actu reali, but actu formali; thus then whereas you conceive there should bee no distinction betweene the two matters; you might as well say, there shall bee no distinction betweene the matter and forme, ex parte materiae; And if you make the Emphyreall heaven corporeall, you must then make it materiall, and so by your argument it likewise should subsist of the same Elementarie matter; I doe therefore say, in Philosophie there are two matters, the Elementarie which is subject to contrary qualities, and even by those opposing each other, is thereby inclines to decay. There is likewise a celestiall matter, which hath no such corroding and maligning qualities, yet belonging to a temporall world, answerable to the condition of this world, it is apt in time of its selfe to bee worne out with use; There is yet a third matter beyond the reach of Philosophie, which is a glorified matter, and that neither by opposing and jarring qualities, neither yet with attrition or use it shall bee worne out; but answerable to the condition of the glorified world, it shall last to eternitie. Now I conceive the heavenly matter to bee the medium, betweene the elementary and the glorified, for so in all my assertions, I shall ever shew degrees and meanes.

Your second argument grounded upon an axiome, in quolibet causarum genere datur una prima, you doe very well to insist in the efficient and the finall cause, being extrinsecall, and having other causes efficient and finall subordinate beneath them; but as there is not una prima forma, unlesse it be in respect of dignity and preheminentie, so is there not prima materia in diversis rerum generibus; for you yeeld that corruptibile & incorruptibile differunt genere; and whereas you would oppose pura potentia to purus actus, this comes very neere the opinion of the Manichees, to oppose God to God, and is so farre from a truth, that the first matter is created by this purus actus, and whatsoever receiveth vertue and efficacie from it, it cannot be soe wholly excluded, but it must in some sort partake of it; and therefore the very potentia it selfe, as it is elevated ex nihilo, so it cannot stand in opposition to that purus actus, which created it.

You doe fasten some opinions upon us, whome you call the adversaries of the single matter, which I for my selfe will not acknowledg. If two first matters be harsh to the eare, yet a double matter runnes very smoothly: For the text wisdom 11.18. had it bin rightly applyed, out of my respect to that booke, I should have yeelded unto it. Take then the old translation, and there you shall find these words, orbem terrarum, which doth ever properly signifie this elementary or sublunary World, which is much more manifested by the words following; where he enumerates the instruments of Gods wrath, Beares and Lyons for the earth, unknowne beasts for the waters, vapor and smoke for the ayre, flames and sparkes of fire; here are the foure elements, had he now ascended a litle higher and sayd signa in sole & luna, then this matter might have bin extended to the heavens.

Soe Iansenius accords with me, as it appeares in his last words; for he speakes only of that matter, which afterwards was distinguished by formes; and this I acknowledg to be only the elementary; and herein consists the whole mistake; for never any Aristotelean who did acknowledge a different matter of the heavens from the elements, will acknowledge that the heavens have any informing forme, but that it is a quintessence, a pure body without mixture, or composition



of matter and forme; that as heere beneath all sublunaries consist of matter and forme, so the heavens are matter without forme, and above the heavens there are formes without matter, so glorious is God in the variety of his workes. Now the matter of the heavens is so excellent, as it hath in it selfe the perfection of a forme, and all the properties, all the eminencies and qualities which the forme doth impart, and thereby it gives us some assurance in religion, how that body which is fowne a naturall body, may rise againe a spirituall body, for there is a naturall body, and there is a spirituall body; now for want of due information herein, you are pleased to runne on in your owne witty discourse, pag. 37. That the matter of the heavens hath a forme so excellent, so noble, as that it is therewith wholly satisfied, &c.

6. I did never beleewe that the heavens were corruptible in that manner as these inferiour bodies are, namely by dissolution or passion; but out of their owne inbred weaknesse, that God intending their destruction, (which all confesse) in working his wonders, darkening the Sun & the Moone, disordering the starres, he might not offer violence to their nature which hee himselfe had appointed; but onely hasten that course to which they did naturally incline of themselves: for prooffe whereof I doe alleadge the testimony of Scripture, The heavens waxe old, the observations of Ptolomie, the Comet in Cassiopeia, the increase and decrease of the Moone, together with many other instances, whereby it shall appeare that the operation of the heavens is not of that power and efficacie, as heretofore it hath bin. And whereas you speake of your owne ingenuity, give me leave to oppose mine owne honest plaine meaning, although I speake more for the eternity of the heavens then you doe, for you make it a compound of matter & forme, which as it is capable of composition, so it might be capable of dissolution, but I make the matter of the heavens in the nature of a spirit, such as cannot be dissolved, & therefore more apt for eternity: yet am I not so improvident, as to strike at the throat of mine owne cause.

7. And to speake more fully to this cause, that it may appeare they are two severall matters; whatsoever is proper to the one, you shall finde the cleane contrary in the other, (E G) 1<sup>o</sup> by the elementary matter things are made subject to passion, but the matter of the heavens makes them impassible. 2<sup>o</sup> Our matter hath a perpetuall appetite, which makes way to the introduction of a new forme; but the matter of the heavens hath no such appetite, as your selfe have well observed. 3<sup>o</sup> The ignoblenesse of our matter is such, as that wee say cui plus inest materiae, imperfectius est, but in the heavens it is cleane contrary; for stella est densior pars sui orbis, & densitas implies plus materiae. 4<sup>o</sup> Our matter is a great hinderance and obstacle to motion, but the heavenly matter doth much incline to a continuall motion. 5<sup>o</sup> Our matter requires rest in her own proper place, but it is otherwise with the heavenly matter. 6<sup>o</sup> Our matter out of her dulnesse will not admit various, severall, & diverse motions, but the heavenly matter doth. 7<sup>o</sup> Our matter will not be moved, but for the good & preservatiō of it selfe, & this the forme must primarily & chiefly respect in all naturall motions; but the heavenly matter doth move, not for it selfe, but for the good of this inferiour & sublunary world: 8<sup>o</sup> our matter cannot exist but by a forme, but the matter of the heavens is a forme to it selfe. 9<sup>o</sup> Our matter is fitted for our owne home-  
ly



ly formes, such as cannot subsist or exercise their faculties without this matter, and therefore are content to dwell in these poore cottages of clay; but the heavenly matter hath her assisting formes, of a more noble condition, the intelligences, which being wholly spirituall, and of another nature, doe well betoken that the matter is answerable, and fitted to their high dignitie; not such as could have beene employed to any base use, suppose to have beene the body of a poore worme.

10<sup>o</sup> Our matter containes all qualities affective, not effective, but the heavenly matter doth cleane contrary, as likewise the wonderfull difference in the qualities themselves.

11<sup>o</sup> Opacitie and gravity seeme to bee proper to our matter, cleane contrary appeares in the heavens; and therefore as the eye is said to bee but the mens corporea, so the perspicuitie of the heavens, together with the infinite swift motion, argue them to be spirituall bodies.

12<sup>o</sup> In effect they doe not agree in their dimensions; our matter is measured with longitude, latitude, and profunditie, but the heavenly matter with cavitie and convexitie; I doe not here speake of influences, the diversitie of operations from our elementarie, and of many other qualities, I have here onely impaniled a jurie of twelve reasons; now I leave it to others to bring in the verdict, and so I end with this cause.

G. G.

*In the first Digression touching the  
matter of the heavens.*

**Y**OU set such an interpretation upon those words of Moses, *In principio creavit Deus cælum & terram*, as no man I thinke hath done the like before you.

You say that *Ovid* in describing the Chaos, lookes not so high as to the matter of the heavens; but the truth is, you looke not so low as to those verses which follow after, expressly shewing how in that description he looked so high as to the heavenly matter.

— *Quæ pressa diu massâ latuere sub ipsâ,  
Sydera caperunt toto effervescente cælo.*

You say, that it is an errour to affirme that the forme onely distinguisheth, expressly against the opinion of *Aristotle* and all his followers; and againe you grant, that the first matter is *non ens actu*; and yet withall maintaine, that it doth, or may actually distinguish. How can that which is boundlesse in it selfe, without determinate quantitie, or any qualitie, distinguish it selfe from that which is of the same condition? there can be no distinction without bounds, nor bounds without a forme.

You say, that the empyreall heaven consisteth of a glorified matter; which being so, it is above the reach of reason, and consequently falls not within the compasse of a philosophicall dispute.

You say that the axiome, *In quolibet causarum genere datur una prima,*

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is



isto be restrained to the efficient and finall causes; which if it bee so, then we must mend the *axiome* and strike out *Quolibet*.

You say that there is not *una prima forma*, and yet you cannot with reason deny but there is one generall forme of the materiall world: which though the *Platonicks* and *Pythagoreans* called *animam mundi*, yet in truth it is nothing else, but that sweet harmony which resulteth from the symmetry of all the parts thereof.

You say that to oppose *pura potentia* to *purus actus*, is to come neare to the opinion of the *Manichees*, in opposing God to God; as if *pura potentia* could be God, or taken for God, specially being by all acknowledged to be created by God.

4. You say that I fasten some opinions upon you, which you will not acknowledge; but vouchsafe not to shew me what they are.

You say that if two first matters be harsh, yet a double runnes more smoothly; true indeed, but then we must remember, that it is made double by the diversitie of formes; so as wee may safely say, that the second matter is double, though the first be single and one in it selfe.

You say that you beare speciall respect to the *booke of Wisedome*, and yet neither subscribe unto, nor offer to make any answer to that passage by me so often alleadged out of the first chapter of that booke, *Deus mortem non fecit, neque delectatur perditione viventium; nam omnia creavit ut sint, & salutes sunt ortus hujus mundi, in quibus non est phar-macum exitiale*.

You say that the old translation (by which I thinke you meane the vulgar) reades it *orbem terrarum*, which doth properly signifie the elementary world; whereas all other Interpreters (according to the originall) render it *mundum*, which comprehends both the elementary and celestially world.

You say that you would yeeld to the passage alleadged out of that booke for one first matter, had it beene rightly applied; whereas I presume your Lordship can hardly produce one good Authour who ever applied it otherwise.

5. You say that *Iansenius* in his exposition accords with you; which no man I thinke who advisedly reades his wordes, will say besides your selfe, hee making the matter there spoken of to bee the subject of the first seaven dayes worke, by bringing that variety of formes into it which now we see; so that except you will exclude the heavens from the worke of the seaven dayes, you will bee enforced according to his opinion to include them within the same matter.

You say that never any *Aristotelian* who did acknowledge a different matter of the heavens from the elements, will acknowledge that the heavens have any informing forme, whereas *Aquinas* the greatest *Aristotelian* of any Christian Divine holdeth both, and so doe all his followers; and if in this consist the whole mistake, it is not I, but you that are mistaken.

You say that the matter of the heavens hath in it selfe all the properties and perfections which the forme doth impart; and yet that  
matter



matter by the confession of all Philosophers can bee none other then *principium passivum motus*, not *activum* which is proper to the forme. You say that I run on in a witty discourse, that the matter of the heavens hath a forme so excellent, as that it is therewith wholly satisfied; which is not an invention of my wit, but an assertion of the soundest Philosophers.

You say that the heavens have in them no maligning qualities, and yet are apt of themselves to bee worne out with use; which I thinke no man ever affirmed beside your selfe.

You say that God will not offer violence to the nature of the Creatures, and yet presently affirme, that hee will hasten that course, which can bee none other then a kinde of violence.

You say that the inclination of the heavenly bodies to destruction may bee proved from scripture, the observations of *Ptolomie*, the *Comet* in *Cassiopea*, the increase and decrease of the *Moone*, the three former of which I have answered fully in my booke, but hercof (as your manner is) you take no notice, And truly I could wish you had not named the fourth, your Lordship might aswell prove the decay of the heavens from the rising and setting of the *Sunne*, as from the increase and decrease of the *Moone*.

You say that you make the matter of the heavens to be of the nature of a spirit, which is altogether invisible, so are not they.

You say that your opinion for the double matter, makes more for the heavens immunity from decay, then mine doth for the single; which is most true, and in that respect I could wish your Lordship had proved it better; but withall you may see that I preferre truth before victory, and in this point am glad you give mee occasion to acknowledge the like in your Lordship.

You say that there are many differences betwixt the heavenly and elementary matter; which I deny not, but ascribe them to the difference of their formes, not to the first matter, & in those you have many things lyable to exception, were I disposed in particular to examine them.

G. G.

*Decupla proportio in the elements.*

For the Decupla proportio which the Elements observe amongst themselves, and which you mention. P. 79. when I speake of a dropp of aire, it is not altogether improper; for aer est humidissimus, and you well understood my meaning, neither could I otherwise expresse my selfe, for we have no English word to imply it; But truly your instance of a spoonefull of water upō quick coales, is very strange, as if the water did fill all the roome, which if it were so, you should instantly have the noyse of a thunder Clapp, when the vapor shall so suddenly with such violence expell the ayre; but doe you make no difference betweene filling the roome, and colouring the ayre, no doubt but a pound of saffron, will colour a Tunne of wine, yet I doe not thinke you can extract a

SSff4

Tunne



Tunne of liquor out of the safron, yea further your vapour I doe not conceive colours the ayre, but the ayre being perspicuous, and the vapour having opacity, it doth therefore terminate the sight, as if you should put a little painted glasse over your eye, and seeing all the aire coloured, you might thinke the glasse were extended:

2.

I have often desired you in theories not to bee exact in proportions, as if mans imagination could apply a compasse and rule to measure out speculations; these Mathematicall punctilioes, are not to be admitted in Philosophy, yet is it necessary that in things which are most uncertaine, wee should guesse at some certainty, and bee guided by one Rule; and herein Aristotle hath done, what the wit or indeavours of man could effect: I suppose it impossible to set downe exact proportions, especially because wee have the elements mixed and impure, neither do I thinke that what proportion the earth carries to the water, the same doth the water to the aire, and the aire to the fier, you know whose property it is to weigh out the winds: yet surely of all other properties the Decupla seemes to be most probable, first take a quantity of earth, suppose a bushell of earth, & you shall find that ten tymes that quantity of water, shall be just of that weight; yet here you must remember that sand weighs heavier then chalke, & clay heavier then sands, so likewise in waters, whether standing or running, or proceeding from minerals, they differ in weight. 2. in distillations or Chymistrie weigh the ingredients, weigh the water and the drosse, you shall very usually find such a like proportion observed. 3. Take likewise the ordinary increase of vegetatives, and commonly they observe such a like proportion, if grounds bee in good hart, have there tilts in due tyme, and a seasonable yeare, they doe usually yeeld tenne for one; though I confesse in our feilds which lie ever in tillage, a seavenfould proportion is more ordinary, yet wee finde it otherwise in fresh grownds, and in barley especially, which is our most usuall graine, it doth most commonly fall out; and this may bee a reason why the wisdom of God should reserve a tenth to himselfe, for there use who serve at his altar, when in a naturall increase he gives ten for one, while the most strict and biting usurer can exact but one for ten, but the earth through gods blessing, payes the greatest usury, for it gives ten for one, not for our merits and indeavours, but out of Gods bounty; yet our labours are necessary, as a Cipher which is nothing in it selfe, being added to a number, increaseth it by a ten fould proportion. Out of this increase, which God himself gave, he takes one of the ten, as an earnest penny, thereby to ingage himself to repay spirituall things for temporall, eternall for transitory; and although there bee no proportion betweene them, yet is it fitly set forth by this ten fould proportion, seeing that all multiplying in numbers, is ever by decades, as every figure succeeding exceeds each other in a ten-fould proportion:

3.

I will yet further add a fourth reason, take a clod of earth, suppose it such a one as will just fill a pecke, ten tymes so much water shall beare up this clod, as if the strength were proportioned to the burthen; but here something may bee ascribed to the water, salt water carries her burthen much better then fresh, and yet notwithstanding the salt doth not accordingly add to the weight, and something may bee ascribed to the figure and forme of the earth, but for the greater indifferency, suppose it to bee Circular: and so I doubt not but it is in all other bodyes, unlesse the water and earth strongly compacted together, doe greatly overpoysse the other elements; as in mettals, stones, & the like, where the elements are



are so farre from being equally mixed, as that in a manner the aire and fire are excluded; thus how long are mettals before they receive heate, and being made red hot, how often doe they indure the fire without any great consumption, for in them there is little combustible matter; neither doe they evaporate into aire; And I doubt not, but it may be so with some other bodyes; Sir Henry Wotten did once shew mee wood, which was lighter then feathers, and hee did likewise shew mee other wood, that was heavier then any mettall or stone, thus I have given you foure reasons, for the Decupla proportio, and farther I could proceed, but that I desire to observe a proportion, and not to exceed the number of foure.

G. H.

The second touching the Decupla proportio  
of the elements.

YOU say, or at leastwise imply that the vapour arising from the water doth only colour the aire; & yet within a few lines you tell us, that having opacity it doth therefore terminate the sight; I beseech you my Lord, can it terminate the sight by reason of the opacity, & yet only colour the aire, as a little saffron doth a great quantity of liquor, or a coloured glasse the object which we see through it? doubtlesse if the opacity of the vapour be such as it terminate the sight, the same vapour being rarified into aire would easily fill the roome, though the aire with which it mixeth were remooved: which is enough to my purpose and all that I intended.

You say you doe not thinke that what proportion the earth carries to the water, the same doth the water to the aire, & the aire to the fire, and yet cannot but know, that without this proportion, the *Decupla proportio* (which you undertake to defend) cannot bee maintained.

You say that *Mathematicall punctilioes* are not to be admitted in philosophy; and yet tell us within a few lines, that a bushell of earth will weigh just ten times that quantity of water: which experiment I have not tryed, and I must professe much doubt of; neither doth your reason of proportioning the strength to the burthē seeme to be of any weight, considering the whole Ocean cannot beare up the least stone, or any other earthy body.

You say the like proportion may bee observed in distillations betwene the water & the drosse; which no doubt varies much according to the terrestriety of the bodies, out of which the water is distilled.

You say that in things uncertaine wee should guesse at some certainty, and be guided by one rule, and that herein *Aristotle* hath done what the wit or endeavours of man could effect; and yet in the maine controversy betwixt us, you utterly forsake him, and cry downe both his wit and endeavors.

You say that a peck of earth will bee borne up by ten times so much water, which I have tryed but could not finde.

That which followes in this Digression, is as I conceive, little to the present purpose, and so needs no farther answer.

G. G.



G. G.

The third touching the assumption of the blessed Virgin.

1. **A**nd now I come to that which is more proper to our profession, the Assumption of the blessed Virgin: P: 61. where you use these words Had our Church beleev'd it, I presume they would never have expunged that feast out of the Calender; I am here to give you great thanks, that whereas at other tymes you presse me with the authority of the reformed Church, now you are pleased more properly to insist on our Church; you know that all the Churches of Amsterdam terme themselves reformed, & there is no Church under the Sunne, which either pretends or intends not reformation: but when you speake of our Church, or the Church of England, then you speake most properly. 2<sup>o</sup>. I must retorne very many thanks unto you, that when you speake of our owne Church, you doe not presse me with the opinions of Lecturers, of ministers, of Preachers, for all these concerne me no more, the your owne testimony doth in your apology; but here you bring me acts of state, and to these, I shall ever subscribe, so that the Church of which I am a member, & which I doe somuch honor, it is the Church of England as it is settled, and established by the Lawes of this Kingdome; so farre I doe extend it, and no further, for particular authors, or writers in this Church, be they of what ranke, condition, or esteeme soever, I neither approve, nor oppose them, because they concerne me not; only I tie my selfe to the lawes, which course if all did observe, wee should have lesse faction.

2. It is true that the feast of the assumption is expunged, & I doubt whether this feast was ever generally received in the Church, 6. or. 7. hundred yeares past, before it was instituted, & then was it introduced by reason of some privat pretended revelation, and no doubt but a particuler Church, may for just reasons, and grounds omit it; the feast was kept in the midst of our harvest, on the. 15<sup>th</sup> of August; this lland so wholly depending up tillage as it doth, & the weather being more uncertaine beere, then in other parts; it could then ill spare one day, & whether any other abuses were, I know not; nor am I bound to examine, but as I desire to justify our owne Church, so willingly I would not condemne the observation of that feast, no doubt but a day might well have bin kept in memory of her departure, as S. Iohn the Evangelist hath the like, who was no more in effect then her servant; as for those other dayes, in the Annunciation wee doe indeed Celebrate the Conception of Christ, in the purification wee Celebrate the presentation of Christ, as the Collects on both daies will testifie; howsoever the vulgar report, may ascribe both feasts to our Lady.

3. But wher as you do hence inferr, that our Church beleevs not the Assumption, because the feast is expunged; surely our Church beleevs the conception of the blessed Virgin, beleevs the nativity, beleevs her visitation of Elizabeth, yet notwithstanding hath blotted out all the feasts; only for the cōception there might be some doubt; whether the feast might not seeme to insinuate, that she was cōceived without sin, & nourish that opinion; but of this I will not dispute, certaine it is, we Celebrate the Conception of S. Iohn Baptist, who was far inferiour to the Blessed Virgin; other feasts of our Lady are likewise omittē, as S<sup>ca</sup> Mariæ dā nives, S<sup>ca</sup> Mariæ ad victoriam, yet our Church denies neither, as not interposing therein; you know that our stricke professors whom wee call sectaries, have in effect abandoned all feasts or holydayes, will you therefore make them Infidels? I pray bee not so uncharitable to them; then surely you ought not to conclude that our Church doth utterly condemne the assumption, but rather that our Church doth determine nothing certaine therein; and noe more doth the Church of Rome at this day, and herein there is no difference betweene the two Churches, and willingly I would not multiplie the controversies of Religion, but



my prayers shall ever bee, for the peace of Gods Church.

Though the Church would not bee wanting in acknowledging all those great and Royall Prerogatives, which did belong to the blessed Virgin, for to be Deipera, is the highest honor which can bee given to a Creature; and therefore undoubtedly was accompanied withall blessings and graces, even from the instant of Conception, to the last minute of dissolution. Yet was the Church never superstitious therein, for there were certaine hereticks called Colliridians, who did affirme the blessed Virgin to bee of divine nature, not subject to death, these the Church did utterly cōdemne, yet did never oppose the assumption, which was first acknowledged by the Greeke Church, but you say the sermon of S. Athanasius is counterfeit, and Nannius his interpreter doth reject it, for Damascen and Metaphrastesthey were mislead by Dionysius, if the you would instāce in some one of that tyme, who might better direct modernity, in opposing the, you should speake to good purpose; it hath ever bin the curtesie of reformed Churches howsoever they might stand affected to the church of Rome, yet still to speake reverently of the Greek Church, God forbid but we should propose some Churches unto us, for exāples & Presidets: Leaving the Greeke Church, let us come to the Latin, S. Augustin doth mention the assumption in 2. Sermons, S. Ierome doth the like, & though there be much doubt whether they be the Authors, yet most certaine it is, that the Author was as antient as S. Ierome, & since many of great esteeme have affirmed it, as S. Barnard, Petrus Damianus and others, how many ancient Churches have bin built for the solemnity of that feast, how do all the ancient Martyrologyes mention the assumption of the blessed Virgin, what father, or any ancient author doth oppose it? I will not here trouble you with revelations.

This one argument doth exceedingly move me, take all the Apostles, & in effect as many as are any way commended in scriptures, I will point out the tyme of there death, the place of there buriall, how there relicks were preserved, there bones translated, together with many other memorable accidents, but for the blessed Virgin, which deserves much better then all of them, though I can poynt out her house, and many memorialls of her, and that antiquity did ever stand most piously affected unto her, yet notwithstanding for her body, which had bin the Temple wherein the Godhead dwelt, for many moneths, the antients make noe mention of it; and therefore I will end as you doe with Epiphanius, finis ipsius nemini notus est; yet I cannot approve your interpretation, who doe expound it thus, that it was altogether uncertaine; but truly I love the Litterall construction, that her end was knowne to no man, which to my understanding may seeme to implice, that it was above the knowledge, and apprehension of man; for had it bin only a naturall death, these words could not be verified, yet notwithstanding herein I determine nothing, because the Church of England hath determined nothing, and I doe submit mine owne opinion to the judgment of this Church.

Such a like reason I doe often propose to my selfe in the Histories of the Church, as for example, whether Ioseph of Aremathea came to convert this kingdome? when I finde that neither his death, nor buriall, are mentioned in the Easterne Church, I am apt to yeeld to them, who claime him for theirs; yet I determine nothing certaine in such like observations; & so I say of the assumption: & surely this is the opinion of the Church of Rome at this day, & hath ever bin the opinion of that Church, and it is not now newly hatched or refined, and ould errors corrected; thus Vsuardus who wrot his Martyrologe by the command of Charles the



the great, about the yeare of our Lord. 800. as likewise Ado the Archbishop of Vienna who wrote his Martyrologe. 80. yeares after Ufuardus, both of them living in those obscure and barbarous ages of the world, (as you are pleased to call them) yet both of them called the day of the assumption, no otherwise then Sanctæ Mariæ dormitio, and though they obserue the Vigill, yet speaking of the assumption it selfe, which was then doubted of, they use these words plus eligit sobrietas Ecclesiæ cum pietate nescire, quam aliquid frivolum & apocryphum inde tenendo docere.

G. H.

*The third touching the Assumption  
of the blessed Virgin.*

1. **Y**OU put a difference betwixt the reformed Church & our Church, as if ours were not reformed.

Meethinks though the single testimonies of our private writers or preachers move you little, yet their unanimous consent should waigh somewhat more with you, then your owne private opinion; specially in those points whereof our Church hath determined nothing.

That you tye your selfe strictly to the lawes of the Church, is doubtlesse very commendable; and for mine owne part I heartily wish that all the sonnes of our Church did the like, without adding thereunto, or taking there from in their publique practise, and then I verily beleieve wee should have lesse faction indeed.

2. The feast of the *Assumption* being by your owne confession of so late institution, of so doubtfull an extent, and so sandy a foundation, as private pretended revelations, should not by your Lordship bee held in the observation thereof as a thing indifferent.

That a day might well bee kept in memory of the blessed virgins departure, (did our Church thinke it fit) I should willingly yeeld my consent thereunto; and truly I have often wondred that both shee and S. Paul should be without their festivalls. For our Collects indeed shew (as your Lordship hath rightly observed) that both the day of the purification and *Annunciation* are by our Church rather addressed to our Saviour then to her, yet so as they are both applyable to her.

That S. John was in effect no more then a Servant to the blessed virgin, I cannot yeeld; since hee was by our Saviour recommended to her as a Sonne, not as a Servant.

3. That our Church beleieves not the *Assumption*, because the feast is expunged, I inferred not as a necessary deduction, but only as a presumption, & so doe your selfe repeate my words in the entrance of this digression.

Our Church indeed beleieves the *Conception* & *Nativity* of the blessed Virgin, and yet hath blotted out both those feasts; yet had shee greater reason to have retained the feast of the *Assumption*, had shee beleieved it, this latter being a very great miracle, which cannot bee verified of either of the former.

You



You say you will not dispute it, whether the blessed *Virgin* were conceived without sinne, yet the Romanists doubt not freely to dispute it, and many of them resolutely to determine against it; doubtlesse shee would not have professed her joy in her Saviour, had shee not confessed her selfe to bee a sinner; neither had it bin his peculiar property to bee seperate from sinners, had shee communicated with him in the same.

You say that we celebrate the conception of *S. Iohn Baptist* who was farre inferiour to the blessed *Virgin*, whereas both the Collect and Gospel for that day referre us to his nativity; and so is it called aswell in the *Roman Missall* as *Martyrologe*. and though it bee true that the *Baptist* was inferiour to the blessed *Virgin*, yet is it as true, that ( for any thing wee find recorded in holy Scriptures ) his Conception was more miraculous then hers;

Other feasts of our Lady you say are by us omitted, as *St. Maria ad Nives*, and *St. Maria ad Victoriā*; the former of which I finde indeed in the *Roman Missall* reformed according to the *Tridentine Councell*; but the latter I finde not there: so as it should seeme ( if they ever had it ) they have now omitted it aswell as wee.

As I would not be so uncharitable as to taxe them of Infidelity who have abandoned all holydayes: ( if any such there bee ) so I trust your Lordship will not bee so partiall, as to free them from superstition who have in a manner turned the whole yeere in Festivals, the greatest part whereof they observe more solemnly then the Lords day.

Our Church you say determineth nothing certaine touching the *Assumption*, and herein there is no difference betwixt us & the Church of *Rome*; why my Lord is it possible that the Church of *Rome*, should ordaine and enjoyne a most solemne festivall, universally to bee observed in all Churches under her jurisdiction, and yet determine nothing certaine herein? *Baronius* I will assure your Lordship will tell you another tale, *Ex Romana ecclesia usu recepto, firmiter constanterque asserimus ac profitemur ipsam sanctissimam Dei genetricem, Mariam, unā cum sacratissimo illo corpore quo impartita est Deo carnem, in calum esse receptam.*

Touching needlesse multiplication of Controversies for mine owne part I approve it not, but withall wish, that so just an occasion for the greatest number of them were not offered.

That the *Collyridians* held the blessed *Virgin* to bee of a divine nature not subject to death, *Baronius* indeed affirmeth, writing of the *Assumption*, both in his *Martyrologe* and, *Annals*; and your Lordship perchance out of him; but having read *Epiphanius* touching that heresie, I cannot finde it in him. They were certaine silly women who offered cakes unto her, ( from whence they had their name ) and from that religious worship, *Epiphanius* inferres they made her more then a Creature, as being due onely to the Creator, which *Baronius* foreseeing how it touched the practise and doctrine of his Church, cunningly put off, and instead thereof accuseth them of the same crime; and very neare in the same words as your Lordship doth.

T t t

You



You say the Church did never oppose the *Assumption*; yet it is certaine that *Gelasius Bishop of Rome* in a Synode there assembled about the yeare 500 condemned a booke written of that subject, intituled *Transitus Mariae Virginis*.

You say the *Assumption* was first acknowledged by the *Greek Church* which makes it the more to bee suspected, they being much addicted to fabulous narrations, as anciently that nation was.

*Quicquid Gracia mendax  
Audet in historia.*

The Sermon of *Athanasius* touching the *Assumption*, is confessed to bee counterfeit, not only by *Nannius* his Interpreter, but by *Baronius* himselfe, and others of that side.

I doe not say (as you pretend) that *Damasen* and *Metaphrastes* were misled only by the testimony of *Dionysius*; for it may very well be they were misled also by that of the Counterfeit *Athanasius*, and so have I expressed my selfe. And for *Metaphrastes* hee was apt enough to add much of his owne braine; nay the very truth is that upō farther search, I finde that in *Dionysius* himselfe there is not a word of the *Assumption*.

You would have mee instance in some one of that time, who might better direct modernity in opposing them; which I will doe by instancing in their owne Authors of a higher time, whom you afterward produce for the *Assumption*, namely *S. Augustin* in his 35<sup>th</sup> Sermon de *Sanctis*, if the worke bee his, as *Sixtus Senensis* seems to acknowledge it, and the Author of the epistle to *Paula* and *Eustochium*, which goes under *S. Hieromes* name, by *Senensis* and *Erasmus* ascribed to *Sophronius*, by your selfe to some one contemporarie to that Father: both which make the *Assumption* very doubtfull, or rather incline to the contrary, and consequently oppose them who confidently affirme it, as *Metaphrastes* doth; And to these wee may add *Gelasius* before named and *Epiphanius*, *Vsuardus*, *Ado* and *Durandus* afterwards to be named.

God forbid, you say, but wee should propose some Church to our selves for examples and presidents; true indeed, but in such a case no doubt the primitive Church is to bee preferred; and for those of later date wee stand not bound to take their fables or uncertainties for matters of faith or certaine truths.

That which followes in this Section is rather *Rhetoricall* then argumentative; to which I would oppose the deep silence, not onely of *S. Luke* in the *Acts* of the *Apostles*, and *S. Iohn* in his writings, but of all antiquity not forged for the space of many hundred years after his pretended *Assumption*; all which seems to cry aloud that no such thing was knowne to them, and consequently that it was but an invention of latter ages.

5. This one argument you say doth exceedingly move you, that for the body of the blessed *Virgin* the Ancients make no mention of it, which one argument doth as much move me that they beleaved not her bodily *Assumption*, which doubtlesse they would have mentioned had they beleaved it; And truly for mine owne part, I thinke it was by



by the Divine providence purposely conceald, what became of her body, least idolatry might bee committed by giving it divine honour, as it is commonly thought that the body of *Moses* was concealed from the *Jewes*, for the same purpose; and truly I am of opinion, that the imposture and superstition about the reliques or pretended reliques of Saints now practised by *Romanists*, is one of the greatest abuses of that Church.

Touching the body of *S. Iohn the Evangelist*, little or no mention shall wee find of it in Antiquity, save that hee was buried neare *Ephesus*, as *S. Hierome* reporteth; and the like by some is written of the blessed *Virgin*, that shee was buried in the valley of *Iosephat*, or as others in *Getsemane*; shall we therefore conclude that *S. Iohn* was likewise assumed in body? some I confesse from thence doe so conclude, and others (as they conceive) with more colour from scriptures, that hee is yet alive; but your Lordship I presume gives no credit to either of them, and as little reason have you (as I conceive) to inferre the *Assumption* of the blessed *Virgin* from the concealment of her body, or the silence of Antiquity touching it.

You say, you can point out the house of the blessed *Virgin*; whereas her most blessed sonne professed, that hee had not where to repose his head; and of her it is said that being recommended to *S. Iohn* hee tooke her home with him to his house, where in all likelihood she still made her abode till her death. Some indeed would beare us in hand, that her house was by *Angels* transported from *Nazareth* to *Loretto*, and *Tursellin* the *Iesuite* hath of that subject composed an entire volume; but that I trust is not the house your Lordship intends to point us out, and for any other I know not where you will finde it.

You end as I doe with that of *Ephiphanius*, *finis ipsius nemini notus*; which being so, there can bee no assurance of the *Assumption*; but my interpretation of those words, That her end was altogether uncertaine, you doe not approve: whereas those words of mine, are by me brought in, rather by way of inference then interpretation, as will easily appeare to any indifferent Reader.

Your Conclusion of this Section is, that herein you submit your opinion to the judgement of this Church; and so doe I; but withall once more I add, that our Church having expunged the feast of the *Assumption*, and assigned none other (as you say) proper to the blessed *Virgin*, they should in reason, as I conceive, be thought to incline to the negative, specially considering as I have said, That her conception and nativity were naturall, but her *Assumption*, if any such there were, altogether supernaturall and miraculous.

It is not I alone who call those times you speake of obscure and barbarous, but the most learned of the *Romanists* themselves, whose words I have given you, wherein they expresse as much.

The words of *Vsuardus* and *Ado* by you alleaged, are moderate; so are those of *Suarez* in *Thomam* part. 3. q. 37. art. 4. disput 21. de totali *Assumptione B. Mariae*. *Quares qua fide hac veritas tenenda sit? Author enim libri de Assumptione, Hieronymi nomine eam dubiam relin-*



quere visus est, & ferè cum eadem formidine hoc asseruit Augustinus, si ejus est, libro de Assumptione; Abulensis solum dicit esse probabilem sententiam; Cajetanus vocat piam; Canus addit, temeritatem esse hoc negare; Catharinus asserit esse de fide; sed revera non est; quia neque est ab ecclesia definita, nec est testimonium Scripturae, nec ecclesia traditio sufficiens qua infallibilem faciat fidem. Baronius indeed falls foule upon *Vsuardus* and *Ado*, and sharply censures their moderation, as being misled by the booke going under *S. Hieromes* name, and thereby mistaking the judgement of the Church in that point; but I should rather thinke, that *Baronius* himselfe was mistaken in the judgement of the Church at that time; or that *Vsuardus* and *Ado* did not thinke the judgement of the Church of Rome to bee intallible, which is the thing *Baronius* strives for.

G. G.

The fourth touching *Dionysius* and his writings.

1. **B**y occasion of this Assumption, you fall to unmaske *Dionysius Areopagita*, and whereas you speake of the writers of the reformed Churches, unlesse you name them more particularly, I take no notice of them. For those other accusers, *Erasmus*, *Valla*, & *Cajetan*, they are not without great exceptions; I do little esteeme them, that *S. Ierome* remembers no such famous man, what if I should put you in minde of your owne rule, Argumentum ab autoritate ductum negative non valet, or what if I should say that the Assumptio doth not only rely upon the authority of that eye-witnes *Dionysius*; if you will be pleased to looke into the Annotations upon *Vsuardus*, you shall find that divers testimonies of the Fathers are brought for the Assumption, all which I have here omitted, because I doe point them out there, and the last of these testimonies is *Dionysius*, if you say that all these were misled by *Dionysius*, as you doe say of *Damascen* & *Metaphrastes*, this were a ground utterly to weaken all the testimonies of the Ancients, as if they were all mislead & hoodwinked by one, and had not the wit to examine things, as the modernes have: whensoever then you doe fasten upon such a generall error, you must ever descend to particulars, or els you will not bee credited:

2. But that *S. Ierome* should remember no such famous man, it is certaine, that as *S. Ierome* had wonderfull employments, so he tooke many things upon trust; I give you this instance, hee did utterly mistake in the death of that great Apostle *S. Peter*, for he reports that hee suffered Martyrdome, in the 14. yeare of *Nero*, whereas it appeares by *Suetonius*, *Dion* and others, that *Nero* raigned not. 14. yeares; againe the Church of England doth herein forsake *S. Ierome*, for wee commemorate the martyrdome of *S. Peter* on the 29<sup>th</sup> of Iune, and all agree that *Nero* died on the tenth of Iune: herein wee do excuse *S. Ierome*, because hee tooke it upon trust from *Eusebius*; thus it is likewise most certaine, that in the Catalogue of Ecclesiasticall writers, he doth onely follow *Eusebius*, and himselfe did add to the number such other authors, which had written after the tyme of *Eusebius*. and this hee himselfe in a Preface doth confesse. So then I doe add to *S. Ierome* *Eusebius*, who hath likewise omitted *Dionysius*, though I stand not well affected to *Eusebius*, yet I will not be his accuser, I pray heare what others (whom the Church doth greatly honor for holinesse & learning) esteeme of him.

Maximus



Maximus reports that Eusebius did omit Dionysius, very wittingly & willingly; shewing that the works of Dionysius were very well knowne, long before the time of Eusebius; & charging him further, that he hath omitted Narcissus, Himerius and others: would you know the reason why Eusebius should deale thus falsely and deceitfully, most certaine it is, that the Arrians did conceale the canons of the Councell of Nice, & many other famous authors, which made against them. As our new sectaries were wont to burne all old ancient Manuscripts, if they had but red letters in them, they did instantly savour of Popish superstitions. now of all others, Eusebius did least oppose the Arrians, this I may speake in the mildest manner; but S. Ierome chargeth him in plaine termes, to have bin the standard-bearer to the Arrians, & S. Athanasius, not the Counterfeit whom Nannius condemns, but true S. Athanasius doth alledge the testimony of Theognostus against the Arrians, & gives him a very great title, whereby it may appeare he was no obscure man, or easily forgotten; & yet notwithstanding Eusebius hath omitted him, for the same cause: I had not named S. Ierome & S. Athanasius, but that your selfe doe instance in them, & being very desirous wholly & fully to acquit S. Ierome, I will say in his behalfe, that hee begins his Catalogue of Expositors long after the time of Dionysius, and therefore omits many others of that time; yea further I say that S. Ierome doth mention Dionysius by consequence, for S. Ierome reckons Aristides, & Aristides gives a very honorable testimony of Dionysius, as Hilduinus reports in his owne wordes.

3.

Thus is Dionysius not mentioned by Eusebius, as giving a great testimony against the Arrians; and proposing such mysteries, so illustrated with Platonicall Philosophy, that we must needs conceiue him most ancient; in so much that S. Chrysostome calls him the bird of heaven, with relation (as it should seeme) to S. Iohn the Evangelist, who as he was firstly set forth by an Eagle, the King of birds, as discerning and discovering the diety of Christ, in a most excellent manner; so this Dionysius in respect of the like, profound mysteries, might seeme like a bird to attend him.

4.

Thus did the Greek Church ever most reverently esteeme of Dionysius, & I know not any one St. in the Church, excepting onely the Apostles, so ancient as this Dionysius, whose life & calling, are so particularly related; as that he was an Athenian, a Senator in Arcopagus, & then after he became Bishop of Athens, from thence he removed into Fraunce, which that nation takes not only as a speciall honor, but even as a speciall argument of gods great mercy & goodnesse unto them, even to this day; in so much that Michael the Emperor of the East in a solemne Embassage sent the books of Dionysius, unto holy Lewis the Emperour of the West; at whose request, and by whose Command (as may appeare by letters directed unto him) Hilduinus wrot the life, & gathered together the writings of Dionysius, & he affirmes that he was afterwards martyred, being above the age of one hundred yeares. Who likewise mentions that his life & martyrdom were first written by Aristarcus the historian, then by Methodius the Archbishop of Constantinople, which bookes after the time of Hilduinus were translated into Latin, by Anastasius the famous Library keeper. Yea long before the Origen doth mention Dionysius, if the booke be his, which goes under his name; & surely his very manner of writing savours of great antiquity. S. Gregory the great doth mention him with honor in the generall councils; how many great Clearks have translated him out of Greek into Latin, how many of the Ancients have written Commentaries upon him, no famous

5.



library in the world but greatly esteemes his works, & in what great honor his relicks were held, Fraunce can well testifie.

6. How farr his conversion agrees with the death of the blessed Virgin, that I may truly confesse myne owne ignorance, I am not yet so fully resolved of the time when the blessed Virgin died; yet I have read Baronius, and have him at this time in my study; I know that a certaine number of Prayers were said to the honor of the blessed Virgin, answerable to the years of her age, & that she received tradition hath bin, that shee lived to the age of threescore and three years, but in myne owne privat opinion, I doe rather incline to lengthen the years, and then his Conversion might well fall out, before the death of the blessed Virgin.

7. Especially Considering that at the passion of Christ, hee did discern such a wonderfull miracle, no lesse then the Eclipse of the Sunne beyond the naturall Course, which was indeed the greatest of all miracles, & this miracle falling out in a most acceptable tyme, when now the great propitiatory sacrifice of the world was offered up upon the Crosse, and pulling downe full showres of mercy, could so mollifie the hard heart of a heathen man, as to wring out this Confession from him, that either the God of Nature did then suffer or the faire fabrick of the world should instantly bee dissolved; which in effect implies the whole power & strength of our Christian faith, & profession. And if this great St. was preordained by God for the speciall good of his Church, is it Credible that, 17. or. 18. years should passe before his conversion.

8. But out of my respect unto you, being not apt to contradict what you report, I will not examine the tyme of S. Paules preaching Acts. 17. but I pray consider his Sermon there, that it was rather a reprehension of the Athenians then otherwise, he makes good use of their owne altars and poets, as testimonies against themselves, and then onely mentioning repentance, the last judgement, and the resurrection of Christ, he was suddenly interrupted. And whereas it is said, that some cleaved or adheared unto him, & believed, the words sound as if they did imply more then a inchoated conversion; but for Dionysius himselfe, the text may very well bee expounded that hee was then onely among the beleivers, not as if hee had bin then newly converted.

G. G.

#### The fourth touching Dionysius and his writings.

I.

**Y**OU say, that whereas I speake of the writers of the reformed Churches, unlesse I name them in particular, you take no notice of them; why my Lord, my doubt is that when I have named them, you will take as little notice of them. I could easily name you Luther, the Centurists, Calvin, Beza, Zanchius, Morney, Scaliger, Casaubon, Rainolds, Rivet and who not? who have had any occasion to write of him? so as in very truth I doubt, it would much trouble your Lordship to produce so much as one of the reformed Churches who ever affirmed him to bee the *Areopagite*. For Erasmus, Valla, and Cajetan, you say you doe little esteeme them; whereas your Lordship I presume cannot bee ignorant, how greatly they are esteemed by all learned men, and as their works shew, not undeservedly.

To my reason, that S. Hierome remembers no such man as this *Dionysius*, you reply by putting mee in minde of mine owne rule.

Argu.



*Argumentum ab auctoritate ductum negativè non valet.* Whereunto I answer, that if the Authour alleadged purposely intend the thing controverted, and yet be silent therein, in such a case the argument drawne from his authoritie is negatively valid; and so is it in this case, Saint Hierome purposely intended to publish a Catalogue of all the Ecclesiasticall Writers before his time, but mentions not the writings of *Dionysius Areopagita*, which should in reason argue, either that no such writings were extant in Saint Hieromes time, or that hee was ignorant of them.

The question now is touching the writings of *Dionysius*, and yet heere you fall backe againe upon the *Assumption*, telling mee that you rely not upon the authoritie of that eye-witnesse *Dionysius*, but diverse other testimonies of the Fathers brought by *Vsuardus*, to which you referre mee; To which I answer, that *Dionysius* was not an eye-witnesse of the *Assumption*, (as you pretend) nor any man else that I could yet reade of; Some write indeed, that the Sepulcher being opened, her body was found missing, from whence they collect that she was assumed; but of any eye-witnesse of the *Assumption*, not a word in any writer I have met with.

The testimonies brought by *Vsuardus*, did not assure himselfe of the *Assumption*, as you your selfe have truly observed out of him; how then can you expect that they should assure me? And to *Vsuardus* you might well enough have joyned, not onely *Ado* but *Durandus*, in his *Rationale*, lib. 7. cap. 24. *Vtrum corpus in terrâ remansit incertum habetur, & melius est pie dubitare, quàm aliquid circa hoc temerè definire.*

Now as *Dionysius* is not reported by any Writer that I know, to have beene an eye-witnesse of the *Assumption*; so neither doth himselfe so much as mention it in any part of his writings that I have seene, yet the Authours alleadged by *Vsuardus*, might be misled by other Counterfeits, such as the Counterfeit *Athanasius*, the Counterfeit *Melito de transitu Mariae Virginis*, and the like. And thus *Vsuardus* himselfe (as before I observed) is censured by *Baronius* for his indifferency, as being misled by a counterfeit *Hierome*; but that a great part of that counterfeit Epistle to *Paula* and *Eustochium*, for as much as concerneth the *Assumption*, is to bee found in the old *Roman Breviaries*, and namely in that which was published in the yeare 1556. by Cardinall *Quignoni*, this *Baronius* cunningly suppresseth, because hee knew well enough it would much weaken the assurance of the *Assumption*.

Touching *Damasen*, he reporteth that the soule of *Trajan* by the prayers of *Gregorie* Bishop of *Rome*, and of *Falconilla* by the prayers of another were delivered out of hell; and what great credit then can bee given to his testimonie? That which he hath written of the *Assumption*, is this; that *Euthymius* reports how *Pulcheria* the Empresse, and wife to *Martian*, having built a Church in *Constantinople*, desired that the relicks of the blessed *Virgine* might be translated thither; and thereupon demanded of *Juvenalis* Bishop of *Hierusalem*, where they were to bee found; who made answer, That out of the authoritie of the holy books, there is nothing written of those things which pertaine to the depar-



ture of the blessed *Virgine*, onely out of an ancient and most true fame wee have received it; and so setteth downe the manner of her death and *Assumption*, and proceeding in his tale to shew that *Timothy* and *Dionysius* were there present, hee rehearseth a large discourse out of an Epistle of *Dionysius* to *Timothie*, whereas no such Epistle is to bee found among his workes, but onely a booke dedicated to *Timothie*, and in that booke not a word of the *Assumption*. And besides, wee finde one *Euthymius* a famous Writer long since *Damascen*, but none of that name before him. Whatsoever hee were, he makes *Iuvenalis* the Bishop in his answer to the Empreſſe, to contradict himſelfe; telling her firſt that hee had nothing to ſay of thoſe relicks, but onely by fame; and yet afterwards, as if hee had forgotten himſelfe, he maketh him to alleage the fore-ſaid Epistle of *Dionysius* to the ſame purpoſe; where by the way it ſhall not perchance bee amiſſe to obſerve, that even by the confeſſion of *Damaſcen*, the opinion of the *Assumption* in that age wherein *Pulcheria* lived, was not commonly received.

For *Metaphraſtes*, he is ſo generally cryed downe, and deeply cenſured as a moſt notorious fabler by all learned men, as in truth hee is hardly worth the naming in this or any other Controverſie; not onely *Cauſabon* in his Exercitations ſtiles him, *magnus fabularum anilium confarcinator*; but Bishop *Montague* in his preface to his *Analeceta*, rangeth him in the number of thoſe whom he calleth, *Eruditionis & historia deboneſtamenta*: And Bishop *Iewell* the jewell of Bishops (the worthieſt Divine that Chriſtendome hath bred for ſome hundreds of yeares, ſaith incomparable *Hooker*) much to like purpoſe. This *Simeon Metaphraſtes*, whom Mr *Harding* here painteth out in his colours, and calleth a Greeke writer, was a poore Schoolemaſter in *Conſtantinople*, and wrote Saints lives, which may bee called the Legend of lies, and lived two hundred yeares agoe and not above. Nay *Baronius* himſelfe goeth farther, accusing him for mixing *commenta multa, mendacia portentosa, & varia planè deliria*. To whom wee may adde that of *Bellarmino* in his booke *de ſcriptoribus eccleſiaſticis*, *Illud autem eſt obſervandum, à Metaphraſte ſcriptas fuiſſe historias de vitis Sanctorum, multis additis ex proprio ingenio, non ut res geſta fuerunt, ſed ut geri potuerunt*. Now the baſe condition of this *Metaphraſtes* I have the rather diſplayed, that it may from thence the more clearely appeare, upon what a ſandy foundation they build, who make his forgeries the ground-worke of their opinions and diſcourſes.

To ſhew that generall errors have crept into the Church (ſuch as this of the *Assumption* and *Dionysius*) wee neede goe no farther then the teſtimonie of *Mariana*, who in a diſputation of his, dedicated to *Pius Quintus* then Bishop of *Rome*, touching *S. James*, whether ever he came into *Spaine* or no, (which as by him it ſhould ſeeme, as alſo by *Baronius* in his *Martyrologe*, ſome grave and learned men had denied) in his very firſt chapter breakes forth into this demand; *Quis negare poſſit faſtos Eccleſiaſticos aliquando adulatione temporum, aut potius incuria hominum, multis maculis contaminatos; libris alijs quibus preces eccleſiaſtica ritusque ſacrorum*



*sacrorum continentur, multas fuisse inpersas confusasque fabulas & commen-  
ta? Addam nonnunquam in templis reliquias dubias, prophana corpora pro  
sanctorum qui cum Christo in cælo regnant, exuvijs sacris fuisse proposita. Est  
enim miserum negare non posse, quod sit turpe confiteri. Ac nescio quo pacto  
fictis saepe fabulis & praposteris mendaciorum nugis, populus magis quam veri-  
tate & sinceritate capitur. Ea est mentis nostra inantias, has sordes ubi semel  
irreperunt in ecclesiam sacrorum ritus, libros ecclesiasticos, nobis fortassis dor-  
mientibus, atrectare nemo audet, mutire nemo, ne impietatis suspicionem com-  
moveat scilicet, & religioni adversarius esse videatur.* These are not the  
words of Calvin, or Jewell, or Whitakers, or Rainolds, or any such like scis-  
matick, but of Mariana a Spanish, a famous, a learned Jesuite; and shall  
wee then say more for them, then they dare say for themselves? nay  
shall wee in their behalfe affirme that, the contrary whereof they freely  
confesse against themselves? Neither in truth can I well devise how to  
speake more cleerly or fully to this point, then *Baronius* himselfe hath  
done in this very controversie; *Tom. 2 sub. an. 109. sect. 51. Iura verita-  
tis ampliora esse omni antiquitate, quippe quæ nullo plurimorum sæculorum  
valeant præscriptione ledi, nec innumera testium multitudine obrui & labe-  
factari:* which rule I wish himselfe and his fellowes did as well follow  
as pretend.

To the objection that *St Hierome* in his catalogue of all the ecclesi-  
asticall writers who were extant before him, and came to his know-  
ledge, remembers noe such man as *Dionysius Areopagita*; you answered,  
first, that *St Hierome* had wonderfull employments. Wherein I beseech  
you my Lord? surely not in worldly affayres, but in matters of learning,  
they were booke employments. and will you have that accounted as an  
hinderance to his naminge of *Dionysius*? why as great as his employ-  
ments were, hee could name another *Dionysius* of *Corinth*, and what  
should hinder him then ( notwithstanding his great employments)  
from the naminge of *Dionysius* the *Areopagite*, had hee bin acquainted  
with his writings?

Secondly, you answered, that *St Hierome* tooke many things upon  
trust, yet blame mee for saying that the *Assumption* and *Dionysius* his  
writings were by writers farr inferiour to *St Hierome*, taken upon trust.

Thirdly, you answer that *St Hierome* in that catalogue doth only  
follow *Eusebius*, himselfe addinge the workes of such as wrote after  
that time, and so much you say himselfe confesseth in his preface; which  
is indeede the very same answer that *Baronius* gives us: but the very  
truth is, that *St Hierome* in that preface only professeth, that *Eusebius* was  
a great help to him, he confesseth not that he only followed *Eusebius*.  
And indeed the worke it selfe beeing compared with *Eusebius*, shewes  
that he nameth some, whom the other doth not; I will instance onely in  
*Seneca*, and shall we thinke he would take a liberty to himselfe, to name  
*Seneca* among Ecclesiasticall writers, though not named by *Eusebius*, and  
yet passe over *Dionysius* the *Areopagite*, because he found him not  
there?

*Credat Iudeus Apella*

*Non ego.-----*

The



3.

The next doubt is concerning *Eusebius* himselfe, why hee naming this *Dionysius* should notwithstanding omit the mentioning of his writings: Hereunto you answer out of *Maximus*, That *Eusebius* did it very wittingly and willingly, for that being an *Arrian*, nay the standard-bearer to the *Arrians* (as out of *S. Hierome* you stile him) and *Dionysius* in his writings having expressed himselfe an Adversarie to their heresie, *Eusebius* in that regard purposely suppressed his works. Whereunto I reply; first; that *Baronius* indeed voucheth such a testimony from *Maximus*, but the truth is that the Cardinall belyeth him; *Maximus* himselfe having not a word to that purpose. Hee saith indeed, that in all likelyhood the writings of *Dionysius* came not to the hand of *Eusebius*, but of charging him with the *Arrian* heresie, not a word; and for *S. Hierome*, if hee held him the standard-bearer of the *Arrians*, was it possible that he should trust him so farre as your Lordship pretends? or would *Baronius* throughout his *Annals* make so much use of him, and build so much upon the testimonie of a man so false as hee would make him? truly hee herein takes a course (as I conceive) not to be credited himselfe, by discrediting those from whom hee takes so much upon trust; and not onely so, but hereby drawes the Ecclesiasticall storie, which for a great part relies upon the authoritie and faithfull dealing of *Eusebius*, into question.

Yet for mine owne part, I will not undertake wholly to free *Eusebius* from this imputation, specially before the *Nicene* Councell; but after that Councell, no man that I know chargeth him with it, *Socrates* I am sure endeavours to defend him; and I cannot imagine that either *Constantine* should have received him into that nearenesse, or hee have so farre honoured the memory of that Emperour who called the Councell, had hee not rested in the determination thereof; howsoever it is certaine, that *Eusebius* mentioneth the writings of some others, no lesse adverse to the *Arrian* heresie then those of *Dionysius*: And for *Theognostus*, if *Athanasius* alleadge his testimonie against the *Arrians* (as out of *Baronius* you affirme) truly I see no reason but he might rather have alleadged the testimonie of *Dionysius*, had any such writings bin knowne to him; and if they were neither knowne to *Eusebius* nor *Athanasius*, shall we conceive that any such were then extant?

Lastly, if *S. Hierome* mentioned them not because hee trusted *Eusebius*, and *Eusebius* suppressed them because hee was an *Arrian*; what I beseech you should move *Sophronius* and *Gennadius* to omit them? whereof the first made additions to Saint *Hierome*, and the other composed a treatise himselfe *De viris illustribus*, (as *S. Hierome* did) about an hundred yeares after. I am not ignorant what *Baronius* answers hereunto, namely, that by the cunning of the *Arrians*, these bookes were all that while concealed; but shall we have so meane an opinion of the orthodox Divines, that they should be lesse vigilant and diligent in searching and bringing to light those Authors, who made for them, then were the *Arrians* in suppressing and concealing them?

The new Sectaries you say, were wont to burne all ancient Manuscripts, if they had but red letters in them, as favouring of Popish superstition



stition; which was doubtlesse more pardonable then with the Popelins to burne the bodies of all those, whom they were pleased to call Sectaries.

Saint *Hierome* you say beginnes his Catalogue of Expositors long after the time of *Dionysius*; and yet had your Lordship bin pleased but to cast your eye uppon that Catalogue, you could not but instantly have found that he beginnes it with Saint *Peter*.

Saint *Hierome* you say doth mention *Dionysius* by consequent for that hee nameth *Aristides*, and *Aristides* gives a very honourable testimony of *Dionysius*, as witnesseth *Hilduinus*; whereas the question is not of *Dionysius* himselfe, but of his works, and of these *Aristides* gives noe testimonie at all, or if hee did Saint *Hierome* was surely to blame in not making use of it; And besides, your Consequence to mee seemeth very incoherent, if I know one who knowes the Emperour, doth it therefore follow that I likewise know him?

The Platonicall philosophy of *Dionysius* should in my judgment rather argue him to be a Counterfeit then a Christian Bishop and Martyr, a Companion of the Apostles, and a Disciple of Saint *Pauls*; Sure I am hee learned it not of his Master, who disputed against the Philosophers at *Athens*, and warnes the *Colossians* to beware of Philosophy.

Saint *Chrysostome* you say, calls him the bird of heaven, but directs us not where wee may find it; and if that Father have any such passage (whereof I very much doubt) it may bee referred to his high speculations, expressed by his tounge aswell as by his pen. But to save your Lordship the labour in searching, will you bee pleased to harken to *Bel-larmin lib. 2. de Monachis cap. 5.* where arguing this very point touching *Dionysius*, hee saith, *Ambrosio, Augustino, Chrysostomo, alijsque Patribus incognitus fuit, quantum ex eorum operibus colligi potest.* And againe, in his booke *de Scriptoribus Ecclesiasticis*, scribunt quidem *Liberatus Abbas in Breviario, & Anastasius Bibliothecarius in epistola ad Carolum Calvum Imperatorem, citari Dionysium Areopagitam a Iohanne Chrysostomo & Cyrillo Alexandrino, sed quae illi citant non inveniuntur in locis citatis.*

The Greeke Church you say, did ever most reverently esteeme of *Dionysius*; which we mislike not, but commend them for it: only we think it strang, that *Dionysius* being in his writings so great an adversary to the *Arrian* heresie as you pretend, he should noe where be remembered either by S. *Athanasius*, S. *Chrysostome*, or S. *Basil* in the Greeke Church; or by S. *Hierome*, S. *Ambrose*, or S. *Augustine* in the Latin Church, in their severall disputations against those heretiques.

You say, you know not any one Saint in the Church, excepting only the Apostles, so ancient as this *Dionysius*; Not any one? why what was the blessed *Virgin*, and her espoused husband? *Mary Magdalen*, *Anna* the daughter of *Phanuell*, old *Simeon* who imbraced our Saviour in his armes, the *Wise men* who by the conduct of a star came out from the East to adore him, the seaventy Disciples, the seaven Deacons, the two middle Evangelists, S. *Titus*, S. *Timothy*, all those whom S. *Paul* names, and salutes in his Epistles; and among them *Clemens*, who is sayd to have sent *Dionysius* into France? or lastly, what think you of *Ioseph* of



of *Arimathea*, who first converted this Nation to the Christian faith? These I presume you will not deny to bee Saints; and truly, as little doubt there is, but that the greatest part of them beleaved in Christ before *Dionysius*: so that to make your *Affertion* good, your Lordship will bee forced to make your exception larger then the *Apostles*; but were it soe as you affirme, yet neither the antiquity of his Saintsship, nor the particular relation of his life and calling, prove those writings which goe under his name properly to belong to him.

Whither *Dionysius* the *Areopagite* and Bishop of *Athens* were the same who came into *France*, there preached the Gospell, and was there martyred, is a Controversie among the *Romanists* themselves, partly for that *Eusebius* reports the former, namely that he was by *S. Paul* constituted Bishop of *Athens*, but of his beeing in *France* not a word; and partly for that some ancient *Martyrologies* point out the Festivalls of the *Areopagite* and *Parisian Dionysius* upon severall dayes; but specially for that *Gregorius Turonensis* writes, that *S. Denis* the reputed Patron and Apostle of *France*, came not thither till the time of *Decius* the Emperor. so likewise they are not agreed whither his body lye either at *S. Denis* in *France*, or at *Ratisbone* in *Germany*; for which, *Aventine* in his fourth booke of the history of *Bavaria*, produceth the Bull of *Leo* the 9<sup>th</sup>, Bishop of *Rome* dated Anno 1052. which *Baronius* in his *Annalls* of that yeere toucheth, and only toucheth, leaving it doubtfull without any finall determination either way, and thereby giving suspition, that himselfe was not fully resolved of the matter.

*Michael* the Emperor of the East, and *Ludovicus Pius* of the West, raigned above 800 yeers after Christ, so as their testimony comes too late, to prove the books which goe under the name of the *Areopagite*, to bee his indeed; and besides *Michaell* knew well enough they would be the more acceptable to *Lewes*, beeing tendered unto him under that name, and *Lewes* for his part no doubt as willing so to accept them, for the great honour and reverence, which himselfe and his whole Nation bore to *Dionysius*; and though some attribute an infallibilitie to his holines, yet none that I know to Kings and Emperors.

*Origen* you say doth mention *Dionysius*, if the booke be his, which goes under his name; and well might your Lordship make doubt of it, since *Bellarmin* puts it out of doubt, telling us in plaine terms without any Ifs, that it could not be his, but of some counterfeit, who lived long since his time; will your Lordship be pleased once more to heare his owne words, *Quod enim quidam dicunt, citari nominatim hac opera ab Origine, homilia quâdam in caput primum Iohannis, & Athanasio in questionibus ad Antiochum quast. 8. nihil efficit: nam in homilia illa nominantur Arriani, qui diu post Origenem exorti sunt: & in questionibus ad Antiochum nominantur authores ipso Athanasio posteriores, ex quo sequitur ut illa testimonia esse non possint Origenis vel Athanasij, sed recentiorum Authorum.* Of what validity then can the testimony of this counterfeit bee, to prove *Dionysius* not to have bin a counterfeit? Can the testimony of a theefe serve to abolve his companion in theft?

But *S. Gregory* you say, doth mention *Dionysius* with honour in the generall



generall Councils; where, what your Lordship meanes by the generall Councils I know not, S. Gregory having written no such discourse to my knowledge: yet truth it is, that hee names him in one of his Homilies upon the Gospels; and by *Bellarmin* it should seeme, that though he wrote about 600 years after Christ, yet was hee the very first of the Fathers who mentioned his writings: *Quod autem ante Sanctum Gregorium Romanum nemo horum operum nomine S. Donyfij Arcopagitæ meminerit, causa videtur esse quod alicubi latuerint, ut multa alia saepe longo tempore delitescunt, & circa tempora Sancti Gregorij reperta fuerint*: Where wee see, hee takes it as granted (whatsoever rattle the *Iesuites* now make to the contrary) that not so much as one before S. Gregory, ever entituled those books to the *Arcopagite*, which now goe under his name; though the reason which he gives thereof mee-thinks is somewhat strange, that the works of so renowned a man, being so many and so divine as now they are made to bee, should ly hid and neglected in some blinde corner by the space of so many hundred years, which no doubt made S. Gregory himselfe to suspect them, and therefore hee brings in the *Arcopagite* as the Author of them, but doubtfully with a *Fertur*, as may bee seene in the place alleaged.

You Conclude this Section with the great estimation of those books; which to mee is a stronge argument, that they could not ly hid so long as is pretended, or that antiquity esteemed them not so highly as the *Romanists* now doe; for to say that they were suppressed by the *Arrians*, is frivolous, sithence it is certaine that *Arrius* spred his heresie above 200. years after the death of *Dionysius*: & what should hinder the mentioning of such transcendent works, by some one of the intervenient Fathers, betwixt the death of *Dionysius* and the heresie of *Arrius*, I for my part cannot so much as imagine; and I much doubt it will prove a hard taske for your Lordship or any mā else to yeeld a sufficient reason thereof. Some other books I grant have layen long in obscurity, being drawne forth into the light by the great industry of learned men in this latter age, as *Bellarmin* truly observes; but that so excellent & admirable works (as these are now accounted) of a person so famous & every way so eminent, should bee utterly concealed from the knowledge of the christian world, by the space of so many hundred years, that I confesse to mee seemeth as admirable, as his works seeme to others.

6. Your Lordship is pleased to confesse your ignorance, how farre the Conversion of *Dionysius* agrees with the death of the blessed *Virgin*, as being not resolved when shee dyed, yet you say you have read *Baronius*: why there my Lord you may finde that the *Cardinall* placeth her death in the yeare 48. following *Ensebius* therein & the cōmon received tradition, but the Conversion of *Dionysius* he placeth in the yeare 52, by which cōputation, he could not possibly be present, as a christian at her funerals, as himself pretendeth, nor be an eyewitnesse of her *Assūption*, as you presume; which *Baronius* foreseeing, tels us that leaving the received



tradition, hee rather inclines (as you doe) to the extending of her farther, that so hee may accord the difference, and maintaine the received opinion of *Dionysius* his presence at her death; but then enquiring farther into the matter, hee assures us, that hee findes among those who forsake the common tradition, *monstruosam discrepantiam*, such a wonderfull disagreement, that hee knowes not where to fixe; no marvell then, if your Lordship bee unresolved in the point. But in very truth I cannot but finde it somewhat strange, that you should so much and so often blame me for leaving *received traditions*, and your Lordship should heere for your advantage, professe your inclination of preferring your private opinion before the received tradition.

That *Dionysius* should discern the Eclipse of the Sunne at our Saviours passion, to bee beyond the course of nature, it being then full Moone, is not a matter of so great wonder as you would make it; a greater wonder it seemes to bee, that more of the Gentiles, specially their *Astronomers* should not observe it: which made some of the Fathers to thinke, that this defect of light was not an Eclipse properly so called, by the interposition of the Moone betwixt the earth and the Sunne, but a great darkenesse by the interposition of cloudes, or the shrinking in of the Sun-beames somewhat like the darkenes of *Egypt*, save that this latter lasted for a long time. Of this opinion were *Origen*, *Tertullian*, *Hierome*, *Chrysostome*, *Theophylact*, *Enthymius*, and *Iulius Africanus* who reproves *Thallus* for calling it an Eclipse, as being an unadvised speech; And with these doth *Sedulius* seeme to accord, *lib. 5. Paschalis operis*.

*Sol nube coruscans*

*Abcondens radios, tetro velatus amictu  
Delituit, tristemque infecit luctibus orbem.*

Neither doe any of the Evangelists call it an Eclipse, but onely a great darkenesse; and as Divines teach, *Miracula absque necessitate non sunt multiplicanda*; one miracle would suffice for the darkenesse, but a totall and universall Eclipse lasting for the space of three houres, the Moone being then at full would require many great miracles; and yet to these *Dionysius* addes two or three more about the manner of the accessse and recessse of the Moone no lesse supernaturall then the former. And besides, some of the Ancients there are who extend that darkenesse to the land of *Iudea* and no farther: which may very well stand with the originall, and so it is rendred not onely by *Iulius*, but by our last Translatours, which I presume they would never have done, had they beleevd the relation of *Dionysius* touching that pretended Eclipse. Whereunto wee may adde, that it was impossible that the same Eclipse should bee at the highest in *Iudea* and in *Egypt* at the same houre of the day, as *Dionysius* pretendeth; And truely it should seeme the Evangelists so precisely noted the houre, that wee might from thence understand, they meant it onely of that land in which our Saviour suffered.

Thus did *Origen* whom *Mal-donate* therein followeth.

Now



Now touching the Exclamation of *Dionysius* at the sight thereof, it implies you say, the whole power and strength of our Christian faith and profession; which is a very hyperbolicall speech, and will neede a large explanation to make it justifiable; but I beseech your Lordship to informe me how it comes to passe, that *Dionysius* making a full narration of the conference, which by occasion of this Eclipse passed betweene *Apollophanes* and himselfe, being then at *Heliopolis* in *Egypt*, remembers no such speech of his owne; hee tells indeed what *Apollophanes* said to him, but of any judgement that himselfe made upon the Eclipse, not a word, save onely that it was strange and extraordinary; nay hee confesseth his ignorance, that hee knew not the mysterie thereof, but desired to bee instructed by his companion, who (as hee saith) returned him this answer: *Ha sunt o bone Dionysi divinarum rerum mutationes*, or as some translate it, *vicissitudines*; which *Dionysius* indeed highly extolleth as a divine rather then an humane speech, and thereupon noted the yeare and day upon which it hapned; but of any speech of his owne, That the God of nature then suffered, not a word.

Neither doe I finde any one of the Fathers, either *Greeke* or *Latine*, who any where mentions any such matter; which mee thinkes they should not have omitted, it making so much for the strengthening of Christian religion, as your Lordship pretends. Indeed I finde it in the *Roman Breviarie*, but where they found it who composed that *Breviarie*, that cannot I so much as imagine; the very first that ever mentioned any such thing (as farre as I can gather) was an obscure fellow, one *Michael Syngelus*, or *Syncellus*, and after him *Suidas*; but as they differ in the report each from other, so doe they both from the *Roman Breviarie*. *Syngelus* thus reports the words, *Ignotus in carne patitur Deus, propter quod universum hoc concussum & obtenebratum est*; *Suidas* thus, *Aut Deus patitur, aut patienti compatitur*; the *Roman Breviarie* thus, *Aut Deus natura patitur, aut mundi machina dissolvetur*. Now as the wicked Judges in the storie of *Susanna*, and the false witnesses in the Gospell agreed not together, for which the former were condemned to death, & the latter rejected: so which of these thus disagreeing in their reports we should beleieve, or whither indeed wee should credit any of them, is no very easie matter in my judgement to be clearely determined.

If that great Saint you say, was by God preordained for the speciall good of his Church, is it credible that seventene or eightene yeares should passe before his Conversion? and I beseech you my Lord why not? what should make it incredible? hee who calls some at the first, calls others at the last houre of the day; hee who called Saint *Iohn* and Saint *Timothie* in their younger age, called likewise Saint *Paul*, Saint *Peter*, and the rest of the Apostles in their elder yeares; and whereas you seeme to wonder, that so much time should passe betweene his exclamation at the sight of the Eclipse at our Saviours Passion, and his Conversion by Saint *Paul*, it is upon a supposition that beeing in *Egypt* at that time, such an eclipse hee there saw, and thereupon



uttered such an exclamation: both which are (as I have shewed) if not certainly false, yet (to speake in the most favourable termes) most uncertaine.

8. I cannot but acknowledge my selfe much bound to your Lordship, for your respect unto mee, in giving credit to my report touching the time of Saint *Pauls* preaching at *Athens*, but wish you had beene pleased to examine it your selfe, and then I doubt not but you would easily have found, that Saint *Denis* as a Christian could not bee present at the death and funeralls of the blessed *Virgine*. *Baronius* did examine it, and upon examination found that his Conversion (according to his computation) fell in the yeare 52; but then considering that the death of the blessed *Virgine*, according to the received tradition fell out in the yeare 48, and consequently that S. *Denis* as a Christian could not be present thereat; he thereupon inclines (as your Lordship doth) to spinne out the thread of her life to a longer period (though where to set that period hee be much to seeke) but of the time of Saint *Denis* his conversion, at leastwise that hee could not bee converted sooner to the Christian faith by Saint *Paul*, thereof hee makes no doubt at all, being evidently convinced by the story of S. *Pauls* journeyes before his comming to *Athens*, reported by Saint *Luke* in the *Acts* of the *Apostles*.

You wish me to consider S. *Pauls* Sermon there, which you say was rather a reprehension of the *Athenians* then otherwise, as if reprehension were noe part of a Sermon; but my Lord it may easily bee thought, that his Sermon was larger then it is there reported; and yet as short as it is, wee have in it besides reprehension much good instruction touching the workes of the Creation and preservation of all things, touching the nature, the power, the providence of God, and the spirituall worship due unto him; and lastly, as your Lordship hath truly observed touching repentance, and the last judgement, and the resurrection of Christ: these I take to bee fundamentall Articles of our Creede, and the ground worke of Christian religion; and will your Lordship then so sleight the Divine Sermon of this great Apostle, as to terme it rather a reprehension of the *Athenians*, then otherwise? neither doe I finde in the text (as you affirme) that hee was suddenly interrupted; onely it is said, that some mocked, and others said, wee will heare thee againe of this thing, which might well be after his Sermon was ended.

You goe on and tell us, that whereas it is said, that *Some cleaved unto him and beleaved*, the words sound as if they did imply more then an inchoated Conversion; your meaning (by that which followes after I take to be) that their Conversion was not then inchoated, but confirmed onely or declared; which how you collect from these wordes I cannot conceive; sure I am it makes against the scope of the text, and the judgement of all Interpreters I have seene upon that place, they being men, who for any thing appears to the contrary, wee may very well conceive, had never heard of Christ before; and whereas they



they are said first to have cleaved to *Paul*, and then to have beleaved; it may very well bee, that their Conversion was onely inchoated at the hearing of his Sermon, but confirmed by farther instruction upon their cleaving unto him.

You conclude that for *Dionysius* himselfe, the text may very well be expounded, that hee was then onely among the beleivers, not as if hee had then beene newly converted, Which if it bee so, I wonder that never any Interpreter before your Lordship could see the fitnes of that exposition: Again, I beseech you my Lord to resolve mee, why the text may so bee expounded of him rather then of the rest; sure I am that *Damaris* a woman, is by name expresse and joyned in the same verse with him; and why the same exposition in the point of conversion should not be as appliable to her as to him, I do not yet understand; Truth it is, that all Expositours whom I could yet meet with, *Greeke* and *Latine*, *Ancient* and *Moderne*, *Romish* and *Reformed*, as also all such as have written the Acts of this *Areopagite*, unanimously agree with one full consent against your Lordship, that hee was then by Saint *Paul* first converted to the Christian faith, and not before; agreeably to the doctrine of the same Apostle, *That faith commeth by hearing*. Nay himselfe freely confesseth in his Epistle to *Apollophanes* (if it bee his) that upon Saint *Pauls* preaching of the Gospell to him, *tum & veritati manus dedi, & me falsitatis nexibus expedi*; and truely a wonder it were, had hee beene a Convert to the Christian Religion before, that hee would still continue at *Athens*, and keepe his office of judicature in the *Areopagus*, without adhering to some Congregation of the Christians, which could not bee done without a deepe dissembling of his religion, and a great dishonour to the Authour thereof.

Will your Lordship now bee pleased a little to reflect your eye, and consider upon what rockes you run whiles you endeavour to reconcile the time of *Dionysius* his conversion, & of the death of the blessed *Virgin* together, which was the occasion of this Digression. First, you incline to the lengthning of her life, against the received tradition of her departure; and then doubting belike that would not serve the turne, you labour to shorten his Conversion, not onely against tradition, but the evidence of Scriptures, and the consent of all ages; from whence it followes unavoidably, that either the *Areopagite* was a lyar in professing that he saw that which hee saw not, or that the bookes which goe under his name were none of his, but of some counterfeit: which is the very position by me to be concluded.

Now because many points in Controversie betwixt us and the *Romanists*, depend upon the testimonie and authority of this *Dionysius*, and that your Lordship seemes to build much upon him, it shall not perchance bee amisse, that as I have answered your arguments for him, so you would be pleased with patience to heare my allegations against him, and then to judge unpartially of both. In the producing whereof, I will first begin with those which I finde in a Manuscript, written by a learned Divine & a worthy friend of mine now with God, and then thereunto adde such as by mine owne observation I have gathered.



2 Cor. 12. 3. 4.

Homil. 34. de  
10. dragm.

Bibliothec. lib. 4.

Quaest. 23. 117.  
129.Act. 17. 34.  
Ibid. 16. 3.1 Tim. 1. 2.  
2. c. 1. 2.De divin. nom.  
cap. 5.

Strom. lib. 8.

De divin. nom.  
cap. 4.  
Ep. ad Rom.  
Method.

That this *Denise* is but a Counterfait our Divines prove by sundry unanswerable arguments; I will not vrge them all but cull out the choycest. omitting therefore the stile, favouring more of 300 years after then those Apostolicall times, and his curious speculations in the secrets of heaven, as if he had bin surveyor thereof; or had taken a muster of all the heavenly host of blessed spirits therein, whereas S. *Paul* himself though hee had bin ravished up into the third heaven, even into the paradise of God, yet returning back, neither durst, nor did utter any such thing: And lastly, that hee talketh so familiarly of Churches and Chancells and *Monks*, and diverse other Orders and Ceremonies which are well knowne to be of a much latter date. Omitting I say these and the like objections, although perhaps not so easy to be answered, consider with mee I beseech you these few reasons following. First, if these were the books of that *Denise* which was S. *Pauls* Scholar, how commeth it to passe that neither *Eusebius* in his Ecclesiasticall Historie, nor *Hierome*, nor *Gennadius* purposely writing catalogues of all the famous writers before them; nor *Origen*, nor *Chrysostome*, nor any ancient Father (so farre as I can learne) maketh any mention of them, untill *Gregory* the great, who lived above 600 years after Christ, and speaketh very doubtfully of them too? for as for *Athanasius* whom you affirmed to quote him, I suppose you meant him in his questions out of the old and new Testament, wherein he cites his *mystica Theologia*. But neither was this booke knowne in the time of *Athanasius*, nor did *Athanasius* himselfe writethat, as your *Sixtus Senensis* thinketh. For had he written it, would he, thinke you have vouched his owne authority, and that with such arrogance under the name of great *Athanasius*? or could hee have mentioned *Gergory Nazianzen* who flourished so long after his decease? I trow noe; yet he doth both. Secondly, it is well knowne that S. *Paul* was the man that converted *Denus*, and that before his comming to *Athens*, *Timothy* had bin entertained by him, & in his company had travelled over many countries, and grew so intimate and deare unto him, that he both counted and called him his Sonne; which beeing so, it cannot reasonably be imagined that the true *Denise* would prove either so ungratefull, or so presumptuous as this counterfait sheweth himselfe to be. Ungratefull in that hee often speaks of one *Hierothemus*, an obscure man in comparison, as of his master: presumptuous, for that as if hee were a father to *Timothy* as well as Saint *Paul*, he calleth him his sonne, notwithstanding he were farre more fit to be his Disciple. Thirdly this *Denis* citeth *Clemens* the Philosopher, not *Clemens* of *Rome* as some would have it, but of *Alexandria*: for in him the very passage quoted by *Denis* is to be found. And yet this *Clemens* lived two hundred yeares after Christ. Hee citeth also these wordes out of *Ignatius*, *My love is crucified*, written by him a little before his martyrdome; and yet the true *Dionysius* suffered under *Domitian*, whereas *Ignatius* both wrote his Epistle, and was martyred some good while after him under *Trajan*. Hee further citeth the Gospell and Revelation of S. *John*, as if they had a long time bin parcels of holy Scripture: howbeit if we may beleieve history, both those bookes were



were written but a little before S. Johns death, and fourteen years after the death of *Dionysius*. And yet againe in an epistle to *Polycarpus*, hee speaketh unto him as unto a reverend Bishop and Doctor; nevertheless *Dionysius* him selfe suffered in *France* in the yeare of our Lord 96. as writers testifie, but *Polycarpus* in the yeare 166. and of his age 86: so that at the death of *Dionysius*, *Polycarpus* could bee but a stripling, and about 16. years old. Fourthly, according to the proverb, The rat perisheth by bewraying him selfe; for speaking of Infants and why they are baptized, thus hee saith, Hereof we say those things which our Divine Masters being instructed by the old tradition have brought unto us. In which words ere he was aware hee hath discovered, that nor *Paul*, nor any other of the *Apostles* could be his Masters: for it is both untrue and absurd to say that the holy *Apostles* were instructed in the point of baptism by the old tradition. Lastly this *Denis* writeth that him selfe together with *Timothy* and *Hierotheus*, were present at the departure and funerall of the blessed *Virgin Mother*; Now story saith that shee lived 63 years, being fiftene years of age when shee bare Christ; whereunto if you add 33 years of Christs life, & fifteen more to make up her full age, it will appeare that shee dyed eight and fortie years after her sons birth, and fifteen after his ascension. But on the other side it plainly appeareth, that *Denis Areopagite* was not converted unto the Christian faith till the 18<sup>th</sup> yeare after the ascension, one and fifty years after Christs birth. Our Divines gather it thus. The Scripture witnesseth that S. *Paul* was not called till Christ was ascended. Being called hee stayed three years in *Damascus* and *Arabia* before hee came to *Hierusalem*. Thence hee went into the coast of *Syria* and *Cilicia* and the countries thereabout. And fourteen years after hee came to *Hierusalem* againe with *Barnabas* to the Councell, from the Councell hee went to *Derbe* and *Lysra* where hee received *Timothy*. And having travailed through *Phrygia*, *Galatia*, *Misia*, *Macedonia* hee came at last to *Athens*, where he converted *Denis*. So that it must needs bee about eighteen or at the least seventeen years after Christs ascension before S. *Denis* knew Christ. All which duly considered, it is evident that the blessed *Virgin* dyed if not three full years, yet more then two before the conversion of *Denis*; and consequently that hee could not bee one of those brethren who were present at her death and funerall. Whence also it followeth inevitable, that the Author of that booke cannot possible bee this *Denis*. This argument being pressed by that renowned *Reynolds* upon *John Hart*, he confessed ingenuously that he knew not how to accord it. And these or the like reasons have so prevailed with sundry of your owne side, that they have bin forced some to doubt of him, others utterly to disclaime him from being the true *Denis*. *Theodorus Gaza* affirmeth those books of the *Hierarchy* to bee none of *Denis* the *Athenians*. *Erasmus* also professeth him selfe to bee of the same minde. And *Larentius Valla* saith, that the learnedst men of his time entituled one *Apolinaris* unto them. *Cardinal Cajetan* not onely saith it, but also sheweth how unlikely it is that hee who wrote of the name of God and of the heavenly and ecclesiasticall *Hierarchy* should be this *Denis*. *Erasmus* further

Hier. Eccles.  
cap 7.

Ep. ad. Tim.

Ramold. in  
Conc. 8. d. 2.

Act. 9. 5.

Gal. 1. 13.

Act. 9. 26.

Gal. 1. 21.

Act. 13. 4.

Gal. 2. 1.

Act. 15. 4.

Act. 16. 1.

Act. 17. 34.

Confer. c. 8. d. 2.

Praef. in problems

Alex. Aphrod.

In. Act. 17.

Ibid.

Act. 17.



1. Act. 17.

ther reporteth that one *William Grocin*, an incomparable man both in Divinity & all other humane learning, beginning his Lectures in *Pauls Church in London*, upon the books of the heavenly *Hierarchy*, maintained with great vehemence that it was the worke of *Denis the Areopagite*, wondering at the impudence of them that denied it. But before hee had past halfe way into the worke hee grew to bee of another opinion, and freely confessed that it seemed to be none of this *Denisses*. Thus he.

Whereunto wee may add; That this *Grocinus* (as witnesseth *Pitæus* in his booke of the ancient writers of this nation) was no such obscure man, as the *Iesuites* for the advantage of their owne cause would now make him, but for the Greeke toung the Schollar of *Demetrius Chalcondilas* and *Angelus Politianus* in Italy; under whom he profited so well, that returning home hee was chosen publique professor of that language heere in *Oxford*; and *Erasmus* in his epistles styles him *Patronum & præceptorem*: in which regard we have reason not to disesteeme his judgement, but rather highly to value it.

To him and the rest already named might bee added *Calius Rhodiginus*, lib. 2. cap. 3. even by the confession of *Delrio* in his *vindiciae Areopagiticae* cap. 6, though *Halloix* a bird of the same nest, in his volume of the *Oriental Fathers*, in the first age of the Christian Church, would faine draw him to the contrary.

And least wee should thinke that these writings were now first questioned in this latter age, *Baronius* himselfe sticks not to assure us otherwise *Anno 109*; *Quæ hodie à novantibus objectiones refricantur, olim a Græcis curiosis fuerunt vehementius inculcata*: so as by his acknowledgment these books passed not so currant among the ancient *Græcians*, as your Lordship would have us imagine; nay *Photius* Bishop of *Constantinople* (who lived almost 800. years since) in his *bibliotheca* informes us, that before his time one *Theodorus* had endeavoured to answer the objections made against *Dionysius*, which he there brings but not the solutions, thereby leaving a doubt, that himselfe conceived them to bee insoluble; & so much doth *Possevine* in the second Tome of his *Apparatus sacer* collect from thence: *Opera B: Dionysij ut pseudepigrapha videntur ab eo notari*. More then so *Beellarmin* in his second booke, and 7<sup>th</sup> cap de *Sacramento Confirmationis*, tells us of *Dionysius* & some other suspected Authors there named, that they were ancient; *licet non sit certum an sint illi quorum nomina præ se ferunt*; and though perchance it bee somewhat ambiguous what his meaning there is, yet of the words there can be no doubt.

In Verbo Photii.

Not only *Irenæus* and *S. Augustin*, to whom this *Dionysius* was not knowne, but *S. Gregory* and *S. Bernard* to whom he was knowne, dissent from his doctrine in his *celestiall hierarchy* touching the orders of Angels; which I presume they would not doe, had they conceived him to bee the *Areopagite*, and to have bin instructed in that knowledge from *S. Paul*, as hee professeth. Yet that these two latter so dissent from him, is not onely affirmed by *Rikelius*, but granted by *Halloix*.

This *Dionysius* in diverse chapters of the same *Hierarchy* teacheth, that the higher orders of Angels are alwayes assistant about the throne of God, never employed in forraine messages; directly contrary to that  
of



of his Master, Are they not all ministring spirits, not *Some*, but *all*, sent forth to minister for their sakes that shall bee heires of salvation: inso-much that herein *Ribera* the *Iesuite* in his *Commētaries* upon that place (being convinced by the evidence of truth) professedly opposeth him, charging his opinion as being opposite to the doctrine of *S. Paul*, *unde firmiter cōprobet quod dicit, non habet, saith he, & illi obstant verba scriptura*; if the Scripture were contrary to him, then doubtlesse was hee likewise contrary to scripture; which I will never beleeve of the *Arcopagite*.

Besides wee reade of the imployment of the *Cherubins* in the third of *Genesis*, & of the *Seraphins* in the 6<sup>th</sup> of *Esay*, which by him are ranked in the highest top of his celestiaall hierarchie; in respect whereof, & of the passage before alleaged out of the epistle to the *Hebrewes*, *S. Gregory* in this also (as witnesseth the same *Ribera*) refused to subscribe to the opinion of *Dionysius*: *Ex quibus hoc potius constat, Gregorium noluisse Dionysij dictis acquiescere*, (saith he) *ne forte scriptura divina cuius verbis valde movebatur, adversari aliquo modo videretur*. This error of *Dionysius* confuted by the manifest words of the Scripture, *Bocherius* a famous Doctor of the *Sorbon* in an epistle of his to *Lanselius*, purposely written touching this *Dionysius*, endeavoureth to excuse what hee may, but so faintly & withall so confusedly, that a cleare judgement may from thence easily discern, that hee discerned it to bee an error, and in excusing it fought against the light of his owne conscience. And in truth, hee there brings one argument which to me seemeth unanswerable, in that *Iesus Christ* the Lord of Angels, was sent forth to minister, it can bee no disparagement for the highest of them to be made conformable to that patterne. Now I would demand of *Bocherius* and *Ribera*, what they thinke, whether the *Arcopagite* would lye in saying hee learned this doctrine of *S. Paul*; or that *S. Paul* did err in so teaching him; or rather hee who teacheth it and saith hee learned it of *S. Paul*, was not the *Arcopagite* but a counterfeit, masked under his name.

I have formerly alleaged somewhat out of *Maldonate*, touching the eclipse at our Saviours passion, wherein hee crosseth the relation of *Dionysius* in his epistle to *Apollophanes* & *Polycarpus*, about the same matter, as namely, That the darkenes was, if not onely, yet chiefly confined to the land of *Iudaea*, and that it could not bee extended to the whole globe of the earth, specially at the same houre; whereas *Dionysius* reports, that being then in *Egypt*, at the very same houre he saw the *Sunne horribiliter obscuratum*; & *Maldonate* on the other side as confidently affirmeth, *ne fieri quidem potuisse, ut per universam terram, id est, totum penitus terrarum orbem hora sexta tenebra fierent*. Yet I am not ignorant, that herein he laboureth to reconcile *Dionysius*, but so poorely and weakely, as therein hee hath given just occasion to the world to conceive, that hee rather sought out a shift to free himselfe frō censure, then any sound answer to give satisfaction to himselfe or others.

Againe, this *Dionysius* in the third chapter of his booke de *divinis nominibus* reports, That together with himselfe *Hierotheus* and *Timothy*, the Apostles were present at the funerals of the blessed *Virgin*; whereas, it is apparent, that long before that time they were dispersed abroad into diverse and distant regions, for the preaching of the Gospel; & to  
say



say that they were thus on the sudden assembled & brought together, either as birds flying through the aire, or as riding upon the clouds in steed of chariots, favours more of a monkish fiction, then of the *Areopagites* relation; and besides why hee names *S. Peter* and *S. James* as being present in that assembly, and not *S. Iohn* the beloved of the Lord, and the adopted son as it were, of the blessed *Virgin*, or *S. Paul* his owne ghostly father, I see no reason.

Moreover in his epistle to *S. Iohn* the Evangelist he takes upon him a propheticall spirit foretelling the restoring of *S. Iohn* from banishment & their joyfull interview, whereas *S. Iohn* was not restored to his liberty till the raigne of *Nerva* the immediate successor of *Domitian*, and *Dionysius* suffered martyrdom during *Domitians* raigne, as witness *Hilduinus*, *Hincmarus*, *Methodius*, *Metaphrastes*, *Nicephorus*, and the Greeke *Martyrologe* in *Maneis* as they terme it, from whence it followes that either they all, & others who followed them in setting downe the time of his Martyrdom were utterly mistaken, or that doe the *Areopagite* was a false Prophet, or ( which I rather believe ) that prophesie was written by a counterfeit.

That the holy Ghost proceedeth only from the father, the first person in trinity is an error generally cryed downe in the westerne Church; yet was *Dionysius* tainted with this error, if wee may credit *Syngalus* in his *Panegyrick*, so as wee shall bee forced either to condemne *Dionysius* of little lesse then heresie, in the opinion of the Romanists, or to free him from it, and to lay it upon the counterfaite, which I take to bee the safer way.

Some of these aspersions the Pontificians endeavour to wipe of, & I have unpartially read what the most learned among them could say for themselves, and for him, as *Baronius* and *Bellarmino*, & the latter *Iesuites* *Delrio*, *Lanselius*, *Halloix*, *Corderius*, but herein they seeke out such starting holes and withall so manifestly crosse both themselves and one another, as though they make a great shew by mustering up the names of those, who seeme to allow him for the *Areopagite*; yet in answering the arguments pressed against them, by the adverse party they plainly discover the desperatenes of their cause. Thus humbly recommending myne endeavours to your Lordships acceptance, and your Lordships to the divine providence, I rest

Your Lordships

to be commanded

G: H.





# THE SIXTH BOOKE

Wherein these objections following  
are answered.

1. *Against the title of my booke; which is justified in as much as the worlds decay cannot so apparently stand with Gods providence, as the preservation of it from decay.*
2. *That the greatest part of the christian Philosophers are against mee; the contrary whereunto is proved, as well by their testimonies, as their axioms.*
3. *That I alleadge few passages of Scripture for my opinion; for answer whereunto I have digested those passages into one chapter, together with the interpretation of the soundest expositors thereupon.*
4. *That little use can bee made of my booke; but the profitable and manifold use thereof I trust I shall make to appeare so fully, and clearly; as thereby to wipe of that aspersion, in the opinion of all indifferent Iudges.*
5. *The opinion of the worlds abolition, when there shall be no farther use of it, is farther enlarged and confirmed; because what hitherto hath bin written in that point, seems not to have given satisfaction to all.*

## CHAP. I.

*That the divine providence more apparently stands with the preservation of the world from decay, then with the decay, is made good; for that all who write of the providence proove it from the preservation; none from the decay.*



HE meaning of my title (as I have in part expressed my selfe in the second chapter, & second section of my first booke) is none other then this, that the honour and glory of God shines more brightly in the Preservation, then in the decay of his workmanship; that his wisdom, his justice, his goodnesse, his power are more conspicuous in the one then in the other, and consequently that his Providence is more manifestly cleared



cleared by the one, and by the other more blemished and eclipsed. And truly I cannot but take it to be a speciall part of the Divine Providence, that by the questioning of my title, so faire an occasion should be offered of making it appeare more justifiable in the eyes of all indifferently affected Judges. And heere I shall crave leave to enlarge my selfe, for that the testimonies which I shall alleadge (being many and weighty) serve not onely to justifie my title, but the subject of my booke in generall: And in truth till I had made search, I must ingenuously professe, I did not conceive there could have beene found so many grave witnesses of all kindes deposing, so many learned Advocates pleading for mee, all conspiring in this very point, to prove a Divine Providence from the perpetuall preservation of the beauty, the order, the vigour, the nature, the faculties, the qualities, the dimensions, situations, the motions, the operations of the Creatures. Scarce fell I upon any one who had written *De Providentiâ*, whether Ancient or Moderne, Romish or Reformed, Christian or Ethnick, in verse or in prose, but that his first Argument to prove it, was commonly drawne from the constant government of the world, without any disorder or decay in the maine parts thereof; that is the heavens, the elements, and the severall species of mixt bodies: And that I may not wrong them, or bee thought to wrest them, I will set downe their mindes at full in their owne words, or as I finde them translated by those, who were no way interested in this Controversie.

*Theodoretus de Providentiâ Sermone 1.*

*Quid in tot rerum creatarum numero inordinatum cernitis? & quam creatura totius pars justâ proportionem caret? Quanam vel forma vel quantitas defectu laborat? Aut qua res non rite & concinne mota hanc vobis impietatem peperit? Inspicite ergo nunc (si quid hætenus voluistis) visibilium omnium naturam, situm, ordinem, statum, motum, proportionem, consonantiam, decorem, pulchritudinem, quantitatem, usum, delectationem, varietatem, alternationem, & illum qui subinde in idem fit regressum, sed & eam quæ in corruptibilibus est perseverantiam & durationem. Cernite (inquam) ipsam Dei Providentiam, quæ per singulas mundi partes prospicit, apparet & loquitur, tum etiam per ipsas res tantum non clamitans indomita vestra obturat labia, & effraenes vobis linguas freno coercet. Videte eam in cælo & luminibus, quæ in cælo sunt sole nimirum, lunâ & stellis, in aëre & nubibus, in terra & mari, in omnibus ite quæ in terra sunt, in plantis & herbis, in seminibus, in animalibus tam rationalibus quàm brutis, pedestribus, volatilibus, aquatilibus, reptilibus & amphibijs, mansuetis & sylvestribus, cicuribus & indomitis. Ipsi vobiscum perpendite, quisnam ille sit, qui caelestes orbes continet, ut in tot annorum millibus cœlum nec consenuerit, nec aliquem è temporis diuturnitate subierit mutationem, idque cum passibili natura constet, sicuti Beatus ille David docet: 'Ipsi (inquit) peribunt, tu verò permanes, & omnes seu vestimentum veterascent, & quasi pallium involves eos & mutabuntur. Tu autem unus & idem es, & anni tui non deficiunt. Veruntamen cum & passibilis & corruptibilis substantiâ constet, integrum tamen & saluum permanfit hætenus*



'hactenus non aliâ re quàm Creatoris sui verbo conservatum. Quod enim  
 'hoc condidit verbum, ipsum quoq; conservat, & *firmitatē simul soliditatēq;*  
 'illi, quo voluerit largitur. Hanc ergo ob causam, cum tantus circa hoc ig-  
 'nis volvatur, solis nimirum, lunæ & reliquorum syderum, tot tamen an-  
 'norum revolutionibus nec liquefactam funditur, nec arefcit, nec incēsum  
 'ardet. Hæc enim vires ignis natura a Creatore acceptas habet. Aurum  
 'quippe & argentum, ferrum item & æs, plumbum & stannum, ceram &  
 'picem, & quæcunque alia sunt hujus generis, liquefacta dissolvit, & in flu-  
 'xam naturam transmutat. Lutum verò & palustria, aquisque cænosa loca  
 'humore consumpto arere facit lapides autem excoquit, & omni duritie  
 'exuit, quin solidissimam horum naturam in pulverem redigit. Lignum  
 'item, fænum & arundines ocius & facillimè incendit. *Atqui nihil horum*  
 '*cæli natura patitur.* Nec enim quod in illo glaciale apparet, liquefactū fū-  
 'ditur, cum tanta adsit illi ignis copia: Nec eadem illius levitati nocet, nec  
 'sphæricam quæ in eo est figuram vel inæqualem reddit, *Sed quem primò*  
 '*situm accepit, eundem in finem usq; conservat.* Qui enim hoc seu fornicem  
 'constituit, & idem quasi tentorium ad inhabitandum extendit, contrarias  
 'sibi invicem naturas amicitia legibus constrinxit. Nec ignis naturam  
 'aquarum copia extinguit, nec glaciale illud, vel aerium et nubilum cæli  
 'corpus nimio illo et ardenti ignis ardore liquefcit aut perit. Sed licet vi-  
 'cina sibi cohabitent, celant tamen hostiles vires, et Creatoris sui verba  
 'persuase perpetuam sanxerunt amicitiam, idq; cum inanimata sint et mente  
 'gubernatrice careant: *manent tamen, & eam qui ab initio ipsis constitutus est*  
 '*terminum custodiunt.* Creaturam enim ipse Creator regit, nec navim quam  
 'ipse construxit, regimine et gubernatore destitui patitur. Sed cum idem  
 'ipse navim fabricarit, et materiam è qua constat plantaverit, simulq; ma-  
 'teriam crearit, navimq; extruxerit, clavum quoq; ejusdem constanter  
 'tenet et regit. Testantur hoc ipsum tot annorum circuli, et longissimum  
 'temporis spatium, quod navim hanc non corrumpit, *sed salvam et integram*  
 '*non primis modò hominibus sed sæa quoq; posteritati spectan-dam exhibet.*

*Idem Sermone secundo.*

'Quoniam ergo ipsum aerem quoq; divinæ Providentiæ gubernatione  
 'frui, & eundem illum hujus beneficio per tot jam annorū millia suffecisse  
 'vidisti, adeò ut nec animalium respirationibus absumptus sit, nec corpo-  
 'rum quibus continetur, fines eruperit, agedum ad terram quoq; commu-  
 'nem omnium nutricem, matrem ac sepulchrum te ducamus.  
 'Dic ergo mihi quisnā sit qui hæc tam pulchrè disposuit? qui tantis facul-  
 'tatibus hæc instruxit, ut tot annorum evolutiones thesaurum hunc non  
 'potuerint consumere? quis item ille sit, qui ea quæ in rerum natura sunt  
 'firma & immota conservat.

*Idem de Materia & mundo lib: 4º.*

'Illud præterea opificis Dei sapientiam planeq; potentiam ostendit, quòd  
 'neq; ipsa tellus quanquā per tot annorū millia aratris tergo scindatur, se-  
 'ratur, conseraturq; quanquā et fructibus alimenta sufficiat, conculcetur,  
 'effodiatur, radatur, imbribus nivibusq; subsidat atq; ardoribus atteratur,  
 'ullā sui diminutionē perpeffa est minoresve agricolis fatus aut pauciores educit.  
 'Sed enim undiq; mundum intuenti miraculum miraculo superadditur,  
 'parum verò abest ne confidenter dicam miraculū hoc loco pro miraculo  
 'habendum non esse. Cum sit enim mundi opifex Deus omnipotens,

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que-



quæcunq; ab eo fiant decet admirari quā minimè, sed Authorē profecto  
 decet laudari quam maximè. Sunt enim quæcunq; fieri convenient factu  
 illi perquā facilia, Inservit autem & rebus omnibus quas creavit, suffi-  
 cientem ad id temporis facultatem quo esse illas, ac perdurare decrevit,  
 ex quo factum est, ut tellus hodieq; ita permaneat, sicut ab initio facta fuit,  
 neq; item mare augeat neq; decreseat, utq; aer quam ab initio naturam  
 sortitus fuit *inviolatam* conservet, neq; sol firmissimum illud cælum, per  
 quod assidue currit, eliquare possit, neq; dissolvere, sed neque ipsum fir-  
 mamentum, tametsi humidâ sit naturâ flagrantem solem extinguat. Singu-  
 la enim res, quod ab initio munus sortita sunt, illud perpetuò conservant.

Lodovicus Vives de Veritate fidei lib: 1<sup>o</sup>. cap: 9<sup>o</sup>.

Quod Deus omnia condidit, quodque ejus Providentiâ omnia reguntur.

Nam quid magis temeritati fortunæ aut casus contrarium aut inimicum,  
 quàm ordinis perpetui, series ac *Constantia*? in toto verò mundo videre est  
 ordinem *invariabilem* atq; admirandum. Facies universi qualis est nunc,  
 talis fuit *Omni* hominum memoriâ. Non aliam videre Patres, aliamve  
 Nepotes aspicient: inquit Manilius. motus cælorum & actiones *sui*  
 semper similes, rerum inferiorum species *eodem modo* procedunt. Nam  
 etsi in singulis rerum variant nonnunquam inhaerentia, ut in aliquibus ho-  
 minum, in aliquot frugibus, hoc aut illo tempore vel loco, in ventis, in-  
 undationibus, incendijs: natura tamen speciei *eadem & perpetuò & inva-*  
*riabilis*, eadem formæ, eadem facies rerum, eadem cupiditates,  
 appetitus, actiones, opera. Vbi ergo est casus, vbi temeritas in natu-  
 ra, in qua est tanta & tam *perpetua constantia*, tam omnia certis adeo le-  
 gibus descripta & constituta? temeritatis enim & fortuiti casus propria  
 sunt varietas, inconstantia, mutationes crebræ sine causâ & diversissimæ.  
 Nam si tu quod venti mutantur, quod facultates & fortunæ hominum &  
 regionum, protinus casum colligis, casu etiam dices fieri, quod in æstate  
 aliud sumas pallium, quàm in hyeme, & alijs utare ciborum generibus; Ad  
 eundem modum casum esse affirmabis mutationes quatuor anni tempo-  
 rum: non enim semper est idem habitus cæli & soli, *quum nihil ordinatius*  
*cogitari possit aut descriptius*. Mutantur enim rerum *perpetuarum & immu-*  
*tabilium* actiones, prout expedit ijs ad quæ referuntur.  
 Quam illud prudenter & magno est ab *Aristotele* iudicio animadversum, si  
 quis ex tenebris prodiret in hanc lucem cæli & mundi, quem nunquam  
 antea conspexisset, nec de illo audivisset, consideraret autem cursus &  
 actiones rerum, nullo penitus modo dubitaturum hunc, quin hæc omnia  
 cura consilioque tenerentur principis sapientissimi & potentissimi.

Lactantius Divinarum institutionum lib: 1<sup>o</sup>.

De Providentiâ cap. 2<sup>o</sup>.

Nemo est enim tam rudis, tam feris moribus quin oculos suos in cælum  
 tollens, tametsi nesciat cujus Dei Providentiâ regatur hoc omne quod cer-  
 nitur: aliquam tamē esse intelligat ex ipsâ rerū magnitudine, motu, dispo-  
 sitione, *constantia*, utilitate, pulchritudine, temperatione: nec posse fieri,  
 quin id quod mirabili ratione *constat* consilio majori aliquo sit instructū.

Idem de Divino premio lib: 7<sup>o</sup>.

De Natura & mundo cap. 3<sup>o</sup>.

Cum verò mundum omnesque partes ejus, mirabilis, ut videmus ratio  
 gubernet, cum cæli temperatio & *æqualis* in ipsa varietate cursus astrorū,  
 luninumq;



luminumq; cælestium, temporum *Constans* ac mira descriptio, terrarum  
 varia fecunditas, plana camporum munimenta & aggeres montium, vi-  
 riditas ubertasq; sylvarum, fontium saluberima eruptio, fluminum op-  
 portuna inundatio, maris opulenta et copiosa interfusio, ventorum di-  
 versa & utilis aspiratio, cæteraq; omnia ratione summâ *constent*: quis  
 tam cæcus est ut existimet sine causâ esse facta, in quibus mira disposi-  
 tio *providentiissima* rationis elucet?

*Minucius Felix in Octavio.*

Quid enim potest esse tam apertum, tam confessum, tamq; perspicuum  
 cum oculos in cælum sustuleris, & quæ sunt infra citraque lustraveris,  
 quam esse aliquod numen præstantissimæ mentis, quo omnis natura  
 inspiretur, moveatur, *alatur*, gubernetur? Cælum ipsum vide quam latè  
 tenditur, quam rapide volvitur, vel quod in noctem astris distinguitur  
 vel quod in diem sole lustratur; jam scies quam sit in eo summi mode-  
 ratoris mira & divina *libratio*. vide & annum ut solis ambitus faciat: &  
 mensem vide ut luna auctu, senio, labore circumagat. Quid tenebrarum  
 & luminis dicam recurrentes vices, ut sit nobis operis & quietis alterna  
 reparatio? Relinquenda verò Astrologis prolixior de syderibus oratio  
 vel quæ regant cursum navigandi, vel quæ arandi metendiq; tempus  
 inducant. quæ singula non modò ut crearentur, fierent, disponentur,  
 summi opificis & perfectæ rationis eguerunt; verumetiam sentiri, per-  
 spici, intelligi sine summâ solertiâ & ratione non possunt. Quid cum  
 ordo temporum hac frugum *stabili* varietate distinguitur, nonne aucto-  
 rem suum parentemq; testatur? verè *æquè* cum suis floribus, & æstas cum  
 suis messibus, & autumnus maturitas grata, & hyberna olivitas necessa-  
 ria. qui ordo facilè turbatur nisi maximâ ratione *consisteret*. Iam *Pro-*  
*videntia* quantæ, ne hyems solâ glacie ureret, aut sola æstas ardore tor-  
 reret, autumnus & veris inferere medium temperamentum, ut per vesti-  
 gia sua anni revertentis occulti & innoxij transitus laberentur? Mari in-  
 tende, lege litoris stringitur; quicquid arborum est vide, quam e terræ  
 visceribus animatur; Aspice Oceanum, refluit reciprocis æstibus: vide  
 fontes manant venis *perennibus*: fluvios intueri, eunt semper exercitis  
 lapsibus. &c.

*Philippus Morneau de Veritate Religionis Christianæ. cap. 11.*

*Quod Dei Providentia regitur mundus, & quæ in mundo omnia.*

Rogo te quicumq; sis vel apud Anthropophagos ipsos, qui deum fateris,  
 unde Deum nosti? Animadvertisti, ais, dispositionem quandam in re-  
 bus summis, & imis ordinē *perpetuum* & nulquam *interruptum*, contra-  
 ria innumera eodem spectantia, quæ inquam totis viribus contendunt,  
 nec eò minus ad unum finem tendunt. Vides etiam ut cælum terram  
 foveat, Aer verò subinde riget, ut terra herbas producat, animalia her-  
 bis vescantur, animalibus cæteris utatur homo. Hæc cum dicis, Deum  
 tu ex *Providentiâ* agnovisse dicis, ex concatenatione illâ quæ in om-  
 nibus conspicitur,

*Pierre Le Charron. Les Trois Veritez, cap: vi. Raisons &*

*Preuves naturelles de la Deité contre l'Atheisme.*

Le mouvement si bien réglé, si juste, si égal, si constant & immuable, vient  
 & depend necessairement d'un tres-sage & premier mouvant, &  
 me de nul. Considerons plus particulièrement la multitude si grande

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&



& comme infinie des choses : en icelle la variere si diverse & multipliée ; en tous les deux la disposition , l'arrangement si beau , l'ordre si harmonieux , la concorde si Ferme : cela se réduit nécessairement a une premiere infinité, tres-fertile, tres-puissant & tres-sage unité.

*Aquinas contra Gentiles lib: 10. cap. 13º,*

*Rationes ad probandum Deum esse.*

‘ Adhuc etiam inducitur a *Damasceno* alia ratio , sumpta ex rerum gubernatione, quam etiam innuit *Commentator* in secundo *Physicorum*,  
 ‘ & est talis: impossibile est, aliqua contraria & dissonantia in unum ordinem concordare *semper*, vel pluries nisi alicujus gubernatione , ex qua  
 ‘ omnibus & singulis tribuitur, ut ad certum finem tendant: sed in mundo videmus res diversarum naturarum in unum ordinem concordare ,  
 ‘ non ut raro & a casu, sed ut *semper* vel in majori parte: oportet ergo esse  
 ‘ aliquid cujus Providentiâ mundus gubernetur & hoc dicimus Deum.

*Idem contra Gentiles lib: 3º cap: 64.*

*Quod Deus suâ Providentiâ gubernet Universa.*

‘ Adhuc sicut supra probatum est, Deus res omnes in esse produxit, non  
 ‘ ex necessitate naturæ , sed per intellectum & voluntatem. Intellectus  
 ‘ autem & voluntatis ipsius non potest esse alius finis ultimus, nisi bonitas ejus, ut scilicet eam rebus cōmunicaret, (sicut ex præmissis apparet  
 ‘ res autem participant divinam bonitatem per modum similitudinis,  
 ‘ in quantum ipsæ sunt bonæ. Id autem quod est maximum bonum in rebus  
 ‘ creatis, est bonum ordinis universi, quod est maximè perfectum ut *Philosophus* dicit. Cui etiam consonat Divina scriptura *Genes. 1.* cum dicitur : Vidit Deus cuncta quæ fecerat & erant valdè bona, cum de singulis operibus dixisset simpliciter quod erant bona. Bonum igitur ordinis rerum creatarum a Deo, est id, quod est præcipuè volitum & intentum a Deo : nihil autem aliud est gubernare aliquam rem quàm ei ordinem imponere : Ipse igitur Deus omnia suo intellectu & voluntate gubernat.

*Doct̃or Crakanthorp in Epistolâ Dedicatoriâ præfixa libro suo de Providentiâ.*

‘ Vt illa ad Deum, sic ad illam cætera omnia nos recta ducunt, rapiuntq,  
 ‘ Cælum aspice , & mirabilem hujus quod universum dicimus , mundi fabricam. Quid est aliud quàm volumen grande, in quo characteribus  
 ‘ ac typis, amplissimis simul et splendidissimis (quos non currentes modò  
 ‘ & oculati, sed vel cæcissimi legere adeoque palpare possunt) inscripta  
 ‘ & insculpta est non ad umbilicum modò sed & a tergo infinita Dei  
 ‘ potentia , sapientia, Providentia.

*Dionysius de Divinis nominibus cap: 4º.*

‘ Hoc autem unum & bonum & pulchrum , unius vi ac nomine omnium  
 ‘ multorum, & pulchrorum causa est & bonorum ; ex hoc sunt omnes  
 ‘ rerum status qui essentiam attingunt , conjunctiones & divisiones,  
 ‘ ut ita dicam , identitates & diversitates : similitudines, dissimilitudines : societates commerciaque contrariorum : eorum quæ una  
 ‘ facta sunt , non confusæ res & proprietates , superiorum providentiæ ,  
 ‘ parium inter se connexiones ; conversiones inferiorum. omnium sui  
 ‘ conservatrices , & immutabiles stabilitates atque firmitates : rursusque  
 ‘ omnium in omnibus congruenter cuiq; communionem, coherentiæ, ac  
 ‘ confusæ



confusæ concordie, concentusque universi, temperationes in universo, indissolubileque rerum coherentia perpetuæque eorum quæ oriuntur propagationes.

Idem. cap. 8<sup>o</sup>.

Proficiscuntur autem inexhaustæ virtutis munera ad homines, ad animantia, ad ea quæ stirpibus nituntur, ad omnem denique naturam hujus universitatis: confirmatque ea quæ conjuncta & concreta sunt ad mutuam amicitiam & societatem; quæ autem secreta divisæque sunt, ut sint pro suo quidque modo atque termino & non confusa & non permixta: mundi ordines & descriptiones in bono suo conservat: immortales Angelicarum conjunctionum vitas salvas & integras tuetur, calorūque ac luminum & stellarum naturas atque ordines immutabiles: facitque, ut possit esse æternitas: temporisque conversiones dividit quidem progressionibus, colligit autem revocationibus, facit & ut vis ignis restingui non possit, nec aqua fluxiones exhauriri: aeris diffusionem determinat: terram in nihilo firmat, vitalesque ejus partus integros custodit, mutuum elementorum concentum, temperationemque ab omni confusione ac divisione liberam conservat. Animi etiam corporisque vinculum continet, ac eorum quæ terra ex se fundit alendi crescendique facultates excitat, vimque omnium quæ essentiam attingit tenet: ac mundi indissolubilem constantiam tuetur.

Idem in epistola ad Polycarpum.

Scire debebat Apollonbanes, cum sapiens esset, nihil unquam cælestis ordinis ac motus immutari ullo modo potuisse, siue instinctu Auctoris sui à quo & ut esset accepit, & cujus potentia conservatur, qui, secundum scripturæ testimonium, cuncta perficit ac mutat.

Cyrillus contra Julianum lib: 2<sup>o</sup>.

Dicit autem quod facit bene ordinatam congruam & aptissimam motionem, & quod sol ac luna dent fulgores definitos, ordinem servant, astrorum ortus & occasus & circumferentia & cursus, ipsique suis locis motus sunt iidem & omni tempore absque mutatione. Igitur quo pacto non sapienter egit Paulus, qui ex illis ducem ostendit, & præfectum creaturæ ex bona ordinatione & legibus, ut Deum decet, subdita gubernantem, secundum quod cuique ut se habeat opus est; & ita magnum & immensum opificium ex his per quæ tam bene habet, & admirationi est, declarat non carere præside. Dicit enim, Invisibilia illius a Creatura mundi, dum per ea quæ facta sunt intelliguntur, Per videntur, nempe sempiterna ejus potentia ac Divinitas. Idipsum ex Doctoribus illius & sentiendum & dicendum videbatur. Dixit itaque Plutarchus de illis ut supra diximus. Sumpserunt autem ex hoc cogitationem Dei. Semper enim sol & luna astraque cætera ut sub terram ierint, similia quidem coloribus oriuntur & æqualia magnitudinibus, & in eisdem semper locis. Igitur præci & eorum dogmatum inventores non sic cogitarunt de calo, quum admirarentur solis cursum & contemplantur omnes alias creaturas, motus bene ordinatos, congruos & aptissimos sortitas, conjectarunt autem multo magis imperantis potentiam, nobilemque & superexaltatum ejus principatum intellexerunt.

Keckermannus systemate theologico lib: 1<sup>o</sup>. De Providentia.

Ceterum prout Deus res in prima creatione constituit, qualemve iis naturam indidit, tali etiam constitutionis modo eas conservat. Plantæ & animalia conservantur generationis beneficio; quoad species; beneficio nutritionis quoad individuum: calum vero talem habet continuationem et conservationem sui, qualem habet naturæ constitutionem, ut nimirum nec generetur nec nutriatur, sed tale omnino nunc existat, quale in primâ creatione



creatione cæpit esse. Sic Angeli cum in creatione spiritualem acceperint naturam, etiam spiritali modo conservantur, sine generatione & sine nutritione.

Bucanus in Institutionibus theologicis

De Providentia Dei loco 14.

*Quid est universalis providentia? quâ Deus creaturas omnes dirigit secundum arcanum instinctum, quem singulis in creatione indidit, & ita naturæ ordinē a se positum conservat.*

Polanus syntagmate theologiæ lib: 6. cap. 109.

De generali Providentia Dei.

*Providentia Dei conspicitur in successione, quâ vel individuis morientibus seu intereuntibus alia individua succedunt, ut hominibus homines, jumentis jumenta, fruges frugibus, vel tempestas tempestati succedit, ut ver hyemi, veri aestas, aestati autumnus, autumno hyems. Sic hodie creat Deus singulos homines Psal: 65. v. 6. Iesaiâ 49.5. Jerem: 1. v. 5. Quum flumina in mare delata sunt, mare per alias vias terræq; venas, ea rursus in suos alveos remittit, ne terra humore vacua areseat Ecclesiast: cap. 1. v. 4. 5. 6. 7. proinde Providentia divina est creationis quadam perpetuatio. Conservatio enim hæc per successionem est quadam Creationis continuatio Job. 10. v. 8, 9, 10, 11. & cap: 31. v. 15. 1. Timoth 4. v. 3.*

Boetius de consolatione lib: 3<sup>o</sup> Profâ Duodecimâ.

*Mundus ex tam diversis contrarijsq; partibus in unam formam minimè convenisset, nisi unus esset qui tam diversa conjungeret. Conjuncta verò natura ipsa diversitas invicem discors dissociaret, atque divelleret nisi esset unus qui quod nexuit contineret. Non tam verò certus naturæ ordo procederet: nec tam dispositos motus, locis, temporibus, efficientia, spatiis, qualitatibus explicaret, nisi unus esset qui has mutationum varietates manens ipse disponeret. Hoc quicquid est quo condita manent atq; agitantur, usitato cunctis vocabulo Deum nomino.*

Idem lib: 4<sup>o</sup> profâ sextâ.

*Ea series calam ac sydera movet, elementa in se invicem temperat: & alterna permutatione transformat. eadem nascentia occidentiaque omnia per similes fatuum seminumque renovat Progressus.*

Idem metro sexto lib: 4<sup>o</sup>.

Sedet interea conditor altus  
Rerumque regens flectit habenas,  
Rex & Dominus fons & origo.  
Lex, & sapiens arbiter æqui  
Et quæ cum mota concitat ire  
Sistit retrahens; ac vaga firmat.  
Nam nisi rectos revocans ictus  
Flexos iterum cogat in orbes,  
Quæ nunc stabilis continent ordo  
Dissepta suo fonte fatiscant,  
Hic est cunctis communis amor,  
Repetuntque boni fine teneri,  
Quia non aliter durare queunt,  
Nisi converso rursus amore  
Refluant causæ quæ dedit esse.

Alstedius



Alstedius Theologiâ Scholasticâ Sect. 3. cap. 6. regula 6.

*Quis enim amabo adeo rudis est ut ex cæli magnitudine, firmitate, motu, innumerabili syderum copiâ, dispositione, splendore, & ad statas temporum vices moderandas, terræq; fecunditatem utilitate, conspicuam Dei Providentiam non agnoscat? quis tam hebes ut ex soli medio aëre librati stabilitate, & admirabili animalium, arborû, fructuû structura, varietate, opportunitate, generis cujusq; conservatione atque propagatione incredibili, Dei sapientiam & potentiam non persentiat? Quis adeo cæcus est ut ex perenni fontium scaturigine, perpetuo fluminum cursu, Oceani amplitudine, fertilitate, fluxu & refluxu certissimo; ex omnium denique mundi partium compage, usu, ordine, & ornatu summo quasi ex speculo relucens Dei Providentiam, non pervideat, admiretur, prædicet?*

Nicolaus Contarenus de perfectione rerum, lib. 2<sup>o</sup>.

De Providentia generali, cap. 3<sup>o</sup>.

*Principio eos qui fortunam venerantur appello. Descendant in amplum hoc atque admirabile mundi theatrum. Cali hunc ornatum aspiciant, considerent tanti motus, tantæ cali conversiones, utrum potuerint tam immenso temporis spatio constantes, æquabiles, ratæ, à fortunâ conservari?*

Perkins in his Exposition of the Creede, on these wordes  
*Maker of heaven and earth.*

And thus much for the Creation. Now in these words, maker of heaven and earth, is more to be understood then the worke of the Creation, namely Gods Providence in governing all things created, as hee appointed in his eternall decree: and therefore S. Peter saith, *God is a faithfull Creatour*, that is, God did not only make heaven and earth, and so leave them, as Masons and Carpenters leave houses when they are built; but by his Providence doth most wisely governe the same.

Now God governeth all good things two wayes; first by sustaining and preserving them *that they decay not*; secondly by moving them *that they may attaine to the particular ends*, for which they were severally ordained.

Gods Providence is either generall or speciall: generall, is that which extends it selfe to the whole world and all things indifferently, even to the Divells themselves. By this Providence God *continues and maintaines the order which hee set in nature in the Creation*, and hee preserves the life, substance, and being of all and every Creature in his kinde.

Downam in his summe of sacred Divinity, 1. booke 4. chap.  
*Of Providence.*

After the everlasting decrees of God, and the Creation of the world, his kingdome thirdly standeth in governing the things created: both the *course which at the first Creation hee set in nature*, and the actions and events of things.



## Zanchius de Providentiâ Dei, cap. 1. quæst. 1.

*Pulcherrimum esse in mundo rerum omnium ordinem, quo ordine ignobiliores subjecta sunt nobilioribus, inanimis animatis, rationis expertes ratione præditis; denique terrena celestibus; ita ut pulcherrimo nexu inter se omnia sint conjuncta & unum alteri inserviat, nemo non videt. Et quidem hic ordo semper manet & nunquam deficit. Quotidiè enim oritur sol & occidit: & ita quotidiè succedit nocti dies, singulis mensibus suum conficit cursum luna. Singulis annis ver sequitur hyemem, æstas ver, æstatem autumnus, autumnum hyems: post tenebras lux: post pluviam sol: post æstum frigus. Denique cæcus est qui non videt pulcherrimum eumque constantem & perpetuum rerum omnium ordinem: quo in suum quæque res finem ordinata, dirigitur & tendit. Vnde autem est iste ordo? Certe ab illo à quo & res ipsa sunt, & omnia bona: hoc est à Deo. Qui enim res condidit, eas etiam simul ordine isto verè divino conjunxit: & ad suos fines destinavit. Et si omnia bona à Deo, certè & ordo iste rerum in mundo optimus. Quid enim melius hoc ordine? à quo autem est ordo, in eo certe Providentia sit necesse est: Providentia enim (ut etiam Aristoteles in Ethicis docuit) est omnia ad finem ordinare. Est igitur in Deo verè Providentia. Anni sunt amplius quam 5. millia & 576. ex quo mundus conditus in hac sua forma, pulchritudine virtute conservatur atque consistit.*

## Idem Quæst. 2.

*At certum est fieri non posse, quin mundus Dei præsentis manu & consilio regatur, quis enim pater non suam regat domum? quis Rex suum deserit regnum? & qualis est navis in medio mari sine gubernatore? Tolle animam à corpore, quid fiet de corpore? ruet, peribit, dissolvetur. Quanto magis si gubernationem Dei è mundo tollas, mundus totus in nihilum redigetur? quòd igitur mundus tam diu servetur: quòd cæli suos cursus retineant perennes atque perpetuos: quòd dierum & noctium aliarumque rerum vicissitudo firma permaneat: quòd terra super aquas fundata & circumquaque cincta aquis, non tamen obruatur et pereat: an non argumento sunt hæc omnia Dei manu omnia sustentari et regi? per se enim durare non possent, præsertim tam diu, cum sint omnia ex nihilo: cum multa sint ex contrarijs composita: cum alia ab alijs perimantur. Ab alio autem præterquam à Deo non possunt dici gubernari & conservari. Nihil enim tante est virtutis, ut totam hanc machinam sustentare et conservare possit præter Deum. Ad Deo igitur mandum regi fateri oportet, etiam si haberemus nulla sacrarum literarum testimonia. Ad hoc enim ingenè confitendum aducimur & cogimur rationibus à natura ductis, ut supra ostensum est. Quæcunque enim certum habent ordinem eumque constantem, præsertim si illum ordinem res ipsa non intelligunt: alicujus intellectu ac voluntate, hoc est, Providentiâ regantur necesse est.*

## Musculus de Providentia Dei in locis Communibus.

*Secundam Providentiæ Dei speciem conservationis esse diximus. Intelligimus autem de eâ, quâ omnia ab ipso creata sic conservantur, ut non modo in seipsis subsistere, sed et in ordine quaque suo sic perdurare valeant, ut usui in quem creata sunt, non uni et alteri generationi, sed per omnia sæcula serviant; ac rationi consilioque creationis respondeant. Sine hac Providentiâ tantum opus durare nequivisset, quin suâ ipsius mole statim initio corruisset.*  
Quod



*Quod sol ille cum totus igneus omnium sit ardentissimus, nec ipse comburendo consumitur, nec ea quæ in terra sunt ardore suo devorat, an non manifestum est divina Providentia opus? quod passim scatulant fontes, quod flumina continuo cursu contendunt in mare, quodque è mari recurrunt in suos alveos, atque in perpetuitate fluendi usibus nostris servantur, quod terra cælitus compluitur, cælestiq; rore humectatur, ac hyemali nive ad insequentia æstatis ardores commodius ferendos preparatur, quod fertilitas æstatis, unde omnis generis alimenta colliguntur, hyemis sterilitatem quotannis prævenit, quod unicuique frugum & animalium generi sua species pariter & naturæ vis immota servatur, quod ignis vim ardendi, calefaciendi & comburendi, aqua refrigerandi, humectandi & purgandi, & aer spirandi ad hunc usque diem constanter retinet, quod factus in utero materno secundum uniuscujusque species naturam concipiuntur, aluntur, provehuntur, illasi in lucem eduntur ac conservantur, & quæ alia sunt ejusmodi innumera, quid aliud predicant quam non deesse Providentiam Dei ab ipso creatis quæ cuncta in ordine suo conserventur.*

*Bartas in his seventh day of the first weeke.*

The Lord our God wants neither diligence,  
Nor love, nor care, nor power, nor Providence.  
He prov'd his power by making all of nought:  
His diligence by ruling all he wrought:  
His care by ending it in fixe dayes space:  
His love in building it for Adams race:  
*His Providence (maugre times wastfull rages)*  
*Preserving it so many yeares and ages.*

For O how often had this goodly Ball,  
By his owne greatnesse caus'd his proper fall:  
How often had this world deceast, except  
God's mighty armes had it upheld and kept:  
God is the soule, the life, the strength, the sinew  
That quickens, moves, and makes this frame continue.  
God's the maine spring that maketh every way  
All the small wheelles of this great Engine play.  
God's the strong Atlas whose unshrinking shoulders,  
Have been and are Heavens heavy globes upholders.  
God makes the fountaines runne continually,  
The dayes and nights succeed incessantly.  
The seasons in their seasons he doth bring  
Summer and Autumne, Winter and the Spring.  
*God makes the earth fruitfull, and he makes the earth's*  
*Large sides not yet faint for so many births.*

*Lessus de Providentiâ, lib. 1. cap. 2. ratione 4.*

'Pulchrum planè & pretiosum lacunar hujus mundani palatij. Quid colore isto cæruleo & purpurascete oculis gratius? quid micantibus illis gemmis purius? quid adamantinâ illa firmitate, quæ jam tot sæculis inviolata perdurat, nusquam attrita, nusquam obsolescens, aut fatiscens solidius? Quid solari globo, lucis & caloris fonte mirabilius? quæ natura rerum



‘rerum his omnibus hanc formam, hunc situm, hunc nitorem & splendorem, hanc coelestem & inviolabilem pulchritudinem impertit, &c.

*Andreas Hyperius de Dei Providentiâ.*

‘Videmus pulcherimum & perpetuum rerum omnium inter se ordinem, præcipuè autem solis, lunæ, stellarum: videmus *statis* recurrere vicissitudines: Videmus alia hujusmodi *semper* decentissimè toto mundo fieri, ex quibus maximè redit ad universum genus mortalium commoditas; Igitur mundus Dei Providentiâ regitur.

‘In elementis quæ vocant, hic servatur ordo, ut vicissitudine eorum mundi natura *continuetur*: item in terra & iis omnibus quæ terrâ proveniunt, *sempiterno* ordine ad *immensum* tempus procreantur arbores, fructus, vites, animantia, & quidem tam decorè, tamque utilitèr omnia ista disponuntur ut meliùs sapientiùsve non possent; Igitur mundum Deus regit, & inferiora ista per suam Providentiâ moderatur.

*Hunnius de Providentiâ*

‘Quid est Providentia? est actio Dei quâ non tantum videt ac scit omnia, quæ fuerunt, sunt, erunt; sed etiam naturas rerum sustentat & ordinem à se conditum, quamdiu ipsi visum est conservat, liberâque voluntate gubernat.

*Gellius Snecanus Frisius de Providentia.*

‘Quemadmodum enim Deus semel universum creavit orbem, sic etiam omnia in eo tuetur, manumque operi suo admotam habet, quo cuncta in suo statu sustinet & disponat.

*Vrsinus explanationibus Catecheticis part. I.*

*loco de Deo. An sit Deus.*

‘Esse Deum multis argumentis Philosophiæ & Theologiæ communibus probatur. 1. Ordo in natura, hoc est, partium dispositio, & motuum actionumque successio, certis ac perpetuis legibus constans non potest existere & conservari, nisi à natura aliqua intelligente & omnipotente, quæ est Deus.

*Idem quest. 7. de Providentia. Argumenta à posteriori seu ab effectis.*

‘1º Ab ordine, hoc est, apta dispositione & successione rerum omnium, motuum, temporum, & conservatione specierum in natura.

*Calvinus Institut. lib. I. cap. 14. sect. 20.*

‘Ex eo discimus cum omnia sint corruptioni obnoxia, Deum tamen providisse ut singulæ species ad diem extremum *salvæ* conserventur.

*Idem cap. 16. sect. 1.*

‘Porro Deum facere momentaneum Creatorem, qui semel duntaxat opus suum absolverit, frigidum esset ac jejunum, atque in hoc præcipuè nos à prophanis hominibus differre convenit, ut non minus *perpetuo mundi statu* quàm prima ejus origine, præsentia divinæ virtutis nobis illuceat.

*Albertus Hero Snecanus de Providentia. lib. I. cap. 2.*

‘Respondemus, quale cœlum nunc est, tale & *perpetuo* fuisse, nam si alterationis capax esset, interitui quoque obnoxium foret.

*Lipsius*



*Lipsius in epist. select. Hieronymo Berchemio, ubi  
Deum esse rationibus convincit.*

‘Ordinem in universo intueri: qui cum admiratione vel stupore potius  
‘examinetur. Supera illa locum suum habent & *servent*; tum media & *Ab ordine uni-  
‘ima: nihil exorbitat aut mutat.* Ignis in terram non descendit, terra in *versi.*  
‘coelum non ascendit; aer, mare, flumina locum, cursum suum servant:  
‘omnia ex usu & decore, ut melius pulchriusque nihil possit: & non au-  
‘ctorem horum agnoscis & rectorem? In domum aliquam magnam si  
‘venisti, ubi aulae expansa, pavimenta conspersa, sedilia disposita, vasa  
‘exposita, succincti & pexi ministri: an non ab ipso illo ornatu, domi-  
‘num cum non vides, praesumis? fac idem in hoc mundo & Deum  
‘habes.

‘Conservatio rerum eò ducat: dissident elementa inter se, & à natu- *A conservatione  
‘ra ijs est luctatio & pugna: cur autem alia non interimunt, aut vincunt? universa*  
‘cur tanto ævo *in modo & finibus suis perseverant?* Ipsæ animantes den-  
‘te, cornu, ungue, venæno noxiæ sunt, aliæ alias insequuntur: quid tue-  
‘tur quodque genus & servat? Nos homines sic asperi & assidui in bel-  
‘la, in mutuas cædes; quomodo non perdimus aut perimus? *manent om-  
‘nia, eriguntur aut coercentur:* & vis profectò atque imperium est quod  
‘tam diversa continet atque adstringit? id autem est Deus.

*Fulgentius Mythol. lib. 2. in Prometheus.*

‘Denique vulturem in modum mundi posuerunt; quod mundus &  
‘celeri quadam volucritate versetur, & cadaverum nascentium occi-  
‘dentiumque perennitate depascitur. Itaque alitur ac sustentatur divi-  
‘næ providentiæ sapientia, quæ nec ipsa finire novit, *nec mundus cessare  
‘ab ejus alimentis aliquatenus possit.*

*Tilenus disput. 18. de Providentia Dei, Thesi 4.*

‘Est Providentia ejusmodi vis & ratio, qua Deus res omnes à se con-  
‘ditas *conservat*, gubernat & ad certum quemque finem dirigit; ut sapi-  
‘pientiam, bonitatem, potentiam, & justitiam suam nobis in hac sua  
*οικονομία* visendam & admirandam proponat.

*Seneca in Naturalibus quæst. lib. 2.*

‘Vis illum fatum vocare? non errabis. Hic est ex quo suspensa sunt  
‘omnia, causa causarum. Vis illum Providentiam dicere? rectè dices,  
‘est enim cujus consilio huic mundo providetur, ut *incōcussus* eat & actus  
‘luos explicet. Vis illum naturam vocare? non peccabis.

*Idem de Providentia, cap. 1.*

‘Supervacuum est in præsentia ostendere non sine aliquo custode  
‘tantum opus stare, nec hunc syderum *certum cursum* et discursum for-  
‘tuiti impetus esse, & quæ casus incitat sæpe turbari, & citò arietare,  
‘hanc inoffensam velocitatem procedere *æternæ legis* imperio.

*Cicero de Natura Deorum: lib. 2.*

‘Ut si quis in domum aliquam, vel in gymnasium aut forum venerit:  
‘cum videat omnium rerum rationem, modum, disciplinam, non possit  
‘ea sine causâ fieri judicare, sed esse aliquem intelligat, qui præsit, & cui  
‘pareatur: multò magis in tantis motibus, tantisque vicissitudinibus,  
‘tam multarum rerum atque tantarum ordinibus, *in quibus nihil unquam  
immensa*



*immensa & infinita vetustas mentita sit, statuat necesse est ab aliquâ mente  
tantos naturæ motus gubernari.*

‘Maximè verò admirabiles sunt motus earum quinque stellarum  
quæ falso vocantur errantes: Nihil enim errat, quod in *omni eternita-  
te conservat* progressus & regressus reliquosque motus *constantes &  
ratos*.

‘Cœlestem ergo admirabilem ordinem incredibilemque *constanti-  
am* ex quâ conservatio & salus omnium omnis oritur, qui vacare mente  
putat, is ipse mentis expers habendus est.

‘Talis igitur mens mundi cum sit, ob eamque causam Providentia  
appellari rectè possit, hæc potissimum providet, & in his maximè est  
occupata. Primum ut mundus quàm aptissimus sit ad *permanendum*.  
Deinde ut *nulla re* egeat: maximè autem ut in eo eximia pulchritudo  
sit, atque omnis ornatus.

‘Nec verò hæc solum admirabilia, sed nihil magis, quam quod ita  
*stabilis* est mundus, atque ita cohæret ad *permanendum*, ut nihil ne exco-  
gitari quidem possit aptius.

‘Quæ copulatio rerum, & quasi consentiens ad mundi *incolumitatem*  
coagmentatio naturæ, quem non commover, hunc horum nihil un-  
quam reputavisse certò scio.

Claudianus in Rufinum lib. i.

*Sape mihi dubiam traxit sententia mentem  
Curarent superi terras, an nullus inesset  
Rector, & incerto fluerent mortalia casu:  
Sed cum dispositi quæsissem fœdera mundi,  
Præscriptosque maris fines, annique meatus  
Et locis noctisque vices, tunc omnia rebar  
Consilio firmata Dei, qui lege moveri  
Sydera, qui fruges diverso tempore nasci,  
Qui variam Phæben alieno jussisset igne  
Compleri, solemque suo: porrexerit undis  
Litora, tellurem medio libraverit axe.*

Manilius lib. i.

*Nec quicquam in tantâ magis est mirabile mole,  
Quam ratio & certis quòd legibus omnia parent.  
Nusquam turba nocet, nihil ullis partibus errat.  
Ac mihi tam præsens ratio non ulla videtur,  
Quâ pateat mundum divino numine verti.*

*At cur dispositis vicibus consurgere signa,  
Et, velut imperio, præscriptos reddere cursus,  
Cernimus, ac nullis properantibus ulla relinqui?*

Deus est qui non mutatur in ævo.



Hooker of Ecclesiasticall Politie, lib. 1. section 3.

*The law which naturall agents have given them to observe,  
and their necessarie manner of keeping it.*

God then did institute a law naturall to bee observed by Creatures, and therefore according to the manner of lawes the institution thereof is described, as being established by solemne injunction. His commanding those things to bee which are, and to be in such sort as they are, *to keepe that tenure and course which they doe*, importeth the establishment of Natures law. This worlds first Creation, and the preservation since of things created, what is it but onely so farre forth a manifestation by execution, what the eternall law of God is concerning things naturall? And as it commeth to passe in a kingdome rightly ordered, that after a law is once published, it presently takes effect far and wide, all states framing themselves thereunto; even so let us thinke it fareth in the naturall course of the world: *since the time that God did first proclaime the edicts of his law upon it, heaven and earth have hearkened unto his voyce, and their labour hath beene to doe his will*: Hee made a law for the raine. He gave his decrees unto the Sea, that the waters should not passe his commandement. Now if nature should intermit her course, and leave altogether, though it were but for a while, the observation of her owne lawes: if those principall and mother elements of the world, whereof all things in this lower world are made, should loose the qualities which they now have, if the frame of that heavenly arch erected over our heads should loosen & dissolve it selfe: if celestiall spheares should forget their wonted morions, and by irregular volubilitie turne themselves any way as it might happen: if the Prince of the lights of heaven which now as a Gyant doth runne his unwearied course, should as it were through a languishing faintnesse begin to stand and to rest himselfe: if the Moone should wander from her beaten way, the times and seasons of the yeare blend themselves by disordered and confused mixture, the windes breath out their last gaspe, the cloudes yeelde no raine, the earth bee defeated of heavenly influence, the fruites of the earth pine away as children at the withered breasts of their mother, no longer able to yeeld them reliefe; what would become of man himselfe whom these things now doe all serve? *See we not plainely that obedience of Creatures unto the law of nature, is the stay of the whole world?*

For as much as the workes of nature are no lesse exact, then if she did both behold and study how to expresse some absolute shape or mirror, alwayes present before her, yea, such her dexterity and skill appeareth, that no intellectuall creature in the world were able by capacitie to do, that which nature doth without capacitie and knowledge; it cannot be but nature hath some director of infinite knowledge to guide her in all her wayes. Who the guide of nature but onely the God of nature? In him we live, move, and are. Those things which nature is said to do, are by divine art performed, using nature as an instrument: nor is there any such art or knowledge divine in Nature her selfe working, but in the guide of Natures worke. Whereas therefore things naturall which

Y y y

are



are not in the number of voluntarie agents (for of such onely wee now speake, and of no other) doe so necessarily observe their certaine lawes, that *as long as they keepe those formes which give them their being, they cannot possible be apt or inclinable to doe otherwise then they do;* seeing the kindes of their operations are both *constantly* and exactly framed, according to the severall ends for which they serve, they themselves in the meane while, though doing that which is fit, yet knowing neither what they doe nor why; It followeth that all which they doe in this sort, proceedeth originally from some such agent as *knoweth, appointeth, holdeth up,* and even actually *frameth* the same. The manner of this divine efficiency being farre above us, wee are no more able to conceive by our reason, then Creatures unreasonable by their sense are able to apprehend after what manner we dispose & order the course of our affaires. Only thus much is discerned, that the naturall generation & processe of all things receiveth order of proceeding, from the settled stabilitie of divine understanding. This appointeth unto them their kindes of working, the disposition whereof, in the purity of Gods owne knowledge, and will, is rightly termed by the name of *Providence*. The same being referred unto the things themselves here disposed by it, was wont by the ancient to be called *Naturall destiny*. That law the performance whereof we behold in things naturall, is as it were an authentick or an originall draught written in the bosome of God himselfe; whose spirit being to execute the same, useth every particular nature, every meere naturall agent only as an instrument created at the beginning, and ever since the beginning used to worke his owne will and pleasure withall.

Basilii Magni in Hexamero. Homilia 9<sup>a</sup>.

*Intelligas velim opificis Dei verbum per orbem terrarum discurrens: quod quidem & tunc operari capit, & hucusque operatur, et operabitur etiam semper quousque mundus fuerit consummatus. Nam uti pila compulsa manu, si declivem nacta fuerit locum, partim ob suam formam, partim ob aptitudinem loci praeceptis ad ima suâ celeritate fertur: neque prius moveri desinit, quam plana suscipiant ipsam loca: sic sanè natura rerum, hoc unico concitata praecepto, per res generandas aequali quodam cursu corrumpendasque transit, generum successionem similitudine servat. Succedit equus equo natura, leo leoni, aquila aquila, singulaque animalia suis ordine successionibus conservantur usque ad exitum consummationemque mundi. Nullum unquam tempus proprias peculiareque naturas animalium delet, sed omnium ipsorum natura recens semper novaque perinde atque nunc incepisset, tempus hujus saeculi concomitatur. Educat terra viventem animam jumentorum reptilium atque ferarum. Hoc imperium telluri impressum, infixum in ipsâ permansit, nec desinit unquam tellus opificis voluntati subministrare.*

Gregorius Nyssenus in Historia sex dierum,  
quibus mundus à Deo creatus est.

‘Audivi Prophetiam, magnificentiam divinæ potentiae per miracula, quæ in Creatione rerum animadvertuntur, exponentem, dum dicit: ‘Quis aquam manu mensus est, & coelum palmo, & omnem terram pugno? Quis ponderavit montes staterâ, & saltus librâ? per quæ aperte ‘Prophetam opinor docere, quod unumquodque elementum suis spa-  
tiis



'tiis circumscriptum sit, comprehensiva potentia Dei, quam manum, & pugnum, & palmam nominat peculiariter unamquamque rem intra conveniens & justum spatium coercente.

'Si igitur per divinam potentiam, cœlum mensurâ continetur, & manu aqua, & pugno omnis terra, & ponderantur saltus & rupes, & montes certo pondere definiti sunt: prorsus necesse est, unumquodq; in sua mensura, atque pondere manere, ita ut neque incrementum, neque diminutio in ijs qua à Deo dimensa sunt, & ab eo continentur, accidere possit. Si igitur neque additamentum, neque diminutionem circa res accidere Prophetia testatur: prorsus in suis unumquodque mensuris in perpetuum permanet, natura vertendi quæ rebus inesse intelligitur, omnia invicem mutante, & unumquodque in alterum transformante, ac rursus è diverso etiam ab illo per mutationem & conversionem in id, quod ab initio erat reducete.

*Divus Ambrosius in Hexamero. lib. 3. cap. 8.*

'Quid dicam quemadmodum clementia Dei humanæ prospexit utilitati? fœneratum terra restituit quod acceperit, & usurarum cumulo multiplicatum. Homines sæpè decipiunt, & ipsâ fœneratorem suum sorte defraudant: terra fidelis manet. Et si quando non solverit, si forte adversata fuerit frigoris inclementia, aut nimia siccitas, aut immensa vis imbrium, alio anno superioris anni damna compensat: ita & quando proventus spem destituit Agricola, nihil terra delinquit: & quando arridet ubertas, fœcundæ matris partus effundit, ut nunquam ullum dispendium suo inferat creditori.

*Idem lib. 3. cap. 10.*

'Sed fortè quis dicat: quomodo secundum genus terra profert semina, cum plerumque semina jacta degenerent, & cum bonum triticum fuerit seminatum, decolor ejus species, & inferior forma reddatur? sed hoc si quando accidit, non ad translationem generis, sed ad ægritudinem quandam, & inæqualitatem seminis videtur esse referendum. Non enim definit esse triticum, si aut frigore aduratur, aut imbre madidetur, sed specie magis quam genere, colore quoque et corruptione mutatur. Deniq; frequenter madidata frumenta in sui generis speciem revertuntur, si autem sole aut ignibus torreantur, aut diligentibus commissa culturis, aeris temperie, terrarumq; feracium ubertate foveantur. Itaque reparatur in sobole quod degeneraverat in parente. Vnde non periclitamur ne præceptum illud Dei cujus usus natura inolevit, in reliquum successionis vitio destitutum sit, cum hodieque in seminibus generis sui sinceritas reservetur.

Denique hodieque fœcunditas terra veterem affluentiam spontaneo usu fertilitatis operatur.

*Clemens Recognitionum lib. 8.*

'Quis astrorum cursus tanta ratione disposuit? ortusque eorum et occasus instituit, certisque et demensis temporibus unicuique tenere cœli ambitum dedit? Quis ad occasum, aliis etiam redire in ortum permisit? quis imposuit modum cursibus solis, ut horas, et dies, et menses, et temporū vicissitudines, diversis motibus signet? et nunc hyemem, inde ver, æstatem post et autumnū certâ cursus sui dimensione discernat, et semper eisdem vicibus anni orbē inconfusa varietate constringat? quis inquā tanti ordinis moderatricem non ipsam Dei pronunciet sapientiam?

Y y y 2

*Chrysosto.*



*Chrysostomus Homiliâ in Psalmum 148.*

‘Neque verò est solum admirabile quòd regit & continet, nec quòd termini naturæ stant fixi & immobiles, sed quòd tempore adeò infinito. Considera quantum est ævi spatium, & eorum nihil est omnino confusum. Non mare terram inundavit, non sol ea quæ videntur exussit, non cœlum labefactum est, non noctis nec diei termini confusi sunt, non temporum conversiones, nec aliquid aliud ejusmodi, sed ~~unum~~ quodque eorum quæ sunt & supernè & infernè, stetit diligentissimè; impositos sibi ab initio fines ad unguem servans.

Prosper in opusculo de Providentia Dei.

*Quod verò adversis compugnant condita causis,  
Atque alia alijs obfistunt: contraria discors  
Omnia motus alit: dumque illi occurritur illo  
Vitalem capiunt cuncta exagitata vigorem:  
Quæ vel pigra situ, vel prono lubrica lapsu,  
Aut cursu instabili, stabili aut torpore perirent.  
Mollia sic duris; sic raris densa resistunt;  
Et liquidis solida, & tardis velocia, claro  
Obscurum objectum, & dulci contendit amarum.  
Nec mihi fas dixisse aliquid non rite creatum,  
Aut ullas ausim mundi reprehendere partes,  
Cum sator ille operum teneat momenta suorum.  
Et carptim varios in totum temperet usus.  
Denique quicquid obest, aut causa aut tempore verso  
Prodest: & gemino subsistunt cuncta periclo.*

*Iustinus Martyr contra Aristotelem, circa initium hæc habet.*

‘Quod mundus cæpit & aliquid est & mirè duret voluntas Dei in causa est, dicitque, cœlestia & invisibiles virtutes in incorruptione permanere, res alias per generationem & corruptionem ut animantes & plantas; quia sicut quòd conditum est, non extaret nisi Deus præcepisset, fiat; sic etiam non permaneret, nisi idem ille præceptum posuisset, incorruptilibus quidem ut constarent in sæculum sæculi, eis verò quæ in generatione consistunt, ut crescerent & multiplicarentur & replerent terram.

*Abulensis in Genes. cap. 3. vers. 17.*

‘Sed istam maledictionem terræ putant aliqui esse diminutionem in fertilitate, quasi si homo non peccasset, fuisset futura feracior: & talem eam creatam dicunt & permanuram si homo non peccasset, sed istud non est verum, quia Deus non mutavit aliquid in natura rerum propter peccatum hominis. Nam perfectio illa & fertilitas terræ in quâ creata est, pertinebat ad perfectionem operum Dei, sed indignum est quòd Deus diminuat gloriam suam, quæ est in operum suorum perfectione propter iniquitatem alienam, ergo non minuerat illam fertilitatem propter hominis peccatum. Item non est verisimile, quia si Deus statim peccante homine ablaturus esset terræ fertilitatem, frustra produxisset eam mox tollendo, cum sciret peccaturum hominem, non ergo producere eam debuisset si ablaturus erat.

*Hieronymus*



Hieronymus in Ecclesiasten cap. 3. v. 14.

*Solis cursus & luna vices, & terra arborumque siccitas vel viror, cum ipso mundo nata sunt atque concreta: & idcirco Deus certa ratione cuncta moderatus est, & iussit humanis usibus elementa servire, ut homines hac videntes intelligant Providentiam & Creatorem.*

Eadem ex Hieronymo verbatim mutuatus est Alcuinus.

Augustinus de Genesi ad literam lib. 1. cap. 8.

*Ita etiam rebus ex illa inchoatione perfectis atque formatis, vidit Deus quia bonum est: placuit enim quod factum est, in ea benignitate quâ placuit & fieret: Duo quippe sunt propter quæ amat Deus Creaturam suam, ut sit, & ut maneat; ut ergo esset quod maneret, spiritus Dei superferebatur super aquam: ut autem maneret, vidit Deus quia bona est. Et quod de luce dictum est, hoc & de omnibus: manent enim quadam supergressa omnem volubilitatem temporalem in amplissimâ sanctitate sub Deo: quadam verò secundum sui temporis modos, dum per decessionem successionemque rerum, sæculorum pulchritudo contextitur.*

Idem de Genesi ad literam lib. 3. cap. 24.

*Ea quæ facta sunt, in eo quod facta sunt quantum acceperunt, manent: sicut vel illa quæ non peccaverunt, vel illa quæ peccare non possunt: & singula bona sunt, & in universo bona valde sunt.*

Idem libro de Naturâ Boni.

*Fit autem decedentibus & succedentibus rebus, temporalis quadam in suo genere pulchritudo, ut nec ipsa quæ moriuntur, vel quod erant, esse desinunt, turpent aut turbent modum, & speciem, & ordinem universæ Creaturæ: sicut sermo bene compositus utique pulcher est, quamvis in eo syllabæ atque omnes soni tanquam nascendo & moriendo transcurrant.*

Gregorius Nazianzenus oratione vigesima prima, De modestiâ in disceptationibus observandâ.

*Ordo igitur universum constituit, ordo cælestia continet & terrestria, ordo est in intelligibilibus, ordo in sensibilibus, ordo in Angelis, ordo in astris tam motu quam magnitudine, necnon habitudine invicem & splendore. Alia enim gloria solis est, alia verò lunæ, alia quoque astrorum. Gloria enim stella differt a stella, ordo in anni partibus & temporibus: quæ in mundo nunc progrediuntur, nunc iterum recedunt, ac per mediocritatem austeritatem mitigant: ordo est in diebus & noctibus, mensuris & intervallis: ordo in elementis ex quibus & corpora, ordo cælum circumvolvunt, aërem expandit, terram supposit; quæ & superposita est, naturam humidam effudit & conjunxit, ventos emisit & non remisit; aquam nubibus colligavit, & non cohibuit, sed super faciem universæ terræ decorè & indifferenter sparsit. Et hæc nequaquam parumper, neque ad tempus unum parvum, aut ætatem unam, sed ut ab initio ad finem usque per eandem viam dirigantur & circumvolvantur, fixa & mobilia, solidata quidem verbo, labilia autem motu, constituit ea in sæculum sæculi, præceptum dedit & non præteribit, firmitatis nempe: sed & id quod factum est, aut debinc fiet, fluxum est. Vbi igitur ordo dominatur, ibi universum ornatus est, ac pulchritudo inconvulsa.*



Arias Montanus Naturæ historiâ, capite de Natura numero 8.

*Constat autem natura mundi omnis cælo ac terrâ, quibus corpora cætera omnia, & quæ corporibus adherent, vel insunt, vel tenentur. Quamobrem cælum ac terram à Deo in principio creata Moses præfatus, partes deinde singulas quo modo locoque essent, utque haberent indicavit. Et apud Iaiam Deus: Ego ipse, ego primus & novissimus. Manus quoque mea fundavit terram, & dextera mea mensa est cælos. Ego vocabo eos & stabunt simul. Atque hoc responso nihil fortuito casuve factum: nihil temerè dissolvi posse affirmatur. Perinde enim omnia perseverant, atque ab initio recentia adhuc extiterant: quippe præsentis efficacitate virtute & voluntate auctoris, nec usu atteritur universum, nec vetustate exesum deteritur.*

*Idem, numero 9.*

Atque eadem hæc ut facta & creata, ab initioque constituta fuerunt, non aliundè, quàm ex Dei constante voluntate & pacto pendere & conservari Deus ipse docet, aliàs in nihilum reditura, aut senio & vetustate conficienda. Itaque constante voluntate Dei mandus constat & servatur: atque suas leges obtinens perpetuo tuetur.

*Idem, numero 12.*

*Quippe eodem ipso quo Arets extitit die, jubentis efficientiâ sermonis Dei, & spiritus in ipsam permeantis virtute plantarum, multiplici genere, forma atque splendore ornata, spectabilis ac læta enituit. Atque in hac primâ plantarum editione nihil à cælis terram mutuasce aut accepisse, sed quicquid edidit, ex verbi divini jussu futuri temporis forma enunciato: ideoque constanter & perpetuum retinendo mandato accepit & reddidit.*

*Idem, numero 16.*

*Dixitque Deus: ecce dedi vobis omnem herbam afferentem semen super terram, & universa ligna, quæ habent in semetipsis sementem generis sui: ut sint vobis in escam, & cunctis animantibus terræ, omnique volucris cæli, & universis quæ moventur in terrâ, & in quibus est anima vivens, ut habeant ad vescendum. Atque hoc constans, ratum, ac perpetuo confirmatum decreto, nullaque rerum naturæ exceptione dissolvendum, adjuncta declarat adnotatio, Et factum est ita: quæ in exemplari lingua futuri temporis perpetuitate enunciatur.*

*Idem de constitutione mundi cap. 4. numero 1.*

*Quam rebus omnibus perfectis, mundique probata pulchritudine, quietem sacraverat Deus, nulli eorum quæ jam facta constabant, generi non communem esse voluit, sed singulis integritatis ac bonitatis propria gratulationem, illo, quo ipse quievit die impertitus, suam deinceps naturam conditionemque tueri indulgit. Id quod in cæteris omnibus rerum ac naturæ formis ratum, fixum constansque evasit, præterquam duabus cæterarum omnium præstantissimis, & quas maximè in suo ordine manere decuerat & oportuerat: id est spirituum naturæ, cujus pars, & humana etiam quæ omnis vitio facta corrui. Utraque à Deo electa, utraque electionis compos ea ex parte, quâ libertatem suam ingenuè tueri debuit, dum sorte sua non continetur, altioraque se querit, dignitate, loco, conditione, donis, muneribus, denique amplitudinis concessa depulsa gradu, utraque in exitium corrui. Atque hac duarum tantum partium ruina, cæteris omnibus incolumibus, quod factum fuerat opus, demum reledit ac substitit, deincepsque per sæcula mansit.*

*Docton,*



*Doctor Goodman now L: B: of Gloucester, in his  
booke of the fall of Man pag: 271.*

Surely to a right judgement Gods *Providence* & actions doe more manifestly appeare by the little and small alteration in nature; for I would gladly aske, if a clocke or instrument of iron were made, which would daily want mending, would ye commend the workeman? but suppose this clocke should continue for many years perfect and sound, without reparation, then certainly the workeman should have his due praise & commendation: so is it in the frame of this world, *which hath now continued for many thousand years without alteration and change*; And therefore therein Gods *Providence*, power and *Protection* doth more eminently appeare, then if God should daily create new formes of creatures, and should alter and change the present condition, and state of this world, which he himselfe in his great wisdome hath already contrived, supporting and *preserving* it by the same power wherewith hee created it. For otherwise creatures should be dissolved, the earth should have no stable foundation amidst the ayre and the waters; the whole world should reele and tumble in the wast desarts of an infinite *Vacuum*. And as nature was made of nothing, so it should have a power to returne againe to the same nothing, as being the first matrix or proper place, whereunto of it selfe, being left to it selfe, it is naturally inclined: for it is a worke of as great difficulty, & of as high excellency to preserve, as at first to create, *Non minor est virtus quam quarere parva tueri*, to establish and continue the government, is a worke of no lesse glory, then at first to obtaine the conquest.

*Idem pag: 13.*

It is not unknowne unto you, that God, by vertue of his promise, to *preserve and continue* the same excellent order, which was first instituted in the Creation, hath tyed himselfe to impart some things unto the Creatures, as necessary, and essentiall to thre being without which the Creature cannot subsist.

*Idem pag. 382.*

Suppose there were little alteration in this world. It would then argue the newnesse of this world, that it was created but this morning, for as yet the heavens have not once seene their owne revolutions. *It would likewise argue the excellencie of the workeman, as in the framing, so in the continuance of his worke*; for if the heavens should alwaies want some repaying and mending, wee might well thinke that the state of the Church triumphant, were not unlike the state of the Church militant alwaies requiring and calling for dilapidations.

*Idem pag. 332.*

Consider this inferiour world, consisting of the same different & contray elements, yet *still continuing in the same state*; assuredly it is no greater difficultie to preserve man from death, then to *preserve the whole world from corruption*: for the same causes appeare in both, the elements & the elementarie qualities, & once in every mans age they are equally tempered, as it were the *Equinoctiall* of his age. Then why should there not bee a state of *consistency* in man, as well as in the whole world?

Y y y 4

Not



Not to insist alone in this sublunarie world ; strange it is , that the heavens themselves which were onely ordained for mans use , should *so long continue without change or alteration*, & man himselfe in the whole course of his life, should not be able to see a revolution : that the superior causes preserving mans life should move by a *most certaine and unchangeable rule*, as the *Divine Providence* hath appointed them ; and yet mans life to which all is ordained, should bee most subject and lyable to the greatest hazard , chance and uncertainty.

Seing it hath stoode with Gods mercy first to produce the Creatures, it cannot but stand with the goodnesse and constancy of his will, still to continue them, and to preserve his owne most excellent workmanship. So that now all things rely not on the weaknesse of their owne foundation and pillars , but on the invincible strength of Gods power, the most certaine assurances of his promises, the most infallible effects of his Providence.

*Idem in his Sermon of the religion of the dumbe  
Creatures. pag. 22.*

Where he speaks of their *constancy and perseverance* in keeping their due course , And againe pag. 26, Hee assures, us that they are still carried with the same course which God first appointed , being like *the Angels in heaven* , sealed and confirmed in their state and condition. And in the next page there following , his Lordship tells us , That to this purpose hee had made a long discourse , but forbore to make farther mention thereof, for that it is a matter so evident and palpable , as that it cannot admit any contradiction.

I have done with my testimonies all concurring as so many different lines in this Center, that the *Preservation of the world from decay* is a *speciall part of the Divine Providence*. Now if in the mouth of two or three witnesses every truth shall stande , much more in the mouthes of two or threescore, against whom lies no exception , neither can be suspected of partiality ; Which number I have the rather thus mustered up together, because many seeme to take it as graunted, that the decay of the world may aswell stand with the Providence as the Preservation of it from decay ; which I must confesse I shall hardly be induced to beleieve, till I shall see the like number of witnesses produced , intending, to prove the *Divine Providence* from the *Worlds decay*.

## CHAP. 2.

*That the preservation of the course of nature , and consequently of the world from decay , suites best with the Divine Providence ; inasmuch as it serves most to advance his glory , by the evidencing and illustration of his Attributes.*

Eternity.

I will beginne with his *eternity* , which is best shadowed forth in a Circle that hath neither beginning nor ending ; and hence it is that the whole world is made of a *Sphericall figure*, so are the celestiall bodies both the orbs and the starres, so are the elements ; the motions of the



the heavens are likewise Circular, the transmutation of the elements circular, the generation and corruption of the mixt bodies circular; the akorne springing from the oake, and the oake againe from the akorne; the egge from the henne, and the henne againe from the egge; the rivers running into the sea, and returning from the sea againe; Corruption treading upon the heels of generation, & generation againe upon the heels of corruption; the spring upon the heels of winter, summer of the spring, autumn of the summer, winter of autumn, and the spring upon winter againe: and therefore the Egyptians characterized the yeare by the Hieroglyphike of a *Serpent*, roled round, and holding his taile in his mouth. And thus the whole world by dauncing the rounds is perpetuated, & by this perpetuation represents the eternity of the maker thereof, which Lombard out of S. Augustin hath well observed, *ex perpetuitate creaturarū intelligitur conditor eternus, ex magnitudine omnipotens, ex dispositione sapiens, ex gubernatione bonus*; and it may well be that the Apostle in the first to the Romans hereunto alluded: The invisible things of him from the creation of the world are clearly scene, being understood by the things that are made, even his eternall power and Godhead; not onely his power, but the eternity of his power and Godhead are scene and understood, by the lasting and perpetuity of the things that are made: some being perpetual by constitution, as the heavens; others by compensation, as the elements; and others by succession as the mixt bodies.

Dist. 3.

Secondly by the preservation of the world from decay, his *Immutability* is more illustrated; the heavens being in regard of decay immutable both in whole, and in part; the elements though not in part, yet in whole; the mixt bodies though neither in whole, nor in part, yet in their species. This unchangeableness of the Creator, Clemens Alexandrinus in *admonitione ad Gentes*, well resembles by the equality of the Creature: *Qui solus est verè Deus semper aequalis, & semper eodem modo se habens, omnia metitur & ponderat tanquam trutina justitia, universorum naturam in equilibrio continens & sustinens*; but most lively wee have it expressed in the Epistle dedicatory set before Zanchius his workes, *De operibus Dei: Verum e terra si lubet ascendamus in calum. Ibi enim illustriores extant imagines divinae potentiae, sapientiae, bonitatis, & erga nos amoris, ut non immeritò, quod de terrenis elementis, omnibusque rebus apud nos existentibus, verè dici poterat, illud de calis duntaxat & firmamento & ceteris asseverare voluerit Psalter, divinus vates: Cali enarrant gloriam Dei: quod hi nimirum exhibeant eximium quoddam ceu ἀγαθὸν simulacrum, & vivam picturam gloriae Dei, quodque nos in admirationem & honorem ipsius meritò rapiant & concitent. Primum enim si substantiam spectes: ista superiora corpora, haud perinde ut sublunaria mutabilia sunt, feculenta, fluxa, caduca, continuataque vicissitudine, reciprocae tanquam Euripi fluxu, nascentia & pereuntia: sed qualia primum condita sunt, talia ad hodiernum usque diem, nulla materiae imminutione, virium debilitatione, vel amissione qualitatum facta durant eademque perseverant; id quod Peripateticis occasionem praebuit quintam quandam & sempiternam essentiam, ab elementorum & cetera longissime discretam invebendi. Unde verò materia istius simplicissima nullis alteratione*

Immutabilitie.



terationibus & perpeſſionibus obnoxia, perpetuitas ſive conſtantia fir-  
miſſima? Certè ab æterno illo & immutabili qui ſemper erat eſt & erit idem,  
qui hoc argumento fidem ſuam à JEUO & conſtantiam confirmat teſte Pſal: 89.  
v. 3. In calis firmavi veritatem tuam &c.

Ubiquité.

Thirdly by the preſervation of the world from decay his ubiquity is  
more illuſtrated; as the ſoule is known to be in all the parts of the bo-  
dy, by the life and ſenſe and motion thereof; and as the body cannot  
die till the ſoule leave it; So neither can the frame of this world bee  
dissolved till God with draw himſelfe from it, it can neither die nor  
decay as long as he is preſent with all the parts thereof. And thus much  
the very Gentils vnderſtood by the light of nature, when they beheld  
and conſidered the perpetuation of the eſſences, the faculties, the ope-  
rations, the order of all things, from thence they conclude: *Jupiter eſt  
quodcunque vides. Iovis omnia plena. Deum nempe ire per omnes terrasque  
tractusque maris calumque profundum.* If the Architeēt ſhould ſtill abide  
in the ſhippe, or caſtle, or houſe he had built, there were good hope it  
would not ſuddenly decay, becauſe hee would ſtill repaire and ſupply  
what hee found defective; what feare then of decay can there bee in  
this great houſe, where the maker is alwayes preſent, in all the parts  
thereof: which omnipreſence ſuſtaining & ſupporting all things, S. Grego-  
ry in the ſecond booke of his morals & 8<sup>th</sup> cap: hath after his manner  
elegantly deſcribed: *Egreſſusque eſt Satan à facie Domini, quid eſt quod Sa-  
tan à facie Domini egreſſus dicitur: quò enim exitur ab eo qui ubique eſt?  
Hinc namque ait: Calum & terram ego impleo: Hinc eſt quod ſapientia illius  
dicit, gyrum cali circumivi ſola. Hinc de ejus ſpiritu ſcriptum eſt: Spiritus  
Domini replevit orbem terrarum. Hinc eſt quòd Dominus dicit iterum: Ca-  
lum mihi ſedes eſt, terra autem ſcabellum pedum meorum. Hinc rurſum de eo  
ſcriptum eſt: calum metitur palmo, & omnem terram pugillo concludit. Sedi  
quippe cui præſidet interior & exterior manet. Calum palmo metiens, & ter-  
ram pugillo concludens oftenditur, quòd ipſe ſit circumquaque cunctis rebus,  
quas creavit exterior. id namque quòd interius concluditur, à concludente ex-  
terius continetur. Per ſedem ergo cui præſidet, intelligitur eſſe interius ſupraque  
per pugillum quo continet, exterius ſubterque ſignatur. Quia enim ipſe manet  
intra omnia, ipſe extra omnia, ipſe ſupra omnia, ipſe infra omnia, & ſuperior  
eſt per potentiam, & inferior per ſuſtentationem: exterior per magnitudinem,  
interior per ſubtilitatem: ſarſum regens, deorſum continens: extra circun-  
dans, interius penetrans, nec alia ex parte ſuperior, alia inferior, aut alia ex  
parte exterior, atque alia manet interior: Sed unus idemque totus ubique præſi-  
dendo ſuſtinens, ſuſtinendo præſidens, circumdando penetrans, penetrando cir-  
cumdans; unde ſuperius præſidens, inde inferius ſuſtinens, & unde exterius  
ambiens, inde interius replens, ſine inquietudine ſuperius regens, ſine labore  
inferius ſuſtinens, interius ſine extenuatione penetrans, exterius ſine extensione  
circundans.*

Love.

Fourthly the preſervation of the world from decay ſerves beſt for  
the illuſtration of his love. *Totus mundus pignus eſt Creatoris ſui*, ſaith  
Salvian, it is a pledge of his love to mankind, and to the other Crea-  
tures made for mans uſe, to perpetuate both them and their uſe, and in  
their perpetuation to make them like himſelfe. *Amor divinus rerum  
omnium*



omnium est principium, & vinculum universi (saith Divine Plato), amor Dei est nodus perpetuus, mundi copula, partiumque ejus sustentaculum, ac universae machinae fundamentum. The love of God to the world is as the love of a tender father to a dutifull sonne, whom he would indow no doubt with perpetuity if it lay in his power, as the most singular argument of his affection: Such then being the will of God, and of his power there being no question, it must needs follow, that *ex posse & velle sequitur esse*. The force and efficacie of this love springing from the fountaine of goodnesse, Piccolominie in his chapter de perfectione mundi hath well expressed: Prodyt (saith hee) *mundus ex ipso bono, nec alia ratione, nisi quia bonum, & propterea absoluti boni, ut sua conditio exposcebat, redditus fuit particeps: facundissimum est summum bonum, absolutissimus est mundus, qui est universus fetus ejus, cui cum nihil desit, etiam hoc mirabiliter competit, ut ei nunquam Deus desit; sed continenter a Deo regatur, servetur, refarciatur.*

Fifthly, the preservation of the world from decay, serves best for the illustration of his wisdom, who in an excellent and wonderfull manner hath so tempered and disposed his workes, that they all serve to uphold one another: by their warres hee maintaines their peace, and by their death their life. *Sapientia Dei magna et admirabilis in rerum creaturarum ac potissimum corruptibilium conservatione et duratione conspicitur, (saith Bellarmin,) de ascens: mentis ad Deum per scalas rerum creaturarum gradu 13°. And S. Augustin de Genesi ad literam lib: 4°. cap: 12°. Et quod scriptum est de sapientia ejus, pertingit a fine usque ad finem fortiter, et disponit omnia suaviter, de qua item scriptum est, quod motus ejus agilior celeriorque sit omnibus motibus, satis apparet recte intuentibus, hunc ipsum incomparabilem & ineffabilem, & si possit intelligi stabilem motum suum, rebus eam praebeere suaviter disponendus, quo utiq; subtracto si ab hac operatione cessaverit, eas continuo perituras. S. Basil likewise in his Hexameron Homil: 6. observes this admirable wisdom of the Creator, in the constant moderation of the sunnes warmth ordained for the cherishing and perpetuating of these inferiour bodies: Hoc loco sapientiam opificis animadvertas ipse perspiciasque velim: quomodo moderatissimum ad hoc intervallum accommodatissimumque praestiterit Soli calorem. Est enim in eo tanta caloris imprimendi facultas, ut neque ob exuperationem urat inflammetque tellurem: neque defectionis ratione refrigeratam eam gelidam infecundamque relinquat. Gregory Nyssen also the Brother of this great Basil, in his Commentaries de historia sex dierum, magnifies the same unspeakable wisdom in the constancy & stability of the glorious lights of heaven: Atque in sydere rursus non temerè atque fortuito unaquaque stella, quae in illa figura collocata est, vel hunc vel illum situm habet, sed aequaliter quo ea, quae naturaliter insita est ei, proprietates eam abduxit, illic manet, in immutabili constantia atque stabilitate, propria natura vi, juxta opificis sapientiam coercita atque circumscripta.*

As by his excellent wisdom hee made the heavens Psal. 136. 5. So the keeping both of them and the whole world safe and sound, still serves both as a witnesse to testifie, and as an Herald to proclaime the



the same incomparable wisdom to all succeeding generations. Were it not for oversights committed in playing at Chess, the game would never have an end; so that if a man could foresee in *infinitum*, the game likewise must needs be drawn out in *infinitum*. Now what is the whole world but as a great Chess-board, and all the Creatures therein as so many severall peeces of different degrees, different names, different shapes, different draughts or motions? all made and the play it selfe invented by the gamester, the supream and yet the immediate mover of them all. What marvaile then, if in regard of the severall kinds of things at first presented upon this table, their motions hitherto have beene, yet are, and ever shall be (till hee please to end the game himselfe) so ordered by the foresight and wisdom of their maker, that not so much as a pawne hath beene lost or disranked, nor possibly can be by all the power and policy of men, or Angels, or Divels or all of them conspiring together? they may perchance thrust a peece out of its ranke one way, but doe they what they can, it will fall into a just ranke another way; so that though the game seeme to be endangered to a stander by, who looks upon that particular peece, or some few others standing about it in a narrow compasse, yet the skilfull gamester as a *Master workeman* taking a generall view of all his peeces at once, and advisedly forecasting their dangers and their remedies, their hurts and their helps, their oppositions and concurrences, so orders the matter by setting the one against the other, and repairing the one by the other, that the whole still stands upright and is preserved intire. Which preservation and comlineffe of the whole by the divine wisdom, though seemingly endangered or obscured in the parts, the great wit of *S. Augustine* hath in many passages most lively and fully expressed; and because it is it, that deceives the greatest part of men in this controversie, I will vouch him at large in his owne words.

In his eleventh booke then de civitate Dei and 18<sup>th</sup> chapt. hee thus writes: Neque enim Deus ullum, non dico Angelorum, sed vel hominum crearet quem malum futurum esse præscisset, nisi pariter nosset, quibus eos bonorum usibus commodaret. Atque ita ordinem seculorum, tanquam pulcherrimum carmen etiam ex quibusdam quasi antithetis honestaret. Antitheta enim quæ appellantur in ornamentis elocutionis sunt decentissima, quæ latinè appellantur opposita: vel quod expressius dicitur contra posita. Non est apud nos hujus vocabuli consuetudo, cum tamen eisdem ornamentis locutionis, etiam sermo latinus utatur, imò linguæ omnium gentium. His antithetis etiam *Paulus* Apostolus in secundâ ad Corinth: epistolâ, illum locum suaviter explicat, ubi dicit: Per arma justitiæ a dextris & a sinistris, per gloriam & ignobilitatem, per infamiam & bonam famam, ut seductores & veraces: ut qui ignoramur & cognoscimur, quasi morientes & ecce vivimus: ut coerciti & non mortificati: ut tristes semper autem gaudentes: Sicut egeni multos autem ditantes: tanquam nihil habentes & omnia possidentes. Sicut ergo ista contraria contrariis opposita, sermonibus pul-



'pulchritudinem reddunt: *ita quadam non verborum sed rerum eloquentiâ,*  
*contrariorum oppositione, seculi pulchritudo componitur.* Apertissimè hoc  
 'positum est in libro Ecclesiastico, hoc modo: Contra malum bonum  
 'est, & contra mortem vita: sic contra pium peccator. Et sic intueri  
 'in omnia opera altissimi, bina & bina, unum contra unum. And againe  
 in his 12. booke cap. 4. Cæterum vitia pecorum & arborum, aliarumq;  
 'rerum mutabilium atq; mortalium, vel intellectu, vel sensu, vel vitâ om-  
 'nino carentium, quibus eorū dissolubilis natura corrumpitur, damna-  
 'bilia putare ridiculum est, cum istæ creaturæ eum modū nutu creatoris  
 'acceperint, ut cedendo, ac succedendo peragant infimam pulchritu-  
 'dinem temporum in genere suo istius mundi partibus congruentem.  
 'Neq; enim cælestibus fuerant terrena coæquanda: aut ideo universi-  
 'tati deesse ista debuerunt, quoniam sunt illa meliora. Cum ergo in his  
 'locis ubi talia esse competeat, alijs alia deficientibus oriuntur, & suc-  
 'cumbunt minora majoribus: atq; in qualitates superantium superata  
 'vertuntur, rerum est transeuntium. *Cujus ordinis decus propterea nos non*  
*delectat: quoniam parti ejus pro conditione nostra mortalitatis intexti: univer-*  
*sum, cui, particula quæ nos offendunt, satis aptè decenterq; conveniunt, sentire*  
*non possumus.* Vnde nobis, in quibus eam contemplari minus idonei su-  
 'mus, rectissimè credenda præcipitur providentia Conditoris, ne tanti  
 'artificis opus in aliquo reprehendere, vanitate humanæ temeritatis au-  
 'deamus. Quanquam & vitia rerum terrenarum non voluntaria neque  
 'pænalia, naturas ipsas, quarum nulla omninò est cujus non sit autor &  
 'conditor Deus, si prudenter attendamus eadem ratione commendant:  
 'quia & in eis hoc nobis per vitium tolli displicet, quod in natura pla-  
 'cet: nisi quia hominibus etiam ipsæ naturæ plerunque displicent, cum  
 'eis fiunt noxiæ: non eas considerantibus, sed utilitatem suam: sicut illa  
 'animalia quorum abundantia Ægyptiorum superbia vapulavit. Sed  
 'isto modo possunt ipsi & solem vituperare: quoniam quidam peccan-  
 'tes vel debita non reddentes, poni à iudicibus jubentur ad solem. *Non*  
*itaque ex commodo vel incommodo nostro, sed per seipsam considerata natura*  
*dat artifici suo gloriam.* Sic est & natura ignis æterni sine ullâ dubitati-  
 'one laudabilis, quamvis damnatis impijs futura pænalis. Quid enim  
 'est igne flammante, vigente, atque lucente pulchrius? quid calefacien-  
 'te, curante, coquente utilius? quamvis eo nihil sit urente molestius?  
 'Idem igitur ipse, pænaliter appositus perniciosus est, qui convenienter  
 'adhibitus commodissimus invenitur. Nam ejus in universo mundo  
 'commoda verbis explicare quis sufficit? nec audiendi sunt, qui lau-  
 'dant in igne lucem, ardorem autem vituperant: *videlicet non ex sui na-*  
*tura, sed ex suo commodo & incommodo,* videre enim volunt, ardere no-  
 'lunt. Sed parum attendunt eam ipsam lucem quæ certè & illis placet:  
 'oculis infirmis per inconvenientiam nocere: & illo ardore, qui eis dis-  
 'plicet, nonnulla animalia per convenientiam salubriter vivere.

And againe in his 16. booke cap. 8. Deus Creator est omnium, qui ubi  
 '& quando creari quid oporteat, vel oportuerit, ipse novit; sciens uni-  
 'versitatis pulchritudinem quarum partium, vel similitudine vel diver-  
 'sitate contexat. Sed qui totum inspicere non potest, tanquam deformi-  
 'tate partis offenditur, quoniam cui congruat & quo referatur ignorat.



*And againe in his first booke de ordine cap. 1<sup>o</sup>.* Sed hoc pacto si quis tam minutū cerneret, ut in vermiculato pavimento, nihil ultra unius tessellæ modulum acies ejus valeret ambire, vituperaret artificē velut ordinati-  
onis & compositionis ignarum: eo quod varietatē lapillorū perturbatā putaret, a quo illa emblemata in unius pulchritudinis faciem congruentia, simul cerni collustrarique non possent. *Nihil enim aliud minus eruditis hominibus accidit, qui universalium rerum coaptationem atque concentum imbecilla mente complecti & considerare non valentes, si quid eos offenderit, quia sua cogitationi magnum est, magnam rebus putant inherere fæditatem.* Cujus erroris maxima causa est, quòd homo sibiipsum est incognitus. qui tamen ut se noscat, magna opus habet consuetudine recedendi a sensibus, & animum in seipsum colligendi atque in seipso retinendi. Quod ij tantum assequuntur, qui plagas quasdam opinionum, quas vitæ quotidiana cursus infligit, aut solitudine minuunt, aut liberalibus medicant disciplinis. Ita enim animus sibi reditus, quæ sit pulchritudo universitatis intelligit, quæ profectò ab uno cognonimata est; Idircoque illam videre non licet animæ quæ in multa procedit secta. *And againe in his second booke cap: 4.* Namque omnis vita stultorum quamvis per eos ipsos minimè constans, minimeque ordinata sit, per divinam tamen providentiam, necessario rerum ordine includitur, & quasi quibusdam locis illā ineffabili & sempiternā lege dispositis, nullo modo esse finitur, ubi esse non debet. Ita fit ut angusto animo ipsam solam quisque considerans, veluti magna repercussus fæditate averferur. *Si autem mentis oculos erigens atque diffundens, simul universa collustret, nihil non ordinatum suisque semper veluti sedibus distinctum dispositumque reperiret.* *And againe in his fifth booke de vera religione cap. 40.* Ita ordinantur omnes officijs & finibus suis in pulchritudinem universitatis, ut quod horremus in parte, si cum toto consideremus; plurimum placeat: quia nec in ædificio judicando unum tantum angulum considerare debemus, nec in homine pulchro solos capillos, nec in benè pronunciante solum digitorum motum, nec in lunæ cursu aliquas tridui tantum figuras. Ita enim quæ propterea sunt infima quia partibus imperfectis tota perfectæ sunt, sive in statu, sive in motu pulchra sentiantur, tota consideranda sunt, si rectè volumus judicare. Verum enim nostrum judicium, sive de toto sive de parte judicet pulchrum est: universo quippe mundo superfertur, nec alicubi parti ejus in quantum verum judicamus, adhæremus. *Error autem noster parti adhærens ejus, ipse per se fædus est.*

*And againe in his first booke de Genesi contra Manichæos cap. 16.* solent etiam Manichæi movere questionem ut dicant: Quid opus erat ut tam multa animalia Deus faceret, sive in aquis, sive in terra, quæ hominibus non sunt necessaria? multa etiam pernitiola & timenda. Sed cum ista dicunt non intelligunt quemadmodum omnia pulchra sunt conditori & artifice suo, qui omnibus utitur ad gubernationem universitatis, cui summa lege dominatur. Si enim in alicujus opificis officinam imperitus intraverit, videt ibi multa instrumenta, quorum



quorum causas ignorat, et si multum est insipiens superflua putat.  
 Iam verò si in fornacem incautus ceciderit, aut ferramento aliquo a-  
 cuto, cum id malè tractet seipsum vulneraverit, etiam perniciofa et  
 noxia existimat ibi esse multa: quorum tamen ulum quoniam novit  
 artifex, insipientiam ejus arridit, et verba inepta non curans, offici-  
 nam suam constanter exercet. *Et tamen tam stulti sunt homines ut*  
*apud artificem hominem non audeant vituperare quæ ignorant, sed cum ea*  
*viderint credunt esse necessaria, ut propter usus aliquos instituta: in hoc*  
*autem mundo cujus conditor & administrator predicatur Deus, audent mul-*  
*ta reprehendere quorum causas non vident, & in operibus atque instrumentis*  
*omnipotentis artificis volunt se videri scire quod nesciunt.* Ego verò fa-  
 teor me nescire, mures & ranæ quare creata sint, aut muscæ aut  
 vermiculi, video tamen omnia in suo genere pulchra esse, quamvis  
 propter peccata nostra multa nobis videantur adversa. Non enim anima-  
 lis alicujus corpus & membra considero, ubi non mensuras & nu-  
 meros & ordinem inveniam ad unitatem concordia pertinerere. Quæ  
 omnia undè veniant non intelligo, nisi a summa mensura & numero  
 & ordine, quæ in ipsa Dei sublimitate incommutabili atque aterna con-  
 sistunt. *Quod si cogitarent loquacissimi, & ineptissimi, non nobis tedium*  
*facerent, sed ipsi considerando omnes pulchritudines & summas & infimas,*  
 Deum artificem ubique laudarent: & quoniam nusquam offendi-  
 tur ratio, sicubi fortè sensus carnalis offenditur, non rerum ipsarum  
 vitio, sed nostræ mortalitatis meritis imputarent. Et certè om-  
 nia animalia aut utilia nobis sunt, aut perniciofa, aut superflua. Ad-  
 versus utilia non habent, quid dicant. De perniciosiis autem vel  
 punimur, vel exercemur, vel terremur, ut non vitam istam multis  
 periculis & laboribus subditam, sed aliam meliorem ubi securitas  
 summa est diligamus & desideremus, ut eam nobis pietatis meritis  
 comparemus. De superfluis verò quid nobis est quærere? si tibi  
 displicet quod non profunt, placeat quòd non obsunt, *quid etsi do-*  
*mini nostra non sunt necessaria, eis tamen completur hujus universitatis in-*  
*tegritas, quæ multò major est quàm domus nostra, & multo melior.*  
 Hanc enim multò melius administrat Deus, quam unusquisque no-  
 strum domum suam. Vsurpa ergo utilia, cave perniciofa, relinque  
 superflua. In omnibus tamen mensuras & numeros & ordinem vi-  
 des, artificem quære; nec alium invenies nisi ubi summa mensura,  
 & summus numerus, & summus ordo est, id est, Deum, de quo ve-  
 rissime dictum est, quòd omnia in mensura in numero et pondere dis-  
 posuerit: sic fortasse uberiores capies fructum, cum Deum laudas in  
 humilitate formicæ, quàm cum transis fluvium, in alicujus jumenti al-  
 titudine.

*And againe cap. 21. of the same booke: Quod si manichæi considera-*  
*rent, laudarent universitatis authorē et conditorē Deum: et quod eos*  
*propter conditionem nostræ mortalitatis in parte offendit, regerent ad universi*  
*pulchritudinem, & viderent quemadmodum Deus fecerit omnia non solū bona,*  
*sed etiam bona valde.* Quin etiam in sermone aliquo ornato atque com-  
 posito si consideremus singulas syllabas, vel etiam singulas literas, quæ



‘cum sonuerint statim transeunt, non in eis inuenimus quid delectet  
 ‘atque laudandum sit. *Totus enim ille sermo non de singulis literis aut  
 syllabis, sed de omnibus pulcher est.* And lastly in his enarration in Psal.  
 ‘148. Quicquid ergo hic accidit contra voluntatem nostram, no-  
 ‘veris non accidere, nisi de voluntate Dei, de providentia ipsius,  
 ‘de nutu ipsius, de legibus ipsius: & si nos non intelligimus quid quare  
 ‘fiat, demus hoc providentiæ ipsius, quia non fit sine causa, & non  
 ‘blasphemabimus. Cum enim cæperimus disputare de operibus Dei:  
 ‘quare hoc, quare illud, & non debuit sic facere, malè fecit hoc,  
 ‘ubi est laus Dei? perdidisti halleluia, omnia sic considera, quomodo  
 ‘placeas Deo, & laudes artificem. Quia si intrares in officinam fortè  
 ‘fabri ferrarij, non auderes reprehendere folles, incudes, malleos;  
 ‘& da imperitum hominem nescientem quid quare sit, & omnia  
 ‘reprehendit. Sed si non habeat peritiam artificis, & habeat saltem  
 ‘considerationem hominis, quid sibi dicit? non sine causa hoc loco  
 ‘folles positi sunt artifex novit quare, & si ego non novi. *In offi-  
 cina non audeo vituperare fabrum, & audeo reprehendere in hoc mundo  
 Deum?*

And with the renowned *Augustin*, the golden-mouth’d *Chrysostome*  
 in his commentaries upon these words, Et erant valde bona, herein  
 resolutely accords: Igitur cum Deus, qui res ex nihilo ut essent  
 ‘produxit, eas bonas & *valde bonas dicit.* quis *tam insanus*, ut vel os  
 ‘aperire, & contradicere Dei verbis audeat? quoniam enim in visi-  
 ‘bilibus non solum lumen condidit, sed & tenebras adversas luci: &  
 ‘non solum diem, sed & noctem contrariam diei: & in seminibus  
 ‘quæ ex terra nascuntur, non solum herbas utiles, sed & perniciosas:  
 ‘& arbores non solum fructuosas, sed & infructuosas: & ani-  
 ‘malia non solum mansueta, sed & sylvestria & truculenta: & in his  
 ‘quæ aquæ produxerunt, non solum pisces, sed & cete & alias ma-  
 ‘rinas belluas. Et terra non solum habitabilis est, sed & inhabitabi-  
 ‘lis. & non solum planicies sunt & campi, sed etiam montes & colles.  
 ‘& inter aves non solum domesticæ & altilis, sed & feræ, nullumque  
 ‘commodum per se afferentes, & milvi & vultures, & aliæ quædam.  
 ‘Preterea in his quæ terra profert, non sunt tantum mansueta et inno-  
 ‘xia animalia: Sed et serpentes et viperæ et dracones, et leones, et  
 ‘pardii. Quin et in aere non solum pluvie et venti utiles sed et grandines  
 ‘et nives. Et si quis singula pertractare vellet, multa in unaquaque crea-  
 ‘turarum inveniet, quæ non solum non utilia, sed et nociva existimentur.  
 ‘et ideo ut nulli posthac liceat ob creaturas accusare conditorem et  
 ‘dicere, quare hoc et hoc? ad quid istud? hoc bene factum est, hoc non  
 ‘benè: sacra scriptura omnes *ingratè obloqui*, ut ita dicam, tentantes  
 ‘compescitura, sexto die absolutis creaturis omnibus, inquit: Et *vidit  
 Deus omnia quacunque fecit, & ecce valde bona.* Quid igitur obsecro par-  
 ‘fuerit tam fidelibus testimonijs? cui iustius fides habenda quam con-  
 ‘ditori, qui ipse calculum suum affert, et dicit: Omnia quæcunq; facta  
 ‘sunt, bona sūt et valde bona? Quocirca cum videris aliquē, qui suis rati-  
 ‘onibus motus, obloqui divinæ scripturæ audeat, *eum quasi insannum aver-*  
 imò



imò ne aduerferis, sed *miserus ignorantia* ejus, cita quod ait divina Scriptura, & dicit: vidit Deus omnia quæcūq; fecit & dixit, ecce valde bona. Fortassis indomitam illius linguam continere poteris. Nam si in humanis rebus, cum videmus viris gravibus ea quæ fiunt probari, calculo illorum non obstitimus, sed adstipulamur, & illorum sententiam proprio judicio & operi præferimus; quanto magis in his visibilibus, quæ a Deo omnium opifice facta sunt, hoc fieri oportet, præsertim cum ab ipso met sua de his acceperimus sententiam? Proinde *sopiantur rationes nostræ*, & nihil illi ultra præferatur: idoneis autem & crebris argumentis persuasum sit, quod omnia ratione quadam & misericordia ab eo producta sint, et in summa nihil temerè et absque causa factum. Verum licet nos ob nostræ rationis imbecillitatē, ignoremus factorum causam: ipse tamen juxta suam sapientiam et potentissimam misericordiam omnia produxit.

By all which I trust it sufficiently appears, that whatsoever any man doth or can object against the order, or vigour of the parts of the world yet in the whole is no defect or decay to be found, nor yet in the parts themselves, as they serve for the making up of the whole; though to our darke understandings and weake judgements, looking through the false Spectacles of distempered affections, it happily appeare otherwise, which may in part serve to excuse mee, If I doe not in all points fully satisfy all doubtes, which in all controversies are many, but in this being of so vast an extent, must needs be infinite.

Sixthly the preservation of the world from decay, serves best for the illustration of his Power; as the decay of the worke argues the impotēcy of the workeman: So doth the long continuance thereof without decay argue his power. During the space of fortie yeares travell through the wilderness, the garments of the *Israelites* waxed not old upon their backs, nor their shoes upon their feet: Deut the 29. 5. this shewed the Power of that great God who conducted them; much more then his preserving of the world from decay. Look how much the most sumptuous and stately Pallaces of Princes exceed the Cottages of Peasants, or the houses of Noblemen contrived by the skilfullest Architects, for the honour of their name, excell the houses of cards set up by children, which the touch of a finger, or a puff of breath suddenly overturnes. So much & more by many degrees doth this house, which almighty God by his infinite power hath built, and richly furnished for the Sonnes of men, exceed and excell not onely in magnificence, but in duration, all buildings that by them have beene or possibly can be erected. That which *Nabucadnezzar* vainely spake touching the citty hee dwelt in, Is not this great *Babylon* that I have built by the might of my power, and for the honour of my Majesty? may truly and justly be applied unto God in the building of this great and goodly frame. Now the buildings of men whose breath is in their nostrils, may last for some thousands of years, (as I conceive *Babylon* did) & shall we allow no more for the building of the immortall God, set up purposely to declare his glory as the *Psalmist* speaks, or that men might therein contemplate his eternall power and Godhead as the Apostle? Quod si ejus sunt opera perennia

Power.



‘multò magis ipse & perennis & potens, *saitb S. Chrysostome Homilia in*  
 ‘Psal: 147. in illa verba, qui fecit cælum & terram mare & omnia quæ  
 in eis sunt. *The durable strength of this building Alstedius in his Preface*  
*to his naturalis Theologia eloquently describes:* Tanta est hujus pala-  
 ‘tij diuturnitas & firmitas, ut ad hodiernum usque diem supra annos  
 ‘quingies mille & sexcentos creatus ita perstet, ut in eo *nihil immuta-*  
*tum, diminutum, aut vetustate et diuturnitate tēporis vitiatum conspiciamus.*  
 ‘Quis non miretur motuum cælestium æquabilitatem, syderum circui-  
 ‘tus certos, terræ quietem, & tam multarum atq; tantarum rerum ordi-  
 ‘nes, quasi circino distinctos & æquatos? Quæ quæso urbs est inexpug-  
 ‘nabilis? quæ tandem res manu hominis facta machinamentis everti  
 ‘non potest? at quos arietes, quæ tormenta huic amplissimæ, munitissi-  
 ‘mæq; urbi adhibebimus? quæ tela, quæ saxa in eam contorquebimus?  
 ‘quibus eam copijs adoriemur? qua obsidione cingemus? quibus insidijs  
 ‘in potestatem adducemus? Adamantina & invicta est. Non ut alia  
 ‘quæ quodam tempore florentissimæ fuerunt, nunc prostratæ & solo  
 ‘æquatæ jacent, sic illa brevi jacebit, *cum nexus, compages et vincula ejus*  
*sint firmissima.*

‘And Bellarmin de ascens. mentis ad Deum per scalas creaturarum  
 ‘gradu 11<sup>o</sup>. *from this durable strength of the Creature as strongly infer-*  
*res the almighty power of the Creator:* Iam verò longitudo potentia di-  
 ‘vinæ cernitur in eo, quod cum omnibus quæ Deus fecit, ipse assidue  
 ‘cooperatur, nec fatigatur cooperando, nec fatigabitur in æternum:  
 ‘Siquidem potentia ista Dei nec minui, nec debilitari, nec frangi ullo  
 ‘modo potest, cum sit cum verâ æternitate conjuncta, vel potius ipsa sit  
 ‘veræ divinitatis æternitas. Mirantur multi, quomodo possint Sol &  
 ‘luna, & stellæ tanto tempore & tanta celeritate moveri ab ortu ad oc-  
 ‘casum, & in circulos suos sine ulla intermissione reverti: & sanè res ef-  
 ‘fet omni admiratione dignissima, nisi sciremus, ea deferri ab omnipo-  
 ‘tente Deo, qui portat omnia verbo virtutis suæ. Miratur alij quomodo  
 ‘fieri possit, ut in gehenna vel ignis non consumatur æterno tempore  
 ‘comburendo, vel corpora infelicitum illorum æterno tēpore ardentia  
 ‘non dissolvantur. Sed & hoc non mirabile solum sed etiam impossi-  
 ‘bile judicari posset, nisi qui ignem illum sic ardere semper facit, ut nū-  
 ‘quam extinguatur, & qui corpora miserorum in igne illo ita conservat,  
 ‘ut semper crucientur, & nunquam consumantur, Deus esset omnipo-  
 ‘tens & æterhus. Mirantur alij denique quòd Deus omnia portet, ac  
 ‘sustentet, nec fatigetur portando & sustentando tam ingentem molem  
 ‘ponderis propemodū infiniti. Potest enim robustus homo, aut equus,  
 ‘aut bos, aut elephante magnum pondus ad modicum tempus gerere,  
 ‘vel ad tempus breve onus gravissimum ferre: Sed pondus maximum  
 ‘æterno tempore sine fatigatione portare, superat vires omnium rerum  
 ‘creatarum. Sed ij jure mirarentur, si Deus vires haberet in pondere, &  
 ‘mensura, ut omnes creatæ res habent; sed cum vires Dei planè mensu-  
 ‘ram omnem excedant, & sit ipse omni ex parte infinitus, mirum non  
 ‘est, si robur infinitum, molem quantumvis gravem infinito tempore  
 ‘sine fatigatione perferat. Dicamus ergo cum sancto Propheta Mose,  
 ‘Quis similis tui in fortibus Domine?

‘Let



Let us not then be so foolish as to measure the greatnesse of his power by the weakenesse of our capacities, or by the resemblance and proportion taken from our works; the difference is greater then betweene *Rome* in her height, and the poore Village the silly shepheard in his fancy compared with it.

*Urbem quam dicunt Romam, Melibæe putavi  
Stultus ego huic nostra similem.*

His wayes are not as our wayes, neither are his thoughts as our thoughts; but as his wayes are unsearchable, so his thoughts are past finding out; And his power every way answerable to his wayes, and his thoughts; and his workes in some sort proportionable to his wayes, his thoughts, and his power.

Seventhly, the preservation of the world from decay serves best for the illustration of his truth; nay in very deede I cannot see how his truth can well stand with such a decay as is pretended, his truth I meane consisting in the certaintie of his promises made to *mankinde*, to his Church the noblest part of *mankinde*, to *Christ* the head of the Church, and all three confirmed by the stabilitie of the Creature. The first of these made to *mankinde* in generall wee have recorded. *Gen. 8. 22.* While the earth remaineth seed time, and harvest, and cold, and heate, and summer and winter, and day and night shall not cease: upon which words *Musculus* thus Commenteth. *Deinde admonemur etiam hoc loco, unde sit quod istorum vicissitudo, tam constanti & infracto ordine, tot jam sacula permanet: fit hoc nec nostro merito, nec natura viribus, sed totum quicquid est divina bonitatis constitutioni debetur, quam nobis Moles in isto oraculo Dei considerandam proponit. Quod nos attinet, non sumus meliores illis hominibus propter quorum malitiam Deus hac omnia unius anni spatio per diluvium sustulit: quod natura vires concernit in diluvio declaratum est, non constare ista aliquo natura robore, sed voluntate Dei, cui omnis natura tam virtus quam ordo cedere cogitur. Veritas itaque pacti huius, quo post diluvium Deus istam sementis & messis, frigoris & aestus, aestatis & hyemis, noctis ac diei vicissitudinem, initio quidem mundi inductam, postea verò propter malitiam cordis humani sublatam, in integrum restituit, & confirmavit, anni cursum in eo servat ordine, quem singulis annis videmus & experimur. Qua in re admoneri possumus, quam sit firma & infracta pactorum Dei veritas, usque adeò videlicet, ut in hunc usque diem, nulla quantumvis immodica, mortalium malitia infringi potuerit.*

The second of these promises made to his Church wee have registred, *Ierem. 31. v. 35. 36.* Thus saith the Lord, which giveth the Sun for a light by day, and the ordinances of the Moone, and of the Starres for a light by night, which divideth the Sea when the waters thereof roare, the Lord of hostes is his name. If those ordinances depart from before me, saith the Lord, then the seed of *Israel* shall also cease from being a nation before me for ever. Vpon which words *S. Hierome* thus writeth: *Quomodo, inquit, rerum & maximè celestium astrorum non potest ordo mutari; sic semen & genus Israelis, Domini voluntate erit perpetuum, nec aliquando deficiet.* And *Bullinger* to like purpose: *leges vel statuta, inquit, dedi, soli, luna, & stellis, ortus inquam*



& occasus eorum: oriuntur enim & occidunt illa certâ lege quam acceperunt à Domino. Iam si possibile est illa, lege suâ desertâ non facere illa ad quâ condita: certè possibile erit, ut cesset Ecclesia, nec sit amplius populus Dei in terris. Caterum impossibile est ut astra illa relicta sua lege non faciant id ad quod sunt condita: impossibile est itaque deficere Ecclesiam.

His third promise made to Christ as head of the Church wee have expressed; *Psal. 89. v. 29. 36. 37.* His seede also will I make to endure for ever: and his throne as the dayes of heaven. His seede shall endure for ever, and his throne as the Sun before mee. It shall be established for ever as the Moone: and as a faithfull witnesse in heaven. The first of which verses *Mollerus* thus unfoulds: *per Dies cælorum* notat æternam durationem, in terris nihil est quod constet aut duret perpetuò: solum hoc regnum, quia est cæleste, non prius desinit, quam qua in cælis sunt pereant aut evanescent: id est, nunquam. Cœlestia enim mutationis aut interitus sunt expertia. And the two latter thus: *Solem igitur & lunam* quoties intuemur, veniat nobis in mentem hujus promissionis, ut hac corpora videmus nunquam mutari: ita statuamus promissionem de hoc regno factam esse firmam & ratam. *Iansenius* likewise thus paraphrases the one: & durare faciam posteritatem ejus in omne ævum: & solium regni ejus tam diuturnum faciam quàm erunt dies cæli. And the other thus: Neque posteritas ejus tantum, sed solium regni ejus tam erit stabile & diuturnum, tam etiam clarum, quàm est ipse sol in conspectu meo: regnum ejus imperpetuum erit clarum, sicut luna perfecta tempore plenilunij; perpetuoque subsistit sicut luna quæ facta est ut in æternum perduret. Et ne quis vanas fore credat has pollicitationes, horum omnium testem fidelem in cælo constituo solem scilicet ac lunam: omniaque astra quæ pollicitationis meæ stabile signum esse volo, ut his durantibus, omnes intelligant regnum ejus certissimò duraturum. Finally the Bishop of Galloway in his exposition of those words, *Psal. 119. v. 89.* O Lord thy word endureth for ever in heaven: rendereth this reason of them. The other cause (saith he) why he so speakes, is that this visible frame of the heaven, stands as an eternall witnesse of the verity of Gods word, that hee will not retreat, nor call backe that which hee speakes: for hee once commanded the heavens to bee, and incontinent they were, and ever since continue.

equitie:

Eightly, the preservation of the world from decay, serves best for the illustration of his justice and equitie. That which the Psalmist speakes of the righteous, *Psal. 92. 14. 15.* may not unfitly bee applyed to the Creatures, and the generations of the world succeeding each other: They shall bring forth fruit in old age, they shall be flourishing, to shew that the Lord is upright. The heavens cease not to preach the glory of their and our maker to us, as effectually as they did to the generation living in the Prophet *David's* time; his eternall power and Godhead are still as clearly scene by the things that were made, as they were in *S. Paul's* time: the booke is still open, and the letters as legible, if wee have the eyes to see them, the wisdom and grace to reade them and make use of them; as 'tis written of *S. Anthonie*: *Quarenti cuidam quo pacto vitam sustentare posset, orbatu eo solatio quod ex libris capere posset; Meus (inquit) o philosophe liber est natura rerum à Deo conditarum.* In this booke wee may as well reade



reade his eternitie, his immutabilitie, his ubiquitie, his love, his wisdom, his power, his truth as former ages have done, and in case wee doe it not, are still as inexcusable as they were. That which the Apostle speakes of the generations before him: *Acts 14.17.* is likewise applyable to all ages since him; *Neverthelesse, hee left not himselfe without witnesse, in that he did good, and gave us raine from heaven, and fruitfull seasons, filling our hearts with foode and gladnesse.* Which assertion that it may as truely bee verified of all succeeding generations *S. Chrysostome* notably teacheth us *Homil. in Psal. 144. in illa verba, Generatio & generatio laudabit opera tua. Hoc est, non uno solum tempore facta sunt & praterierunt, neque in duobus aut tribus annis, sed per universum præsens sæculum extenduntur, ita ut unaquæque generatio ejus opera contempletur. Hoc est enim generatio & generatio.* Et quæ est (inquit) & quæ sequitur, & quæ post illam futura est, & quæ rursus post eam, & unaquæque earum quæ sequuntur, & rursus creatura, quæ hoc omni tempore similiter extenditur, nempe cælum, terra, mare, aër, lacus, fontes, fluvij, semina, planta, herba & quæ ex ijs capiuntur beneficia, natura cursus qui nunquam interrumpitur, imbres, & temporum vicissitudines constanti & certo ordine assidue procedentes, nox, dies, sol, luna, astra alia omnia. And *S. Augustine* enarr. in *Psal. 148.* to much like purpose: *Omnibus ergo locis Deus, regionibus, temporibus, sua quæque distribuit & ordinavit: & longum est commemorare diligentiores considerationem omnium rerum. Quis illum explicat: tamen qui oculos habent, multa ibi vident, cum viderint placent, cum placuerint laudantur, non tanquam ipsa, sed ille qui fecit ita omnia laudabunt Deum.*

Wherewith that which *Zanchius* in his fifth booke *De operibus Dei*, quest. 4. hath set downe by way of *Thesis*, well accords: *Terra mater omnium est, fecundissima, optima, indefessa, patientissima, constantissima, fidelissima, liberalissima: ac proinde talis, quæ omnium optimè naturam ingeniumque Dei nobis representet.* It is still full of the goodnesse and bounty, and riches of the Lord, and still calls upon us for thankfulness, which in case we performe not, it still condemnes us of ingratitude.

Lastly, the preservation of the world from decay, serves best for the illustration of his excellent and glorious beauty, the world being by him made to represent himselfe, the fresher and fairer the lustre thereof remaines, the more lively it represents him: as a picture and looking-glasse the clearer and cleaner it is kept from dust and spots, the better it represents the face it was made to expresse. For by the greatnesse and beauty of the Creatures proportionably the maker of them is seene. *Wisd. 13.5.* If then by tract of time the Creature should be soiled with dust & spots as is pretended, how can it be but in regard of us and our apprehension drawne from the contemplation of the Creature, the beauty of the Creatour should likewise in some sort and degree bee eclipsed and obscured: as we conceive of the person whom we never saw, by the colours and figures of the statue made to resemble him. Whereupon as *Alexander* would be painted by none but by *Apelles*, and carved or graven by none but by *Leucippus*: So *Queene Elizabeth* (as witnesseth *Sr Walter Rawley* in his preface prefixed to his historie of the world) commanded that all the pictures made of her by the hands of unskilfull and

Beautie.



and common Painters, should bee knockt in peeces and cast into the fire, because they knew that the greatest part would judge of their persons whom they saw not, by the images and representations which they saw. In like manner the great Creatour, and sole Monarch of heaven and earth, hath given charge that no image shall be made to represent him by the art of man, having so fully & lively pourtraied himselfe (according to the modell of our capacities) in this great & goodly table of the world, continually exposed to the publique and common view of all the inhabitants thereof; that to draw him forth by the most exquisite cunning of humane art, is but to dishonour him, and that in an high degree. Which S. *Augustine* well considering in his enarration upon those words, *Psal. 148. Confessio ejus in cælo & terra*, no lesse piously then wittily draweth us up from the view of the beauty of the Creature, to the incomprehensible and incomparable beauty to bee found in the fountaine and authour thereof: *Quid est confessio ejus in cælo & in terra? quia ipse confitetur? Non, sed quia illum omnia confitentur, omnia clamant, omnium pulchritudo quodammodo vox eorum est confitentium Deum. Clamat cælum Deo, tu me fecisti non ego. Clamat terra tu me condidisti non ego. Quomodo ergo clamant ista? quando considerantur, & hoc invenitur, ex tua consideratione clamant, ex voce tua clamant. Confessio ejus in cælo & in terrâ: Attende cælum pulchrum est: Attende terram pulchra est: utrumque simul valde pulchrum est. Ipse fecit, ipse regit, ipsius nutu gubernantur: ipse trajicit tempora, momenta ipse instaurat, per seipsum instaurat: Omnia ergo ista laudant illum, sive in statu, sive in motu, sive in terra deorsum, sive de cælo sursum, sive in vetustate, sive in renovatione. Cum vides hæc & gaudes, & attolleris in artificem, & invisibilia ejus per ea quæ facta sunt intellecta contueris, confessio ejus in cælo & in terra, id est, confiteris ei de rebus terrenis, confiteris ei de rebus caelestibus, & quia ipse fecit omnia, & melius illo non est aliquid, quicquid fecit intra illum est, & quicquid in his tibi placet, minus est quàm ipse. Non ergo ita tibi placeat quod fecit, ut recedas ab eo qui fecit, sed si amas quod fecit, multo magis eum qui fecit. Si pulchra sunt quæ fecit, quanto magis pulchrior est qui fecit.*

As he made all things, and still keepes them being made in number, weight and measure, from whence arises so excellent an harmonie, that *Maximus Tyrius* doubted not to affirme. *Natura est perfectissima harmonia*; and *Tresmegistus*, *musicam nosce nihil aliud est quam cunctarum rerum ordinem scire*: So *Anselme in Prosolog. cap. 17.* lifts up his soule from this harmonie and musicke in the Creatures, to seeke and admire it in the Creatour: *habet hæc in te (saith he) tuo ineffabili modo, qui ea dedisti rebus à te creatis suo sensibili modo*

And so doth *Hugo de Sancto Victore*, in his 7<sup>th</sup> booke *De eruditione Didascalica cap. 4.* *Consideremus & nos quanta sint mirabilia Dei & pulchritudinem rerum conditarum, queramus pulchrum illum pulchrorum omnium pulcherrimum, quod tam mirabile & ineffabile est ut ad ipsum omnis pulchritudo transitoria, & si vera sit comparabilis esse non possit.*

Which hee seemes to have borrowed from S. *Augustine, De Civit. Dei, lib. 11. cap. 4.* *Exceptis Prophetis vocibus mundus ipse ordinatissima sua mutabilitate & mobilitate, & visibilium omnium pulcherrimâ specie, quodam.*



*quodammodo tacitus & factum se esse, & non nisi à Deo ineffabiliter atque invisibiliter magno, & ineffabiliter atque invisibiliter pulchro fieri se potuisse proclamat.*

Or from *Naxianzen, Orat. 2. de Theologiâ. Sicut qui citharam affabrè structam conspicit, ejusque suavissimum concentum audit, ipsum cytharæ artificem & cytharadum mente reputat, licet sibi de facie ignotum: ita qui mundi hanc harmoniam pulcherrimam intuetur, mundum à divino conditore factum intelligit, quamvis eum non videat.*

I have done with mine affirmation, that the preservation of the world from decay, stands more with the Divine Providence then the admission of a decay, in as much as it makes more for the illustration of the eternitie, the immutabilitie, the ubiquitie, the love, the wisdom, the power, the truth, the equitie, the beauty of the maker thereof; all which I take to be sufficiently proved aswell by reason as authority, and consequently my title sufficiently vindicated.

### CHAP. 3. Ob. 2.

*That the greatest part of the Schoolemen and Christian Philosophers are against mee; the contrary whereunto is proved, aswell by their testimonies as their axiomes.*

**I** Will be bold to say that let them stand to their owne Principles, and not one of twenty can dissent from me, unlesse he will first dissent from himselfe.

It is an axiome universally received in all the Schooles of Christendome, and (as I conceive) not more generall then true, that in the course of Nature. *Generatio unius est corruptio alterius*, and so againe *vice versa, corruptio unius est generatio alterius*; nay corruption is none otherwise by nature intended, but to make way for generation; the reason whereof is grounded upon the condition of the first matter, which cannot subsist without some forme to actuate it, and that two specificall formes cannot consist in the same subject; from whence it consequently followes, that in the course of nature, there must necessarily be spunne out a perpetuall and never fayling succession of generations and corruptions, (in things I meane corruptible and generable) or the first matter contrary to its naturall condition, must subsist without any forme, or be annihilated which Philosophie as much abhorres; the turning of something into nothing, being equivalent to the making of something out of nothing, and they both equally distant from natures reach. Now to say then that nature is, and for these many thousand yeares hath bin irrecoverably sicke of a languishing consumption, and yet that there may, and in the course of nature must be a never failing thread, or rather chaine of generations and corruptions, interchangeably succeeding each other by reciprocall and alternative turnes, is doubtlesse a contradiction irreconciliable, as containing two propositions evidently incompatible; whereof the one is, That the world in the course of nature may have an end, the other, that it cannot: which two let any Schooleman



Schooleman or Philosopher by the best strength of his wit knit together, or loose my knot; *Et erit mihi magnus Apollo.* Lucretius himselfe who in one place maintaines a decay, (as in mine *Apologie* I have shewed) is so pressed with the force of this Argument, that in another place hee manifestly contradicts himselfe, as may appeare in these ensuing verses:

*Quoniam minui rem quamque videmus:  
Et quasi longinquo fluere omnia cernimus ævo,  
Ex oculisque vetustatem subducere nostris:  
Cum tamen incolumis videatur summa manere,  
Propterea quia quæ decedunt corpora quoique,  
Vnde abeunt, minuunt: quo venere augmine donant:  
Illa senescere, at hæc contra florescere cogunt:  
Nec remorantur ibi. Sic rerum summa novatur  
Semper, & inter se mortales mutua vivunt:  
Augescunt alia gentes, alia minuuntur:  
Inque brevi spatio, mutantur sæcla animantium,  
Et quasi cursores vitæ lampada tradunt.  
Si cessare putas rerum primordia posse,  
Cessandoque novos rerum progignere motus:  
Avius à verâ longè ratione vagaris.*

And Lambin in his Commentaries upon these words, *sic rerum summa novatur* gives this note. *Quia quod ex uno decedit alteri accedit: & ortus unius alterius est interitus, ita quædam æternitas quoad ejus fieri potest, per successionem rerum conservatur.*

Another common Principle of the Schoolemen and Philosophers is, that, *Corpora cælestia peregrina impressionis non sunt receptiva.* In which position both Thomas and Scotus accord, and so doe all their followers, as appeares by the testimonie of *Sixtus Senensis Biblioth. Sancta lib. 6. Annot. 245.* *Huic sententiæ omnis recentium Theologorum schola adversatur, præsertim verò in his quæ spectant ad corpora cælestia: hæc enim idcirco perpetua & incorruptibilia esse ostendunt, quoniam substantiam habent à quatuor elementorum substantia diversam, omnisque peregrina impressionis expertem: & quia tot sæculorum lapsibus ita permanferint incorruptibilia, ut nullum senescentiæ præbuerint indicium, nihilque de eorum magnitudine, aut pulchritudine temporis injuria consumpserint.* As also of *Fu- ardensius in Iran. lib. 4. cap. 4.* *Huic opinioni reclamant omnes tam philosophorum quàm theologorum schola, fortissimisque argumentis contendunt, Corpora cælestia prorsus esse incorruptibilia, & in sempiternum mansura.*

Now if the heavens which by sensible experience, and the free acknowledgement of all, are found to be by infinite degrees the greatest and noblest part of the world, in the opinion of the Schoolemen and Philosophers, remaine unaltered since their Creation for motion, light, warmth, or influence, how can they withall maintaine a perpetuall and universall decay in all the parts thereof, without a manifest contradiction?

A third common Principle of the Schoolemen and Philosophers is, that these sublunarie bodies receive their formes, their faculties, their operations,



operations, their lustre, their order, their vigour, from the coelestiall, so that if there be no decay in the one, neither can there be in the other, the first matter (upon which the heavens worke) being still the same in all respects, and as capable of all formes as ever, the originall fountaines from which all operations spring.

A fourth common Principle of the Schoolemen and Philosophers is, that *Creation* and *Conservation* differ not really but rationally; Conservation being nothing else but a continuation of Creation, or rather a creation continued. Which being so, from thence it followes, that at leastwise for the maine integrall parts of the world, that is, the heavens, the elements, and the severall species of mixt bodies; they are still as fresh and vigorous by vertue of the divine *Conservation*, as if they had beene but now created, and consequently cannot admit of a decay.

A fifth common Principle of the Schoolemen and Philosophers is, that the end of things is proportioned to their beginning, so that whatsoever hath no beginning can have no end; whatsoever hath a beginning may have an end. Whatsoever hath a beginning after a naturall manner, shall have a naturall end; and lastly whatsoever hath a beginning after a manner metaphysicall and supernaturall, shall have a supernaturall and metaphysicall end; neither can it end otherwise but by the same power that gave it a being in a supernaturall manner. Since then the world was not at first made after a naturall manner, neither can it end by a naturall meanes, as in reason it might, and in continuance of time must, should wee grant in all the parts thereof a perpetuall decay.

A sixth common Principle of the Schoolemen and Philosophers is, that as *Moses* was to frame the tabernacle according to that patterne which he saw in the mount; so Almighty God created this world according to that *Archetype* or *mundus intelligibilis* as they call it, that mould which was eternally and still is in the Creatour himselfe.

--- Tu cuncta superno  
Ducis ab exemplo, pulchrum pulcherrimus ipse  
Mundum mente gerens, similique ab imagine formans,  
Perfectasque jubes perfectum absolvere partes.

Boethius lib. 3.  
met. 9.

So that this world being shaped in all points according to that modell, and for so much as concerns the worke of God, most exactly answering thereunto, it can no more by tract of time swarve from its native perfection, then can the samplar from which it was first copied forth.

A seventh common Principle of the Christian Philosophers is, that the fire is still *calidus ad octo*, hot in the highest and extreamest degree, and consequently that it now burnes as fiercely, *ceteris paribus*, inhering in, and working on matter equally disposed, as it did at the first Creation; from whence it is apparent that it still holdes fast, and hath lost nothing of that active and masculine efficacie, which originally was conferr'd upon it; and if the fire have lost nothing, why should

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we imagine that the aire, or the water, or the earth, or those bodies which are compounded of them have lost any thing: or if they should loose their strength more and more by degrees as is pretended, and the fire should retaine its full force, it cannot bee but by long wraffling, even in the course of nature, the whole world would at last be turned into fire, which though some of the ancient Philosophers held, yet no Christian that I know at this day maintaines.

An eighth common Principle of our Philosophers is, that considering nature will by no meanes admit of the annihilation of any thing, whatsoever is lost to one must of necessity be gained to another, that so the ballance may bee kept upright; to say then the severall species of men, of beasts, of fowles, of fishes, of vegetables, nay the elements themselves are much decayed, and degenerated both in quantitie and qualitie, and yet to assigne nothing that is thereby made either bigger in the one, or better in the other, what is this but apparently to crosse that Principle, and upon the matter, though perchance unawares to grant the annihilation of something.

Finally, hee that shall attentively peruse the large and learned discourses of our Philosophers touching the admirable perfection of the world, and advisedly weigh their Arguments drawne from the name thereof both in *Greeke* and *Latine*, from the definition, the figure, the efficient, the end, the order, the beauty, the harmonie, the connexion, aswell of the whole as of the parts, and that not as it was created, but as now they finde it, will easily be perswaded that either they must be on my side, or thwart both themselves and the truth. Yet can it not bee denied but that some of them (carried along as it should seeme in the common streame) to prove that the world should have an end bring in the decay thereof, but somewhat coldly and faintly, not as a demonstration to evince, but as a conjecturall reason to induce it; Whereas could but this one point be soundly & sufficiently proved, there would need no more arguments against *Aristotles* eternity, it would alone serve as a twohand sword, to wound him with both edges, and to make it evident to the eye of sense & naturall reason, that the world both had a beginning and shall have an end. But considering none of the ancient Philosophers or the Fathers of the Christian Church, ever used this sword against him, truly it made me greatly suspect, that there was little force therein, and that they who used it, did it rather out of zeale to the religion they professed, then out of soundnes of judgement; not observing in the meane time how whiles they fought against *Aristotle* in the point of eternity, they joyned hands, and tooke part with *Epicurus* and his adherents in the opinion of decay, and thereby carryed at leastwise a semblance of favour to his chance and fortune, and so blemished that Providence which they professed. This the witty *Aquinas* undoubtedly foresaw, & therefore in his disputing against *Aristotles* eternity, doth not so much as offer to produce this argument drawne from the worlds decay, but his conclusion is *parte prima quest. 46. art. 2. mundum incepisse sola fide tenetur, nec demonstrativè hoc sciri potest, sed id credere maxime expedit.* And that which hee there affirmes touching the



the beginning of the world, is alike applyable to the end thereof. *Et hoc utile est* (saith he) *ut consideretur ne forte aliquis demonstrare præsumens, rationes non necessarias inducat, quæ præbeant materiam irridendi infidelibus existimantibus nos propter hujusmodi rationes credere quæ fidei sunt.* He was in a manner the father and founder both of Schoole-divinitie and Christian Philosophie, and very much it is that he hath written in both kindes, as also in Commentaries upon sundry parts of the Scripture; yet to my remembrance I never observed throughout the large body of his workes, so much as one word touching upon the worlds decay, but many passages to the contrary, as often as hee comes to speake of the nature of the heavens, of the dependance of these inferiour bodies upon the heavens, of the divine Providence in the government of the Creatures, of the conservation of the species of all things, of the transmutation of the elements, and lastly of that wonderfull order, which the wisdom of the Almighty hath set aswell in the conducting, as the contriving of all the peeces, and parcells, and particles of this goodly frame which wee call the world; And truely for mine owne part I can not well conceive how there should be an universall and perpetuall deficiencie in their operations, and not thereupon ensue a generall confusion in their order; in as much as the stabilitie of their operations is it which maintaines their order: And againe, the constancie of their order is it which perpetuates the vigour of their operations.

I now come to the particular testimonies of the Christian Philosophers, and those none of the meanest ranke, who freely and clearly oppose themselves against the opinion of the worlds decay, and the dissolubilitie thereof in the course of nature.

*Franciscus Piccolomineus in Academia Patavinâ  
Philosophus primus, de mundo cap. 23.*

*Natura semper ubique est eadem, cœli virtus cœtera servans confirmata est, & nulla unquam in cœlo apparuit varietas; accidit tamen quod homines cum senescunt, quia ipsi debilitantur & in deterius labuntur, putant cunctis id ipsum competere, solum adest aliqua varietas & mutatio in hominibus viventibus secundum rationem modò in deterius, modò in melius.*

*Idem cap. 25.*

*Quoniam principium originis mundi longè abest à nobis, & ejus creatio superat naturæ vires, per cujus opera elevantur Philosophi ad inventionem causarum, ideò mirum non est, si Philosophi humanâ ducti ratione facile in hanc sententiam labuntur, quod mundus omni ex parte sit æternus; re vera enim per naturam nec principio nec fine valet esse præditus; At Dei lumine illustratus constanter assero, per immensam Dei potentiam, per voluntatem æternam, & per liberum Dei extrinsecus operandi modum, in principio Deum creasse cœlum & terram.*

*Idem ibidem.*

*Regitur hoc universum regnum tam admirabili imperio, ut simul reipublica cum legibus, administrationis optimatum, & imperij regij dignitatem & præstantiam includat, absolutè tamen in eminentissimam redigitur monarchiam, cujus monarcha est Deus, cujus conditio est ipsum bonum; adeò ut non sit*

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timendum



timendum ne in tyrannidem inclinet, hic eminentissima providentia cuncta disponit, quæ mox per naturam à fato sola ratione distincta exequantur & absolvuntur; adeo ut in universo nil otiosum, nil diminutum, nihilque redundans inveniatur, cujus gradus tam exacta invicem ratione sunt juncti, ut mirabiliter etiam longe à se distantes sibi mutuo consentiant, & quamvis per partes varientur, tamen eandem semper servant rationem locum & ordinem.

*Collegium Conimbricense in 1. lib. Arist. de cælo cap. 12. quest. 1.*

*Vtrum mundus solo generali concursu Dei perpetuò durare possit, an non, artic. 2.*

His positis fit prima assertio. Posset mundus sibi relictus, sub eo statu, quem modo habet, solo communi & ordinario concursu, quo nunc à Deo conservatur in perpetuum durare. Hæc assertio, quæ nostrorum Philosophorum communis est, ex eo ostenditur, quia imprimis corpora cœlestia, cum suapte natura sint corruptionis expertia, ut ad tertium hujus libri caput ostendimus, immortalia sunt. Quin verò & ipsorum motus, cum ab intelligentiis, quæ lassari non possunt administratur, perennis ac perpetuus esse potest.

Quod autem ad corpora sublunaria spectat, constant illa, ut planum est ex materiâ & formâ. Materia verò nulla vi naturæ interimi valet, quia ut tantummodo per creationem à Deo esse accepit, ita non aliter destrui potest, quàm subtrahente Deo concursu, quo ei ejusmodi esse confert. At formæ ita se habent, ut nulla earum intercidat, materiamve relinquat, quin alia ejus locum subeat. Tum quia alioqui maneret materia prima absque omni substantiali forma: tum quia agens naturale non intendit per se interitum rei, utpote naturæ malum, sed generationem. Quapropter semper unius corruptio est alterius generatio. Unde etiam fit, ut licet prædicta corpora singulatim sumpta intereant, alia ex toto, nempe mista; alia ex parte, videlicet elementa; semper tamen specie, aut genere eadem permaneant, possintque hoc modo in perpetuum durare.

*Idem artic. 3.*

Ad quartum respondendum est. Nonnullos parentibus proceriores evadere, sicque non in omnibus degenerare staturam, sed in quibusdam imminui, in alijs augeri, & illorum dispendia in his quoquo modo refarciri: quæ compensatio sat erat, ut hominum genus propagari in æternum posset; accedente præsertim naturæ ipsius Providentiæ, ad quam pertinet antevertere, & præcavere pericula, quæ interitum & amissionem totius speciei minitentur: quale esset corporum decrementum infra quantitatem, in quâ species humana posset consistere.

*Nicolaus Taurellus Medic. & Physic. in Altdorffensi Noricarum Academia Professor. de rerum æternitate pars 4.*

*Sitne mundus æternum mansurus.*

Deus mundum solus corrumpere potest: quod nos etiam aliàs carmine fortè, non injucundo expressimus.

--- Solus cersè qui condidit, idem  
Et solus mutare potest, & tollere Solus

Immensa



Immensâ virtute Deus, qui solus & author  
 Solus & hostis erit, certo qui tempore tollet,  
 Accensumque novis hunc destruet ignibus orbem,  
 Qui virtute tamen persistere posset eadem  
 Quâ nunc consistit longumque manere per orbem  
 Non prohibente Deo.

*Antonius Ruviô de cælo & mundo. lib. 1. cap. 12.*

*An mundus solo generali concursu Dei perpetuò durare possit.*

*Affirmativa pars tenetur ut à Collegio Conimbricensi.*

‘Ad secundum de viventibus corporibus, concedimus, aliquando fi-  
 ‘lios parentum staturam non adæquare, sed etiam aliquando procerio-  
 ‘res evadunt, non tamen possibile esse juxta ordinem naturalem à divina Pro-  
 ‘videntia in rebus constitutum semperque continuatum, ad tam parvam quan-  
 ‘titatem reduci viventia corpora alicujus speciei, in qua non possint na-  
 ‘turaliter conservari, quia nec potest naturalis virtus vitalis eorum tan-  
 ‘tum deficere, nec alimenta ex quibus nutriantur, cum pertineat ad ean-  
 ‘dem divinam providentiam, naturalem vim illorum & corpora ex quibus  
 ‘alenda sunt conservare, & id quidem, sicut hucusque fecit cum solo con-  
 ‘cursu generali, efficiet etiam in futurum toto tempore quo mundus in  
 ‘hoc imperfecto statu generationum & corruptionum duraturus est.

*Morisanus in Commentarijs disputat. Physic. 1. dubio 5.*

*An solo Dei generali concursu posset mundus in æternum durare.*

Dico, solo Dei concursu generali posset in æternum preservari mundus cum  
 omnibus rerum speciebus tum simplicibus tum mixtis. Probat, quia posi-  
 ‘to Dei concursu generali, intelligentia moveret cœlos, elementa, ad  
 ‘mixtorum compositionem concurrerent cœli, in hæc inferiora, per in-  
 ‘fluentias suas agerent, unde sequeretur perpetua mixtorum generatio,  
 ‘unumquodque vivens produceret sibi simile, suamque speciem in aliis  
 ‘individuis propagaret, Ergo omnes rerum species, atque adeò mundus  
 ‘totus perseveraret.

*Iohannes Combachius Philosophiæ Professor Marburgensis*

*Phys. lib. 2. theoremate 6.*

‘Ordinis verò perseveratio est, quòd nec mutatio, nec senectâ, nec lassitudo, quedam huic rerum & operationum ordini obvenit. Hæc divinam po-  
 ‘tentiam arguit; cum enim rerum inferiorum quæcunque natura sua sit  
 ‘mutabilis, divina gratia obtineat, ut hoc quod est in ipsis mutabile, mu-  
 ‘tationi tamen non subijciatur, sed sit ut maneat in perpetuum. Eam verò per-  
 ‘petuitatem tantæ moli largiri præter ipsius universi naturam, hoc non  
 ‘nisi summè potentis esse potest. Eaque potentia tantò major est cen-  
 ‘senda, quantò nos minus, quibus inter creaturas omnes præstantissima  
 ‘conditio obvenit, nec in nostro corpore, quamvis laboremus, possu-  
 ‘mus incolumitatem præstare; is tantam molem regit, ut sit firma & sta-  
 ‘bilis.

*Idem Phys. lib. 2.*

‘Et ita mundus sua natura mutabilis propagatione & generationis per-  
 ‘petuâ successione redditur immutabilis & corruptionis expers.

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*Keckermanus*



*Keckermanus Professor Philosophiæ Dantiscanus in cursu  
Philosophico Disput. 20. Problem. 17.*

*Nec consistere potest Cardani opinio, qui imaginabatur mundum defatigatione solutum iri; In quo Cardanum magnus Scaliger non minus pie quam graviter perstringit, Exercitat. 77*

*Idem Problem. 15.*

‘Tria sunt ex quibus mundi perfectio & integritas potissimum constare dicitur, nempe singularum rerum ex quibus componitur absolutio, naturarum distinctio & varietas, partium denique ordo & connexio indissolubilis: quæ omnia in mundi universitate mirum in modum elucetia considerans Philosophus de cælo, cap. 34. exclamat, Mundus optimè omnium se habet.

*Marsilius Ficinus de immortalitate animæ. lib. 18. cap. 1.*

‘Spiritualis ille mundus, mundi hujus exemplar, primumque Dei opus, vitæ æquali est Architecto; fuit semper cum illo, eritque semper. ‘Mundus autem corporalis, quod secundum opus est Dei, decedit jam ‘ab opifice ex parte unâ, quia non fuit semper, retinet alteram, quia sit semper futurus.

*Fridericus Wendelinus Gymnasij Anhaltini Rector,  
Contemplationum Physic. Sectione 2. cap. 14.*

‘Nos ad quæstionem de mundi corruptibilitate, breviter respondemus, per distinctionem incorruptibilis, quod absolutè vel cum certo respectu sic dicitur: absolutè incorruptibile est, quod intra se vel extra se nihil habet à quo ullo modo corrumpi possit, seu quod planè & simpliciter independens est, cum certo respectu incorruptibile est, quod à nullâ causâ secundâ, ordinaria & naturaliter agente corrumpi potest. Hac præmissâ distinctione, sit

‘1<sup>a</sup> Assertio: Mundus non est incorruptibilis, priori modo: ratio assertionis: quia ens est à Deo dependens.

‘2<sup>a</sup> Assertio: Mundus quoad corpora simplicia omnia, posteriori modo est incorruptibilis.

‘3<sup>a</sup> Assertio: mundus quoad corpora mista corruptibilis est, quoad primam & secundas causas.

*Simon Gryneus Professor Basiliensis in Annot. in Arist. de mundo.*

‘Miracula celebrant in terris quædam; Ægypti labyrinthum præ cæteris, nulla re nisi ambagibus insignem, atque iis inutilibus, nempe hominibus implicandis factum, præterea assiduè restaurandum, reficiendumque. At verò natura opus constitutum semel, ex se habet omnia quibus opus est, & omnem optionem longè rebus omnibus antevertit, majestate, inexpectatâ suavitate & pulchritudine omnem cogitationem supergrediente.

*Idem de meteoris Commentar. 2. cap. 18.*

‘Nec hic quicquam valet quod de natura corruptâ objicere fortè posset quispiam, cum cœli & quæ in ipso collocata, ab opifice rerum omnium integrè conservata sunt, & ea omnia propter quæ à Deo optimo maximo creata sunt, semper & sine errore præstiterint.



Io: Ionstonus Thaumatrographia naturalis. cap. 1<sup>o</sup>.

*Quo me verto, exquisita sapientiae, bonitatis & potentia conspicio insignia; sejunguntur hic contraria ita ut vinculis medijs copulentur, hinc sapientia; actiones ordinatissime recurrunt, inde bonitas; nec senectus, nec mutatio, nec lassitudo obvenit, inde potentia.*

Dionysius a Richel Carthusianus de venustate mundi art. 7.  
de pulcherrima mundi dispositione.

*Ipsa quoque tempora ita immutabili lege sua mutabilitatis vices custodiunt, ut neque aliquando à sui ministerij expletionem deficiant; neque secus currentia primæ ordinem institutionis confundant.*

Vincentius Turturetus in parallelis Ethicis & Iuridicis,  
Dissertatione 13. An res humanæ ruant.

*Sed ego pace senum, bonaque venia illustrium virorum, quorum dicta recitavi, falsam censeo hanc vocem, quâ rem humanam in peius ruere contendunt. Nostris praesertim temporibus notam istam non patiar inuri, sed generatim rationes aliquot adduxerim, cur a vero longè absint qui oppugnant praesentis saeculi conditionem, praeterita tempora extollunt.*

As for those who maintained the Worlds decay, as before I observed of Lucretius, and in mine Apologie of Pliny, for the most part in other places they evidently contradict themselves, neither in truth can they doe otherwise, if they will stand to their owne principles, as hath already beene shewed, I will instance onely in Magyrus Professor of Marburge who in his Commentaries upon the second booke of his Physicks, and first chapter, endeavouring to prove by naturall reason that the world shall have an end; among other Arguments bringeth in the consumption thereof as no light conjecture inducing thereunto. Yet this very man in the first booke and fifth chapter of the same worke, discoursing of generation and corruption hath these words. *Hinc rectè philosophus ait: generatio unius est corruptio alterius: & corruptio unius est generatio alterius. Arist: 1. de gener: & corrupt: textu 17<sup>o</sup>.*

*Haec enim duae mutationes ita sunt invicem connexae & complicatae, ut una ad alteram necessario consequatur, idque propter naturam materiae. Quae cum per se sine forma esse nequeat, ideo una formâ recedente, alteram induit. Cumque duabus formis specificis perfici non possit, propterea cum una oritur, alteram in eâ praexistentem interire oportet. Zab: & Merc. in dilucid. tom: 2.*

*Atque hinc fit, quod rerum generationes perpetuâ quadam successione durant. 1. quia materia in subjecto perpetuò manet. 2. quia primum principium immobile semper manet & agit, & ex paratâ materia res naturales producit. 3. ex corruptione sequitur generatio perpetua quadam serie. Arist. 1. de gener. cap: 7. & corrupt: cap. 3<sup>o</sup>.*

Hyppolitus Pindemontius in Dissert. de mundo. cap. 34.

Quid de fine mundi sentiendum sit.

*Mundus nullam suae dissolutionis causam intrinsecam obtinet prorsus, ut suae natura relictus, in omne ævum sit perseveraturus. Patet ista assertio, quippe omnia quae in mundo sunt, ita perfectè ordinata, ita congruè & concinnè sunt disposita, ut ejus unitatem numquam valeant perturbare. Confirmatur hac ratio; namque quod corrumpitur à suo semper contrario corrumpitur, at verò*

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mundus



'mundus contrario caret, cum nihil præter ipsum detur. Dices, nun-  
'quid non constat ex contrarijs quæ semper infensissimè pugnant, atque  
'adeo alterum aliquando victoria potiatur? Sed enim si rem profunde  
'perpendas, & quæ alias diximus mente recolas, videbis manifestè  
'contrarietatem nedum destructionis, at potius conservationis & pro-  
'pagationis ipsius mundi in causa esse. Per illam nempe elementa alte-  
'rantur, alterata modificantur, & talia mixtum generant; per illam  
'certas sedes in ipso universo obtinent, prorsus ut nullum alterius lo-  
'cum & domicilium occupare gestiât; ut benè dixerit Seneca, Rerum  
'mundi concordiam & pacem in discordia & pugna esse mirabiliter  
'fundatam.

2. 'Probatum 2<sup>o</sup> hæc eadem assertio, quia ea est rerum conditio, ut nul-  
'læ unquam corrumpantur; quin aliæ generentur, adeo ut ipsam etiam  
'corruptionem intendere videatur universalis natura propter generatio-  
'nem, quamobrem nunquam mundus deficiet, in quo nimirum rerum  
'generatio perpetuatur. Et hoc est quod dicebat *Trismegistus* in *Asc.*  
*Mundum esse stabili sempiternitate vivendi circumvallatum.*

3. 'Corroboratur hæc ratio; quippe cælum cælestiaque astra, nulli cor-  
'ruptioni sunt obnoxia, aternoque motu circumagi possunt; namque mo-  
'trices ipsorum intelligentiæ non laborant aut defatigantur in moven-  
'do; ipsis porro horum inferiorum cura demandata est, atque adeo si  
'illi perpetui sunt, & motus per quem sublunaria hæc disponuntur, pe-  
'rennis esse potest, profectò & hæc inferiora *perpetua vicissitudine* gau-  
'dere possunt.

4. 'Denique favere videtur huic assertioni sacra scriptura, dicitur enim  
'Eccles. 3. Quod omnia opera quæ fecit Deus perseverant in perpetu-  
'um: videlicet si naturæ cursus servetur, nec aliunde ab ipsa quam fecit  
'causa idem impediatur; sunt enim ex se à conditoris sapientia perfe-  
'ctissimè digesta, & ut dicitur Gen. 3. valde bona.

*Daniel Sennertus epitome naturalis scientiæ: lib. 2. cap. 1.*

*Vt mundum originem habuisse è sacris literis constat: ita eadem sola nobis  
persuadent mundum hunc interituum, & nulla philosophica ratio ad evincen-  
dum mundi interitum satis firma est. Nam etsi verum est quod à Scal. exerc.  
61. sect. 5. & exerc. 37. sect. 20. demonstratur: Omnes res ex eo quod non  
habent causam essendi à se, sed dependent ab alio, esse ex se mutabiles & corrup-  
tibilis, non corrumpi autem, quia Deus non vult: tamen nec illud falsum est;  
Mundum cum eo, quem nunc habet, communi & ordinario Dei concursu,  
sibi ipsi relictum, perpetuò durare posse, nec sponte ad interitum vergere.*

To these testimonies and those formerly alleadged by mee in mine  
*Apologie*, many more might be added, as may appeare by those words  
of *Collegium Conimbricense* already quoted, *Hæc assertio nostrorum Philo-  
sophorum communis est*; where, by *nostrorum Philosophorum*, undoubted-  
ly they understand the Christian Philosophers; and to that purpose in  
their margin referre us to *Marfilus*, *Albertus de Saxonia*, *Ianduno*,  
*Conciliator*, and others. So that now there seemes to bee just cause in-  
deed of quarrelling with my title, inasmuch as therein I terme the opi-  
nion contrary to mine a *common error*; but the truth is, I so termed it,  
rather as being commonly entertained among the vulgar then among  
the



the learned; though it cannot bee denied that many of them also (having together with their milke sucked in this popular error) in some of their writings subscribe unto it; but in other places againe manifestly crosse themselves, as hath in part beene shewed already in declaring the reasons brought by Divines and Philosophers; why the Preservation of the world doth more illustrate Gods Providence, and will farther appeare, aswell in setting downe the profitable uses of my opinion, as also when I shall alleadge their expositions upon severall passages of Scripture produced for the confirmation thereof.

## CHAP. 4. Ob. 3.

*That I alleadge few passages of Scripture for my opinion; for answere whereunto I have digested those passages into one chapter, together with the interpretation of the soundest Expositours thereupon.*

**B**Ecause my booke is charged by some to bee Philosophicall rather then Theologicall, and that my quotations out of Scripture are very few, I have thought it not amisse to muster up my forces gathered out of holy Scripture; seconded with the judgement of the best and most approved interpreters; (besides those expositions which in mine *Apologie*, and in the defence thereof I have already alleadged) that so it may appeare that (as it becomes a professed Divine and a good Christian) I feare not to stand to the determination of the Divine Oracles in this question; which in truth I did not at first imagine to have beene so plentifull and punctuall for mee, as upon farther search I have since found them.

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*Genesios cap. i. vers. 11.*

*Germinet terra herbam qua semen producat, arborem cui semen insit.*

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Calvinus in locum.

*Significat non modo creatas fuisse tunc herbas & arbores, sed utrisque simul inditam propagationis virtutem, ut soboles maneret. Quia ergo terram quotidie videmus è gremio nobis fundere tot divitias, quod videmus herbas semen emittere, & semen illud terra sinu conceptum foveri donec emergat, alias arbores ex alijs pullulare: id totum manat ex verbo isto. Si ergo querimus quid fiat ut fertilis sit terra, è semine germen nascatur, fruges ad maturitatem perveniant, singula genera quotannis sobolescant: non alia causa invenietur, nisi quia semel loquutus est Deus, hoc est æternum suum decretum protulit: terra autem, & quæ ex ea proveniunt, Dei mandato quod semper exaudiunt, præbent obsequium.*

Petrus Martyr.

*Non solum designat nobis præsentem productionem, sed vim producendi à Deo inditam, usque hodie perseverantem.*

Cornelius



## Cornelius à lapide.

*Hoc fine, ut cum planta individua intereant, maneant tamen in semine & fructu quem ex se propagant; itaque quandam quasi immortalitatem & æternitatem quam naturaliter ambiunt consequantur, ut scilicet, semper sint, & semper perdurent in sua propagine.*

*Geneseos cap. 1<sup>o</sup>. ver: ultimo.*

*Et vidit Deus omne quod fecerat & ecce bonum valde.*

## Calvinus in locum.

*Rursum in clausula Creationis refert Moyses Deum approbasse quicquid fecerat, de aspectu Dei loquitur humano more: nam & hoc suum iudicium Dominus quasi regulam & exemplar nobis esse voluit: ne aliter de suis operibus sentire vel loqui quisquam audeat. Neque enim quod probavit, fas nobis est disputare probari debet: sed potius absque controversia subscribere convenit. Repetitio etiam denotat quàm lasciva sit hominum temeritas: alioqui satis fuisset semel dicere, Deo placuisse sua opera, sed Deus sexies idem inculcat, ut quasi totidem frenis cohibeat nostram audaciam, qua prurire non desinit. Caterum plus exprimit Moyses, quàm antea: addidit enim MEOD, id est valde in singulis diebus fuit simplex approbatio. Nunc postquam numeris omnibus absolutum est opificium mundi, & extrema (ut ita loquar) manu expolitum, perfecte bonum esse pronunciat: ut sciamus inesse in operum Dei symmetria, summam perfectionem cui nihil addi queat.*

## Junius.

*Summa verò conservationis causa in versu ultimo adhibetur, nimirum approbatio, confirmatio, & sanctio naturæ rerum, qualem in singulis ferme singulorum dierum historijs meminimus antè adhiberi, tamen in eò discrimen est, quod in locis superioribus de approbatione, confirmatione, & sanctione unius alicujus generis agebatur, hic verò de omnibus simul in tota rerum universitate. Itaque, ut hos locos evidentius distinguamus, sic paucis statuimus, res omnes à Deo creatas in hac rerum universitate, singulariter atque communiter respectu ipsarum in se, & inter se bonas tripliciter appellari, specie, modo, & ordine; in se quidem specie, quatenus sunt; modo, quatenus sunt ut sunt: inter se verò quatenus ordine natura, alia ad alias referuntur, & suam habent convenientiam. Quacunque autem res antè fuerunt appellata bona, sic fuerunt appellata respectu ipsarum in se, nempe quòd specie modoque bona essent, qua subsistunt in natura rerum, & sunt ejusmodi: Quæ autem hic de approbatione, confirmatione, & sanctione rerum omnium in universitate hac prædicantur, ea non solum de specie & modo dici, verumetiam de ordine, quo res singulæ aliæ ad alias relationem suam, & aliæ ex alijs affectionem habent: denique sapientissimè inter se ordinatæ sunt.*

*Geneseos*



*Genesios cap. 8<sup>o</sup> ver. ultimo.*

*Deinceps quandiu erit terra ; sementis & messis , frigusque & aestus , & aestas & hyems , diesque & nox non cessabunt.*

*Pareus in locum.*

*Iam Deus pollicetur ordinis naturæ , qui prius inde à Creatione fuerat , restitutionem immutabilem in integrum. Simul igitur & commoda quæ ex ordine hoc pendent sanè inestimabilia iterum pollicetur idque immutabiliter.*

*Nos hic rursus agnoscamus immensam Dei bonitatem , qui in nostri gratiam quasi natura se subicit , & ad ordinem ejus , inviolabiliter servandum nobis sese obligat.*

*Atque hic 1. fiducia in nobis confirmetur promissionis gratia , & salutis æterna. Si enim in natura legibus servandis juxta hanc promissionem Deum adhuc videmus constantem : multo magis in promissionibus æternæ salutis constantem fore persuasum habeamus.*

*Chrysostomus.*

*Immobilis erit hæc ordinatio , terra nunquam desinet suppeditare quæ hominum generi necessaria , neque cessabit proferre laborum & agriculturæ retributiones , neque anni partes alijs versionibus mutabuntur , sed & frigus & calor , & aestas & ver in anni circulo erunt , neque nox , neque dies suum relinquet cursum , sed adusque sæculi consummationem immotum eorum permanebit ministerium.*

*Ferus.*

*Sunt commoda vices nunc aestu , nunc frigore vicissim terras & sata coquente. Quod igitur promisit Deus hoc etiam nunc experimur : terra seminatur & metitur , nunc aestus nunc frigus , nunc dies nunc nox , nunc aestas nunc hyems est. Et hæc omnia divina ordinatione consistunt , eaque omnia in salutem humani generis sic ordinata sunt à Deo , frigus non minus prodest quam aestus : Deus novit quomodo illa debeat moderari. Et ideo illa fiunt , ut Deum cognoscamus , illum adoremus veneremurque.*

*Mercerus.*

*Vt intelligas hæc non cessatura , quin per suas vices sese gerant , & in terra in usum hominum locum habeant , juxta syderum cursum &c.*

*Petrus Martyr.*

*Tu verò hic attentè considera , in hac mundi instauratione firmè omnia illa & repeti & confirmari quæ facta sunt , dum mundus prima institutione conderetur.*

*Calvinus.*

*His verbis iterum restituitur mundus in integrum. Testatur Dominus sibi placere , ut omnia recuperent suum vigorem , & redeant ad suas functiones.*

*Quamvis non ita temperatur mundus , ut perpetua sit aequalitas , cernimus tamen prævalere naturæ ordinem.*

*Aquinas.*

*Quasi diceret , omni tempore durabit debita alternatio dierum & noctium , & aestatis & hyemis , seu quatuor temporum anni , ac frigoris & aestus  
sive*



sive caloris, id est, quatuor qualitatum elementalium, in quibus illa dua prædominantur, & messium seminum sive seminationum, quasi diceret; cursus mundi hominum conservationi expediens, à me de cætero continuabitur.

Pererius.

Cum igitur prædicta vicissitudo temporum immutabilem rationem motus orbium cælestium ac syderum necessario consequatur, & ex ea ipsa pendeat rerum sublunarium, maximè vero animantium incolamitas & salus; apparet sanè fabulosum esse, vanitatisque atque inscitia plenum quod dixit Ovidius lib. I. *Metamorph.* hanc temporum inæqualitatem non fuisse aureo Saturni saculo, sed perpetuum id temporis fuisse ver: postea verò degenerante jam saculo alternam hanc per vices successionem inductam esse orbi.

Junius.

Deus adductus est ad instaurationem universitatis faciendam, cujus instaurationis loci duo sunt; prior Deum non esse deinceps huic universitati impartaturum exitium v. 21. posterior, naturæ ordinem in hac universitate gratiosè conservaturum esse. v. 22.

*Iob 38. vers. 33.*

*Nunquid nosti ordinem cæli, & pones rationem ejus in terrâ?*

Pineda in locum.

Elegantur Tygur: & Vatablus legunt, jura legesq; cæli videlicet, perpetuum atque constantem ordinem, rationemque movendi, illuminandi, efficiendi, leges, inquam, atque jura non solum quæ ipsis cælestibus orbibus imposuit, edixitque natura author; sed leges etiam atque jura cælestia, quibus parent inferiora, nam illa nobis præscribunt designantque certas agendi, quiescendi, atque movendi leges atque rationes.

*Psalm 19. vers. 1.*

*Cæli enarrant gloriam Dei fortis, & opus manuum ejus indicat expansum eorum.*

Iansenius in locum.

‘Cæli sua varietate, ornatu, motu ac utilitate multiplici, declarant nobis, ac materiam subministrant nobis narrandi majestatem potentia, sapientia, ac bonitatis Dei: & tam amplius cæli ambitus infinitis syderibus ornatus, testatur quàm magna & admirabilia sunt opera potentia ipsius.

Calvinus.

‘Fieri non potest quin ad ipsum usque authorem nos attollat cælorum intuitus, ac mirabilis quæ illic apparet distinctio, ornatus & splendor, luculentum ejus Providentia testimonium reddant. Creationis quidem tempus & modum scriptura explicat: sed etiam Deo tacente cæli ipsi ejus manibus se compositos fuisse clamitant: quod ipsum ad testandam ejus gloriam abundè sufficit: simul enim ac Deum agnoscimus



'cimus mundi opificem, mentes nostras in admirationem immensæ ejus  
'bonitatis, sapientiæ & potentiæ rapi necesse est.

*Fabritius.*

'Sensus est: tota cæli machina, ejusque exactissima structura satis osten-  
'dit & testatur.

'1<sup>o</sup> Deum aliquem esse qui hæc omnia condiderit: Siquidem ornatus  
'ille cælestis, non casu aut fortuito potuit extitisse.

'2<sup>o</sup> Hunc Conditorem & opificem esse infinitè sapientem, potentem,  
'æternum, bonum &c. siquidem hæc ab alio condi non potuissent.

*Bellarminus.*

'Cæli sunt, qui sua magnitudine, & pulchritudine gloriam Dei manifestā  
'faciunt.

*Mollerus.*

'Tota cæli machina, ejusque exactissima structura testatur, non fortuito  
'hæc quæ cernimus conflata esse: Sed condita ab opifice sapiente &  
'potente: atque ideo nos in admirationem sapientiæ, potentiæ, & boni-  
'tatis divinæ rapiunt.

*Musculus.*

'Cogitemus hîc quàm sit opus hoc cæli vastum, amplum, latissimè ex-  
'tensum, aspectu jucundum, ornatu speciosum, *tempore diuturnum, &*  
*robore firmum.* Licet nobis hæc omnia ad gloriam Dei expendere, etiam-  
'si occultiora cælorum miracula ignoremus.

*Theodoretus.*

'Sufficit etiam sola cælorum pulchritudo, atque magnitudo quæ appa-  
'ret ad opificis magnificentiam prædicandam. Si enim quis maximum  
'& pulcherimum ædificium inspicies, architectum miratur: & navi-  
'gium videns benè & optimè constructum, artificem considerat, &  
'cum contemplatione imaginis memoria pictoris concurrit, multo ma-  
'gis mundi fabricatio, quæ videtur, ad opificem nos videntes conducit.

*Zanchius de operibus Dei lib. 6. quæst. 5. thesi 21.*

'Alij volunt eum musicæ & harmoniæ nomine intellexisse constantem  
'illam astrorum erga Deum obedientiam, & summam inter ipsa con-  
'sensionem: quâ *perpetuo inviolabilique tenore* moventur, & suum quoq;  
'illorum facit officium. Nam sic solitum est dici, ubi, putâ in republica  
'omnes inter se consentiunt, dictoq; parent magistratus, & suum quisq;  
'diligenter facit officium, ibi summam esse harmoniam. Quia itaque  
'nullibi præstantior ordo, obedientia, omnium inter se consensio spe-  
'ctatur quàm in cælis & inter astra, idcirco dixit Pythagoras summam  
'perfectamque ex motu astrorum cælestium gigni harmoniam. De hac  
'harmonia loquebatur & David, cum dixit, Cœli enarrant gloriam  
'Dei; & opera manuum ejus annunciat firmamentum, dies dici eructat  
'verbum, et nox nocti indicat scientiam; in omnem terram exivit so-  
'nus eorum &c.



Ver: 2.

*Dies ad diem eructat sermonem; & nox ad noctem ostendit scientiam.*

*Musculus in locum.*

‘Quod itaq; dicit dies ad diem eructat &c. nihil est aliud meo iudicio,  
‘quam successione illa dierum et noctium *tam certa constanti & commo-*  
*dissima* alternantium inter se vicissitudine ac reciprocatione manifestif-  
‘simè opificis Dei gloriam celebrari; gloriam, inquam, omnipotentiae  
‘& scientiae Dei. Eadem habet Fabritius

*Lyra.*

‘Variatio dierum secundum longitudinem & brevitatem, caliditatem  
& frigiditatem, & alias variationes quæ per motum cæli causantur, &  
‘secundum *certain periodos ordinatè* reiterantur, ostendunt sapientiam &  
‘potentiam motoris primi, scilicet Dei.

*Mollerius.*

*Continua* & constans dierum & noctium successio, et *ordinata* temporum  
‘vices, quas solis, Lunæ, et reliquarum stellarum cursus & revolutiones  
‘efficiunt, abundè testantur de gloriâ.

*Theodoretus.*

*Ordinata* successio noctis et diei, *terminos à conditore positos demonstrat,*  
*quos hac inanimata mundi machina transcendere non potest,* cum enim nox  
‘atque dies ad hominum utilitatem crescant atque decrescant, cumq;  
‘à se invicem tempus mutuentur & rursus debitum sibi ultro citroque  
‘reddant; *providentiam* quæ ipsis inest ostendunt.

*Calvinus.*

‘Neque verò dubito quin David, ex *Ordinatis* dierum et noctium vi-  
‘cibus, solis & lunæ, stellarumque cursum & revolutionem, mirabili  
‘Dei consilio temperari doceat. Sive autem diem de die vertamus, sive  
‘diem ad diem parùm interest; quia tantum notatur *Concinna* temporum  
‘series, quam dierum et noctium successio efficit. Dies quidem unus si  
‘satis attenti essemus, ut decebat, nobis idoneus esset gloriæ Dei testis;  
‘nox etiam una idem officium præstaret. Sed quum videmus solem et  
‘lunam quotidie suo ambitu mundum complecti, interdiu solem super  
‘capita nostra extare, lunam succedere vicibus, gradatim solem ascen-  
‘dere, et simul proprius ad nos accedere, postea iter suum reflectere,  
‘ut a nobis paulatim recedat, hinc dierum vel noctium longitudinem  
‘confici, et hanc varietatem *aquabili lege* ita esse dispositam, ut quotan-  
‘nis recurat: hæc longe clarior testificatio est. Quare non immerito  
‘David, quamvis Deus nullum verbum faciat, dierum tamen & nocti-  
‘um tam *bene aptatam seriem* de gloria Dei magnificè concionari  
‘dicit: nec jam ignorantiae prætextum reliquum esse hominibus,  
‘quia quum *doctorum officio tam probè* fungantur dies & noctes: satis  
‘scientiæ ex eorum magisterio consequi possint.

*Iansenius.*



*Iansenius.*

‘Neque ullo unquam tempore cessabunt Dei gloriam suo modo coeli  
 ‘prædicare, nam *perpetua* successione præcedens dies effundit in se-  
 ‘quentem diem verbum prædicationis, & cogitationis gloriæ Dei,  
 ‘præcedensque nox transmittit scientiam Dei in subsecuturam noctem.  
 ‘Quasi enim de die in diem, de nocte in noctem transmissio verbo ac  
 ‘scientia Dei, nobis coeli loquuntur, dum *sine fine* singulis diebus ac  
 ‘noctibus non cessant Dei gloriam declarare.

*Bellarminus.*

‘Atque ita jugiter & sine ulla intermissione dies & noctes quasi *choreas*  
 ‘ducunt & Deum laudibus celebrant.

*Ver. 3º.*

*Non est sermo, neque verbum ijs & sine his  
 intelligitur vox eorum.*

*Theodoretus in locum.*

‘Vel secundum Aquilam: in omnem terram exivit ordo ipsorum. nam  
 ‘nec sermonem, inquit, emittentes, nec verba proferentes, sed *regulam*  
 ‘& *proprium ordinem* demonstrantes; omnem terram atque mare ad di-  
 ‘vinas laudes decantandas invitant.

*Masculus.*

‘Est horum operum Dei tam admirabilis machina, tam *constans vigor*,  
 ‘tam *certus ordo*, tamque ineffabilis intelligentia, ut licet muta sint, quod  
 ‘vocem attinet & verba, nihilo tamen minus gloriam Dei quavis so-  
 ‘norissima etiam voce, clarius sic deprædicent, ut non sit angulus ali-  
 ‘quis orbis, ubi vocalissima eorum concio non audiatur.

*Ver. 4º.*

*In totam terram prodeunte delineatione eorum, simul prodierunt  
 in extremitatem orbis habitabilis sermones eorum, ex quo soli  
 disposuit tentorium in eis.*

*Iansenius in locum.*

‘In universam terram pervenit sonus eorum, quo nobis Deum annunti-  
 ‘ant, et in extremas orbis terræ partes verba eorum. Hic autem eorum  
 ‘sonus et verba sunt *immutabilis eorum ordo*, *constantia*, motus, pulcheri-  
 ‘maque eorum structura, tanquam *ad regulam & lineam* facta, ac similia,  
 ‘quibus Deum maximum, sapientissimum ac optimum hominibus  
 ‘cunctis ostendant.

*Ver. 5º.*

*Nam et tanquam sponsus prodiens è thalamo suo  
 latatur tanquam robustus decursurus viam.*

*Iunius in locum.*

‘Id est, inde a creatione, ornatissimus, *indefessus*, velocissimè percurrit  
 ‘demensum suum, atq; efficacissimè calore suo afficit omnia Quæ omnia  
 ‘duobus similibus hoc versu exornantur, & apertè prædicatur sequente.

B b b b b 2

*Psal.*



*Psal: 104. ver. 30.*

*Emittis spiritum tuum, creantur: & renovas faciem terræ.*

*Mollerus in locum.*

‘Amplificat doctrinam de Providentia divinâ à *perpetuitate specierum*, à  
‘propagatione item, & generationis modo. Et si enim Deus finit in-  
‘terire quotannis & quodammodo intermori herbas & arbores: ani-  
‘mantia item & homines magno numero subinde vel violentiâ vel na-  
‘turali morte tollit, atque in pulverem redigi finit: tamen propterea e-  
‘jus providentia non est neganda. Imò verò illa *specierum perpetuitas* &  
‘*propagatio* quæ fit quotannis renascentibus novis herbis, frondibus,  
‘sobole animantium & hominum terram renovari, & denuò quasi crea-  
‘ri, atque ita singulas species mirabili Dei sapientia conservari: quod  
‘certè non fieret, nisi hic mūdus a mente sapiente & potente regeretur.  
‘Utitur autem verbo creandi, quia illa *perpetuitas specierum*, & *propaga-*  
‘*tio*, est quasi assidua quadam creatio, dum mundus veluti interit & renascitur  
in suis partibus. Eadem habet Fabritius.

*Musculus.*

‘Observemus autem hic conditionem terræ. Sic illa comparata est, ut  
‘facies ejus subinde opus habeat renovatione. Est enim vanitati ac cor-  
‘ruptioni obnoxia, morteque ac interitu eorum quæ in illa sunt visibilia,  
‘antiquatur & ad interitum tendit. Est autem hæc antiquatio bifariam  
‘inspicienda: primùm, ut est annua: deinde ut est quotidiana, cui etiam  
‘destinata est *gemina & vicaria renovatio*. Annua est, quâ terræ facies sin-  
‘gulis annis omni ornatu exuitur, & cuncta illius arefcere videntur:  
‘quæ autumnii tempore incipit, & per hyemem ad verum usque tempus  
‘durat. Quotidiana est, quâ quotidie ex omnis generis animantibus &  
‘spirantibus innumera multitudo passim per orbem universum morti &  
‘interitui traditur. Renovatio annua est, quâ rursus verno tempore  
‘cuncta virefcere, frondescere, ac fructificare incipiunt: quotidiana  
‘verò, quâ rursus alia quotidie nascuntur, & in locum eorum quæ sub-  
‘lata sunt, succedunt. *Hæ vices antiquandi & renovandi tantisper durant*  
*in facie terræ, donec sublata corruptione, presentis hujus mundi figura, prorsus*  
*aboleatur.*

*Calvinus.*

‘Et certè in nova animalium sobole assiduè cernimus *novam mundi*  
*Creationem*.  
‘Summa huc tendit, dum videmus quotidie mundum deficere & *renas-*  
*ci*, in hoc speculo lucere nobis *vivificam Dei virtutem*. Quotquot enim  
‘animalium interitus accidunt, totidem sunt exempla nostræ nullitatis  
‘ut ita loquar, dum alia subolescunt, quædam mundi *renovatio* nobis  
‘ostenditur. Quando itaque mundus quotidie interit & *renascitur* in  
‘suis partibus, hinc colligere promptum est non nisi *arcana Dei virtute*  
*subsistere.*

*Psal:*



*Psal: 119. ver. 89.*

*In æternum Domine verbum tuum perstat in cælis.*

*Musculus in locum.*

‘Convenit hoc exercitium homini fideli, ac verbi Dei studioſo : ut  
‘quoties cælum ſuſpicit, terram contuetur, & *conſtanſem omnium ordinē*  
‘obſervat, de verbo, fide, ac judicijs Dei admoneatur, & horum con-  
‘ſideratione ad confirmandum fidem ſuam utatur.

*Ambroſius.*

‘Nunquid ulla in ipſo eſt ſole prævaricatio ? Nonne quotidianos cur-  
‘ſus ſuos ſervat ? Nunquid continuos non novit luna defectus & com-  
‘miſſi in unum deſerit miniſterij ? Iiſdem nempe vicibus annus redit.  
*eodem ſtatu reparantur tempora, iſdem obſequijs reformantur.* Sol diem  
‘illuminat, tempora ſtatuta cuſtodians. Fulget ſplendoribus luna  
‘nocturnis, & lux ejus in tenebris micat. Stellarum nitentium rutilat  
‘globus ſolenniꝑ; ſtatione & converſione ac demutatione funguntur.  
‘Lex una diverſis, conſtitutorum ſemel vices curſuum cuſtodire, *nec*  
*ſines tranſire præſcriptos. Manet ipſa immutabilis demutatio, & converſio ver-*  
*tere ordinem ſuum neſcit.* Una omnium obedientia, diſcretis muneribus  
‘indiscretam præſcriptæ conſtitutionis tenere concordiam.

*Fabritius.*

‘Vis verbi tui hoc ipſo ſe perennem docet, quòd cælos etiam ipſos, ne  
‘pereant conſervat. Vel, cælis quaſi inſculptum eſt, ac proinde immu-  
‘tabile : ſicut cælum eſt *inmutabile.*

*Hilarius.*

‘In cælo ait, quia ſcit in terris propter falſitatē hominum non manere.  
‘Et quomodo in cælo maneat ; ipſa veluti corporalis contemplationis  
‘fide cernitur. Non eſt illic *tranſgreſſio*, non *demutatio*, non *infirmi-  
‘tas*, non otium. Contueamur ſolis annum curſum, & menſtruum lunæ  
‘recurſum, aſtrorum quoque aut ſtationes, aut converſiones, aut demu-  
‘tationes, *nunquid non ſinibus ſuis & conſtitutis terminis ac decretis vicissi-*  
*tudinibus continentur ?* Nihil illic demutatur, nihil differtur, nihil  
‘negligitur, *ſed in conſtitutionis ſuæ manet lege, & in indefeſſis obedientiæ*  
*miniſterijs perſeverat.*

*Theodoretus.*

‘Omnia enim inquit, tibi Domine facilia ſunt, atque fieri poſſunt,  
‘mandatum enim tuum, *immobiles* cælorum latitudines cuſtodiant. Hoc  
‘autem & in centeſimo quadreſimo octavo inquit Pſalmo, *ſtatuit ea*  
*in æternum, & in ſæculum ſæculi præceptum poſuit & non præteribit.* Cæte-  
‘rum eodem tempore innuit non ſolum cælos, ſed etiam cælites divi-  
‘nam cuſtodire legem, & ab *omni tranſgreſſione immunes eſſe.*

*Ver. 91.*

*Ad judicia tua ſtant hucusque quoniam omnia ſunt ſervi tui.*

*Musculus in locum.*

Deinde cogitemus quanta ſit iſta perversitas, quā homo ad imaginem  
Dei



Dei conditus, *solum unum reprobis Angelis ab obedientia Dei defecit*, ut quod de reliquis creaturis Dei prædicatur, de illo prædicari nequeat, nisi singulari gratia reparetur.

*Mollerus.*

Altera amplificatio sumpta est ab ordine totius naturæ, qui decreto & imperio Dei *Manet firmus & immotus*: terra quotannis fit fæcunda & mirabili ordine conservantur species in procreatione rerum singulorum, sunt *certissima ac perpetua leges motuum caelestium*, vices dierum ac noctium. si igitur in his rebus omnibus quæ sensibus nostris judicari possunt *tanta est certitudo*, quanto magis existimandum est illud decretum de collectione, defensione, liberatione & æternâ gloria ecclesiæ esse firmum & perpetuum?

*Judicia* ] nominat decretum seu ordinationem divinam qua cuique rei certa quasi leges & meta sunt præscripta intra quas tota rerum natura, sicut ab initio condita est sese continens, suo creatori obtemperat & servit.

Ideo subjicit. Omnia sunt servi tui; *manent enim res creatæ in illo ordine, quem Deus in primâ creatione constituit & sanxit. Solus homo & Diaboli se à Deo avulserunt. Sicut igitur, Ordo ille non mutatur*: ita cogitemus promissionem ecclesiæ factam esse certam & immutabilem.

Eadem verbatim ex *Mollero* mutuatus est *Fabritius*, sicut in pluribus alijs locis,

*Fansenius.*

Omnia enim velut servi tui obediunt mandato tuo. Hanc itaque constantem creaturarum obedientiam animadvertens, æquissimum esse iudico & nos tuis mandatis parere semper. Rursum dum in his tuam attendo æternitatem, potentiam & fidem, non parùm in malis meis consolationis ea res mihi attulit.

*Hilarius.*

Ut magnificentiam Dei omnes hujus quoque mundi creationes *indemutabili officiorum suorum constitutione testentur*, cum ita firmata fundata statutaque omnia sint, ut perpetuis quibus manebunt constitutorum ab exordio temporum cursibus perseverent.

*Calvinus.*

Intelligit Propheta totius naturæ ordinem, solius Dei imperio vel decreto niti. Nam *judicia* nominans ad legem ipsam alludit: ac si diceret ubique fulgere *rectitudinem illam* quæ in lege Dei patefacta est. Unde sequitur nimis perversos esse homines quum infidelitate suâ, Dei fidem quantum in se est concutiunt & labefactant, *in quam recumbunt omnes creaturae*: deinde quum suâ contumaciâ violant Dei justitiam, & vim præceptis abrogant, in quibus *fundata est tota mundi firmitas*. Sit ergo hoc nobis penitus infixum, arcanâ Dei virtute sic omnia fovere, ut in statu retinendo verbum ejus vel mandatum audiant.

*Psal;*



*Psal. 148. vers. 6.*

*Statuit ea in aeternum & in saeculum saeculi, praeceptum posuit  
& non prateribit.*

*Theodoretus in locum.*

‘Non modo autem condidit, verumetiam de ipsis curam gerit, unde  
& perseverantiam habent, donec ipse voluerit: *nulla res enim terminos  
ab ipso positos transgredi potest.* Igitur ea quae in anima sunt, atque etiam  
‘aliorum genera *leges positas verentur, sola autem hominum natura ratio-*  
‘ne praedita *leges transgreditur, & mare quidem terminos scit, & arc-*  
‘nam veretur, & nox atque dies *mensuras positas conservant, homines*  
‘vero *divinas leges pro nihilo ducunt.*

*Damasceus de fide ortho: lib 2. cap. 6. de caelo.*

‘Attamen sive hoc sive illo modo: sic universa divina jussione facta  
sunt & *firmata; & per divinam voluntatem & consilium fundamentum*  
*inconcussibile habent.* Ipse enim dixit & facta sunt, ipse mandavit & cre-  
‘ata sunt, *statuit haec in saeculum, & in saeculum saeculi, praeceptum posuit*  
*quod non prateribit.*

*Mollerus in locum.*

‘Altera ratio sumpta est à *perpetua* conservatione rerum creatarum, in  
‘quâ *non minus* quam in ipsa creatione potentia Dei & virtus conspici-  
‘tur. Quod enim hucusque perstant creaturae, & singulae manent *intra*  
*suas metas ordine immoto: & servant leges divinitus praescriptas: id non*  
‘fit temerè aut calu; neque est haec potentia in ipsis creaturis ut per se  
‘subsistant, & actiones suas naturales perficiant: sed fiunt ista omnia  
*Deo conservante & sustentante creaturas & ordinem à se institutum.* Ne-  
‘cesse est igitur mentem esse sapientem & potentem cujus arbitrio tota  
‘rerum creatura subjecta est, idque agnoscere omnes & celebrare æqu-  
‘um est.

*Posuit illis edictum*] Id est singulis praescripsit suas quasi leges & me-  
‘tas circumdedit, *intra quas sese contineant, singulis attribuit suos mores,*  
‘suas vires & affectiones. Has leges servant *immobili ordine.*

*Non prateribit*] Id est non delebitur, non abrogabitur, non cessabit  
‘illud edictum seu statutum. Quia omnes creaturae in suo ordine & mi-  
‘litia divinitus tanquam in acie collocatae consistunt, nec *possunt ex sese*  
*aut suis viribus mutare illum ordinem divinitus institutum,* etiamsi Deus  
‘ut agens liberum, & qui ad causas secundas alligatus non est, multò  
‘aliter agere quàm cunctae causae secundae, aut mutare quaedam in hoc or-  
‘dine possit; ut cum jubet consistere solem aut regredi: aut, cum facit a-  
‘num effoetam fecundam. Haec opera testantur Deum non esse alliga-  
‘tum creaturis. *Ipsa tamen creatura manent in suo ordine, à quo sua vi non*  
*possunt discedere. Ideo dicit, hoc statutum, seu has leges quas Deus praescripsit*  
*corporibus caelestibus esse firmas & immotas, ideoque non praterire aut cessare.*  
‘Hic autem tacitè notat malitiam hominum, qui soli exemplo & impul-  
‘su Diabolorum non servant originem suam: sed deficiunt à conditore  
‘suo, & leges sibi praescriptas audacter violant.

B b b b b 4

‘Hæc



‘Hæc omnia ex Mollero ad verbum repetit Fabritius in suis Commentarijs, quibus addit. Tametsi ista principaliter videntur respicere creaturas cœlestes, de quibus Propheta hætenus loquutus est, possunt tamen ad omnes alias etiam referri.

‘Et in *Doctrinis*, In eo ipso imitemur Creaturas Dei, quod nimirum statutum sibi datum *non violant nec transgrediuntur.*

*Musculus.*

*Statutum dedit quod non præteritur.* exponunt quidam de termino temporis ac diuturnitatis; ut idem sit cum eo quod præmittit: constituit ea ut durent usque & in sæculum, vero meo iudicio convenientius est, ut intelligamus de statutis illis quæ præscripta sunt singulis, quid ministerij & officij perficiant siue Angeli sint, siue reliqui cœlestium spirituum exercitus, siue sol, siue luna, siue stellæ, siue cœli & aquæ quæ supra illos existunt. Nec rarum est in scripturis, quod singulare pro plurali ponitur; *Nihil horum ab eo quod sibi constitutum est, deficit:* ut rectè dicat & non præteritur.

*Iansenius.*

‘Eodem autem jussu quo ea creavit, *etiam stabilivit ea, ut omnibus durarent sæculis:* legemque dedit præscribentem eis motus rationem *ne abrogabitur ea lex ullo tempore,* sed usque in consummationem sæculi *constanter semper divina obtemperabunt voluntati.* Congruum itaque ut universa hæc Deum laudent, tum quod cùm maxima sint opera solo tamen verbo ab eo creata sint: tum quod *perpetuitatem* illis præstitit, tum quod *inobliquabili eis lege constanter dominetur.*

*Calvinus.*

‘Porrò de Creatione loquutus, addit quòd magis observatu dignum est, præceptum illis dedisse, quod *inviolabile* manet.

*Psal. 89. vers: 36. 37.*

*Semen ejus perpetuum erit, & thronus ejus sicut sol in conspectu meo.  
Et sicut luna quæ firmata est in sæculum, ac testis in cœlo fidelis.*

*Musculus in locum.*

‘Tam erit regnum hoc *Davidis* in conspectu meo clarum & illustre, quàm est sol illustris ac *perpetuus* coram me, *perpetuo* splendore suo terram illustrans.

*Theodoretus.*

‘Quoniam sol est in causa temporis metiendi, exoriens, occidens, & diem noctemque efficiens, meritò *per solem voluit solij aternitatem ostendere:* promisit autem semen illius in *perpetuum* conservare.

*Bellarminus.*

‘Thronus tuus erit in conspectu meo sicut sol, & sicut luna, quæ perfecta est, quoad substantiam & *stabilis* in æternum.

*Lyra.*

‘Et thronus ejus sicut sol, quia sicut sol & luna *durabunt in perpetuum:* ita Christi regnum.

*Psal. 119.*



*Psal. 119. vers. 90.*

*Thy truth is from generation to generation: thou hast laid the foundation of the earth and it abideth.*

*The Bishop of Galloway.*

As he collected the certainty of Gods word, by the indurance of heaven; so now he confirms it by considering the foundation of the earth. Sith the foundation of the earth, made by the word of God, abides sure, shall wee not thinke that the foundation of our salvation, laid in Christ Jesus, is much more sure? Though the Creatures cannot teach us the way of salvation, (for that wee must learne by the word) yet doe they confirme that which the word saith. *Thus saith the Lord, who gives the Sunne for a light to the day, and the courses of the Moone* *Jerem. 31. 35.* *and starres for a light to the night; If these ordinances depart out of my sight, then shall the seede of Israel cease from being a nation before me for ever. As there Ieremie gathers the stabilitie of the Church, from the stabilitie of the Creatures: so heere David confirms the certainty of our salvation, by the most certaine and unchangeable course of the Creatures.*

*And it abides.]* As the Lord by his word made the worlds, so beares he up all things by his mighty word. Creation is as the mother, and Providence the nurse and conserver of all the workes of God. God is not like man, for he, when he hath made a worke cannot maintaine it: he buildeth a ship, and cannot save it from shipwracke; he edifies a house, but cannot keepe it from decay: it is otherwise with God, wee daily see his *conserving power upholding his Creatures*; which should confirme us that he will not cast us off, nor suffer us to perish (sith we are the workes of his hands) if wee doe depend upon him, and give him the glory of our Creator, Conserver and Redeemer.

*Vers. 91.*

*They continue to this day by thine ordinance: for all are thy servants.*

*Idem.*

*The same argument by which David heere proves the truth of Gods word, is used by prophane mockers to improve it.* Where is (say they) the promise of his comming? for since the Fathers dyed, all things continue alike from the Creation. There is so great difference betweene a godly and a godlesse heart, that where the one, of every thing learnes to be more godly; the other learnes to be more prophane: like poysonable waspes, who out of most wholesome hearbs, gather nothing but poyson.

*Eccles.*



*Eccles. cap. 1. ver. 4.*

*Generatio una abit & altera advenit: quamvis terra in seculum permaneat.*

Junius in locum.

*Amplificatio vanitatis humana per comparisonem aliarum rerum, quæ in natura sunt, quarum hæc perstant, aliæ vero etsi ad tempus disparent, tamen in statum suum pristinum revertuntur perpetua sua conversatione.*

Johannes Ferdinandus.

*Si terra secundum essentiam & substantiam elementi, vel (ut alij dicunt) secundum se totam consideretur, æterna est à parte post; tum quia capis esse per creationem ex nihilo; tum quia eandem conditionem obtinet quam cætera elementa, quæ secundum suam substantiam incorruptibilia sunt & perpetua.*

Lutherus.

*Res quidem mundi ut sol, aer, aqua, &c: in quibus versantur homines, consistunt suâ certa lege, eunt, redeunt, moventur, &c: ita ut ordinata sunt, habent certas vices, non fluctuant neque aberrant, sed agunt quod debent, sicut sol suâ viâ, & certo motu movetur, &c. Homines vero qui in istis quatuor elementis, rebus, inquam, stabilibus versantur, non possunt sic agere, sed fluctuant, mutant, varietate suorum conatuum ac cupiditatum instabilissimi, non contenti suis terminis, negotijs, vocationibus.*

Johannes Serranus in vers. 4. 5. 6. 7.

*Sunt enim in hac natura universitate rerum ipsarum certa quædam & quasi constituta officia, quæ definitè conservantur: stat terra in medio mundi universi loco, ut illius nimirum centrum omniumque animalium sedes & domicilium: sol suos habet ortus & occasus, quos indefesso tenore conservat. Ventus, licet varijs è cæli regionibus meatus habeat, eos tamen constanter tenet: fluminum quoque è mari in mare varia est & multiplex reciprocatio, sed ea tamen hujusmodi, ut eadem constansque permaneat. Omnes denique res ex creationis suæ modo ratos habent constantesque terminos, intra quos sese continent.*

*Vers. 9. 10.*

*Quid est quod fuit? id ipsum quod erit: & quid est quod factum est? id ipsum quod fiet: & non est quippiam novum sub sole.*

*Est quippiam de quo dici possit, unde istud novum est? jam fuit in sæculis quæ fuerunt ante nos.*

Mercerus in vers. 9.

*Cum jam inde ab orbe condito idem fuerit astrorum motus, & futurus sit, fuerunt & erunt idem affectus in his inferioribus quæ virtute superiorum reguntur.*

Titlemannus.

*Hoc itaq; puto significari præsentis sermone eundem in mundo rerum statum permanere, si totum ipsum spectemus universum, & pene omnia se habere similiter in sæculis posterioribus atque in prioribus sese habuerunt, tametsi quandoque multa judicent homines nova & nunquam visa propter defectum memoria quam tempus absorbit.*

Victorinus



Victorinus Strigelius.

Eadem fabula semper in mundo agitur mutatis duntaxat personis, sicut & Thucydides lib. 3. inquit, similia accidere donec maneat eadem hominum natura, aliàs aliquando mitius, aliàs atrocius ut ferunt circumstantiæ.

Johannes Ferdinandus.

Lyræus & Carthusianus referunt ad esse rerum, existimo tamen non solum cum Cajetano sed cum Thaumaturgo, Vatablo & alijs magis consonum esse textui, ut hanc partem referamus ad operationes rerum naturales, morales & artificiales, Deus namque initio temporis non tantum Creaturis dedit esse, sed eas produxit cum suis seminibus perfectas ad operationes sibi commodas exercendas, & homines similiter excitavitque & movit naturam suo imperio ad operandum, ut eadem facies universi perpetuò conservaretur, ut constat ex Divo Petro loco citato. Et paulo post; quæ natura ab initio produxit, eadem nunc & similia producit & producet, eadem generationes, productiones & emanationes in omnibus speciebus perseverant.

Hieronymus.

Videtur mihi de his quæ supra enumeravit: generatione & generatione: mole terrarum: ortu solis & occasu: cursu fluminum, magnitudine Oceani, omnibusque quæ aut cogitatione aut visu vel auribus discimus, nunc communiter loqui, quod nihil novum sit in natura rerum, quod non ante jam fuerit.

Antonius Fayus.

Orbis autem universus est velut unum idemque theatrum; in quo eadem tragiæ & comediæ aguntur: non tamen ab iisdem actoribus: mutantur enim homines cum tempore. fuerunt, sunt & erunt bella, cades, homicidia, adulteria, divortia, lites, oppressiones; fuerunt rerum generationes & corruptiones, alterationes, terra motus, hiatus, chasmata, fulmina, &c. Nam sicut nihil dicitur quod non dictum sit prius: ita nihil fit, quod non factum sit prius. Hoc autem est intelligendum propriè de ijs quæ generantur & intereunt per successionem. Nam sol & elementa sunt eadem quæ fuerunt; non tamen per successionem: sed generabilia individua mutationi obnoxia ita sunt & erunt, ut species sint eadem per individuorum successionem continuatæ; illa in perpetuo sunt fluxu, hæ sunt semper eadem à prima creatione.

Carthwright.

Nihil novi esse sub sole confirmat inductione post novi descriptionem hanc, nempe quia nihil extitit, quod deinceps non erit, & nihil factum quod deinceps non futurum sit. Hoc primum in rebus naturalibus liquidissimè constat, ut quæ certam seriem & constantem cursum servant. In civilibus etiam & voluntarijs si quis attentius consideret, in summa rerum varietate & inconstantia earundem revolutionem tanquam in orbem conversam animadvertet.

Lavaterus.

Quæ ab exordio mundi fuerunt, adhuc sunt & erunt; quæ facta sunt fiunt & fient usque ad mundi consummationem: sol oritur, sol occidit: facit vices temporum, planta veluti moriuntur, postea redeunt, homines artificia sua exercent, bella gerunt, vincunt & vincuntur, nascuntur & moriuntur, destruunt & adificant; Hæc illusores quoque 2. Pet. cap. 3. perpendentes, colligunt nullum fore iudicium, semper res ita fore, at seipsos ac alios fallunt.



*lunt: durabunt hæc ad tempus judicij, quo nova terra & novum cælum erit.*

*Iohannes Ferus.*

*'Sed vel loquitur generaliter de successione & operationibus creaturarum, quæ eodem modo operantur & sibi succedunt, sicut ab initio: vel specialiter de hominis affectibus. Nulli enim sunt novi affectus in homine, sed semper ijdem manemus. Majores Dei creaturis abusi sunt, sic & nos: Impij fuerunt, sic & nos: ædificarunt, bella gesserunt ut nos: Nihil igitur novum.*

*Theodorus Beza.*

*Enimverò libet hic mihi compellare diligentissimos rerum mundanarum scrutatores. Cedò quid hic novi? quid recens exortum deprehendisse te vel deprehensurum existimas? Aio quidem ego, id ipsum esse & fore quod antea fuit, nec fore quidquam, nisi quod factum fuerit prius: sub sole denique nihil novum inveniri.*

*Georgius Rhemus.*

*Circulatio sive rotatio est perpetua omnium rerum. Eadem semper agitur fabula mutatis tantum personis, temporibus, locis. Genus idem semper manet; individua desinunt. Thucidides dum inquit eadem hominum natura manet, similia multa accidunt. Lucretius idem 3. de rerum natura. Non nova vivendo producitur ulla voluptas.*

*Hieronymus Osorius.*

*'His ignorantia tenebris oppleti inania sectantur, non enim vident ex eisdem causis omnia quæ fuerunt & sunt, in terra gigni, & à natura certam & stabilem quandam in sui varietate rationem servari: & ideo id quod ipsa aliquot ante annos attulit, idem eam esse allaturam.*

*Eccles. 3. vers. 14.*

*Novi quicquid facit Deus id esse semper, ad illud nihil posse addi, & de illo nihil posse detrahi: Deumque ipsum facere ut timeant homines à facie ipsius.*

*Olympiodorus in locum.*

*'Rerum alia quidem visui sunt obnoxia, alia verò videri non possunt; hic autem sermo habetur de visibilibus rebus, & harum quidem alia semper eodem modo perdurant, ut terra, cælum, sol, luna, alia verò per successionem servantur in specie, ut homines, plantæ & similia. Novi igitur inquit quod non est apponere ad ea quæ in mundi constitutione Deus creavit, cum ejusmodi compositio perfecta sit & indeficiens.*

*Mercerus.*

*'Consilia sua æterna esse voluit, & certam ac constantem legem rerum omnium, ut supra in sole dictum est & fluminibus (etsi aliorum ut supra dixi ibi diceretur) ut disceremus inde cum timere, & ejus omnipotentem sapientiam ac majestatem admirari, revereri.*

*Bonaventura.*

*'Est loqui de rebus secundum esse dupliciter, aut secundum esse individuale, sic sunt corruptibilia, aut secundum esse commune, sic sunt perpetua.*

*Iohannes*



*Johannes Ferdinandus.*

‘Locus hic intelligitur non modò de illis præcipuis operibus quæ in individua incorruptibilia sunt, sed etiam de omnibus alijs generibus & speciebus quas Deus ab initio produxit, quorum individua & si quotidie oriantur et intereant, species tamen & genera *incorruptibilia sunt & permansura in perpetuum.* Et paulo post.

‘Tandem licet corpora cælestia & quatuor elementa mutantur secundum partes, & licet omnia singularia rerum inferiorum oriantur et intereant, eadem tamen in rebus ipsis compositio, eadem temporum successio, & similis *operationes creaturarum perseverant.* Sol oritur, sol occidit, terra fructificat, aër volatilibus, mare piscibus redundat, *Cæteraque in suis actionibus permanent.* Hæc optimâ similitudine explicantur desumpta ab Augustino: sicut in musica eadem perseverat melodia, etsi aliquæ voces interim supprimantur: Sic licet res omnes eandem non habeant mensuram durationis et aliquæ intereant, *idem concentus, idem rerum ordo permanet semper.*

*Piscator.*

‘Id est, *stabiliter et immutabiliter mundum gubernat.*

*Johannes Ferus.*

‘Primò enim perseverant aliquæ creaturæ eodem numero, et corpora cælestia elementaque: aliqua eadem specie, ut homines, animalia, plantæ: deinde nedum ipsæ res permanent, *sed et ipsa Dei ordinatio in ipsis rebus, permanet successio temporum, permanent operationes creaturarum,* hic nihil addere vel demere possumus.

*Hieronymus.*

‘Ipsa & sunt et fuerunt et erunt universa quæ cernimus. Sol qui nunc oritur et antequam essemus nos in mundo, fuit et postquam mortui fuerimus oriturus est. Solem autem nominavimus, ut ex hoc intelligamus & cætera esse eadem quæ fuerunt. Quæ si videntur per conditionem mortis perire, *non pereunt quia sursum redi viva succrescunt: & nihil in perpetuum interit: sed renascitur & quasi cum quodam fenore reviviscit.*

*Orosius.*

‘Dei sapientiam in mundi hujus quem cernimus fabrica hominibus innotuisse cognovi, & usu percepi ab eo fuisse omnia tam admirabili ratione constituta ut non solum tam *multis sæculis permaneant,* sed ut nihil eis ad totius *universitatis pulchritudinem* addi, neve oculos offendat, sit necesse detrahi. Ea quidem ideò Deus tam eleganter condidit ut homines ad religionem excitaret, quâ illum piè colerent, & illius offensam perhorrescerent. Id autem ut in eorum animis vehementius infunderet hæc omnia varijs successionibus ita temperat. *Ut mundus integer perseveret.* Dei namque Providentia & virtute, sui quasi consumptione mundus alitur, illius enim partes paulatim labuntur, neque propterea omnia pereunt, procreator namque illarum Deus *abunde supplet ut refici & renovari possint: quod quidem jam ab initio rerum infinita virtute præstitit, & futuris quoque temporibus præstabit.*

Ccccc

*Pineda.*



*Pineda.*

Ob : Quomodo inquis opera Dei esse fixa & stabilia ; Cum si loquaris de tempore & rebus temporarijs labantur omnes & prætereant.  
 Resp : Respondeat verò Ecclesiastes: quod ad tempus & res temporarias attinet, Deus instaurat repetitque res similes, ut qua fieri possit ratione, præterita & elapsa instaurantur & stabilitatem accipiant, atque rebus persequutionem passis, instaurationis alicujus medicina facta perseverent.

*Ver: 15.*

*Illud quod fuit jam est : & quod futurum est, jam fuit : et Deus requirit tempus præteritum.*

*Iunius in locum.*

Id est, efficit administratione suâ, ut res aliæ alijs succedant, & per vi-  
 ces revertantur, quasi in orbem agerentur. Loquutio sumpta à sphaera  
 cælesti, quæ moderatur tempora, quasi dicat, facit ut ita revolvantur  
 quæ sunt in tempore, quemadmodum tempus ipsum, quod ea continet  
 revolvitur.

*Mercerus.*

Hic autem hoc affert ut æterna Dei opera, consilia ac decreta firma &  
 stabilia esse ostendat, quæ certam ac irrevocabilem & statam legem ha-  
 beant. Id quod in orbis partibus quas integrantes appellant verum est :  
*Vt solis et syderum status & idem cursus & corporum caelestium idem ab initio  
 orbis cursus: unde et idem affectus in istis inferioribus quæ ab illis regi voluit.*

*Carthwright.*

Denique ut-cunque hominum cæcitate fiat, ut hac tam crebrâ rerum  
 mutatione omnia sursum deorsum temerè & perturbatè ferri videan-  
 tur, his tamen quibus Deus oculos aperuit omnia ordinatissime et convenien-  
 tissime administrantur. Quod enim olim extitit jam recurrit, & quod  
 deinceps futurum est pridem extitit : ut sicut in orbium cæli conversi-  
 one, singulæ partes mutuo sibi succedunt, ut quod jam propulsum est,  
 iterum suo tempore redeat : sic Deus in rerum humanarum admini-  
 stratione, quæ exacta & transacta sunt suo semper repetit revocatque.

*Theodorus Beza.*

Hinc fit ut ipso uno temporum vicissitudines, quantumvis instabiles  
 nobis videantur, tamen Constantè moderante, repentè redeat quod  
 præterierat & quod futurum est jam extiterit : Dei manu sic rotatio-  
 nem istam regente, ut quod illa currente rotâ propulsatum fuerat, in  
 Orbem suo tempore recurrat.

*Eccles: 7. Ver. 10.*

*Ne dixeris quid est quod dies priores fuerint meliores istis :  
 nam non ex sapientia rogares super hoc.*

*Olympiodorus in locum.*

Quotidie sic stulti homines loqui solent: Dicunt enim: patrū nostrorū  
 temporibus illis priscis, loqui Deus hominibus modò per Angelos,  
 modò



‘modò per prophetas solebat : licebat antiquis Patribus uxores multas  
 ‘accipere, multas divitias possidere, quæ tamè nobis Evangelica lex co-  
 ‘ercuit. Sunt præterea qui dicunt, olim me Deus auxilio suæ gratiæ pro-  
 ‘tegebat, nunc verò me penitus solum dereliquit, ideoque bona operari  
 ‘non possum ; *Hæc autem omnia sunt insipientium verba. Est & alios ita*  
*blaterantes audire: tempestate nostra mundus hic malis hominibus est refertus:*  
 ‘alij sunt boni dies, alij verò mali. Cæterum qui duce virtute suam  
 ‘moderatur vitam, de vita in vitam transiit, ac de fide in fidem proficit,  
 ‘operibus bonis, *neque apud illum est aliqua dierum differentia: sed congruis*  
*rationibus novit evertere quas paulò ante adduximus stultorum hominum qua-*  
*siones.*

*Melancton.*

‘Hæc admonitio etiam de patientia concionatur, ut enim Thucidides  
 ‘inquit de imperijs, ita fit propemodum in tota vitâ *αὐτὸ τὸ μέγιστον*  
*semper præsens status molestior est;* proprius enim sentiuntur præsentia  
 ‘incommoda, ideo et aliorum tempora laudamus & alium statum ex-  
 ‘petimus.

*Arboreus, Doctor Parisiensis.*

*Videtur haud dubiè injuriam facere creatori utriusque temporis, qui vetus sæ-*  
*culum presenti anteposit.* Sua habuerunt sophisticæ nugæ tempora, sua  
 ‘nunc habent bonæ literæ, quod debemus Deo optimo, Maximo referre  
 ‘acceptum.

*Hieronymus.*

*Ne vetus sæculum presenti præferas: quia unus utriusque conditor est Deus:*  
*Virtutes bonos dies viventi faciunt, vitia malos.* Ne dicas ergò meliores  
 ‘fuisse dies sub Moysè & sub Christo, quàm modò sunt; nam et illo  
 ‘tempore plures fuerunt increduli, & dies eorum mali facti sunt, &  
 ‘nunc credentes multi reperiuntur: de quibus ait salvator: Beatiores  
 ‘sunt qui me non viderunt & crediderunt.

*Zanchez.*

‘Crediderim hanc sententiam subjecisse Ecclesiæ ad refutandam stul-  
 ‘tam quorundam iracundiam, qui molestiâ affecti sui sæculi mores ac-  
 ‘cusant, antiquos laudant, quasi sit iracundiæ causa temporum mutatio  
 ‘ac revolutio, cum in nobis sit origo impatientiæ, *qui si in illis priscis sæ-*  
*culis nati fuissetus similibus implicaremur malis:* quæramus attentè causas  
 ‘molestiæ nostræ et impatientiæ, et nihil accusare posse, nisi nosmetip-  
 ‘sos evidenter colligemus: Si meliora vocant tempora hominum mo-  
 ‘res, quæ ætas suis non abundavit vitijs, & *fortassis pejoribus quam nunc*  
*sint.*

*Lutherus.*

‘Fuit ergo semper mundus malus, sed non semper fuimus in mundo,  
 ‘neque sumus, nobis pueris nihil turbatur, nos quidem eramus in paca-  
 ‘tore vitæ genere, *sed mundus semper fuit sui similis.* Hoc quidem verum  
 ‘est, quòd malitia aliquo sæculo magis erumpit quam alio, sed hoc fit  
 ‘quia alij subinde casus et majores occasiones quoque existunt; *malitia*  
*tamen mundi semper manet eadem.*



Carthwright.

‘In omni verò indignationis et impatientiæ genere illud studiosè de-  
 ‘clinandum, ne Dei sapientissimam et oculatissimam administrationem  
 ‘accuses, cujus tamen te reum constituis cum dicis: Unde hoc quod  
 ‘potior est præteritorum temporum conditio, quam instantis? *non con-*  
 ‘tentus enim præsentibus liquidò stultitia sententiam in teipsum dicis.

Lavaterus.

‘Naturâ sumus *μεμψύκοι*: paucos invenias sua sorte contentos. querimur  
 ‘nos in mala tempora incidisse, laudamus præteritos annos. Interim  
 ‘cogitandum erit de veris causis malorum *quæ non temporibus sed nobis*  
 ‘*ipsis potius ascribenda sunt.* Si nos essemus meliores, tempora quoque  
 ‘meliora essent. Quod homines de nostro tempore falsò querantur, ele-  
 ‘gantè docet vir eruditus, Iohannes Rivius in suo libro de sæculi no-  
 ‘stri fælicitate, et hominum erga Dei beneficia ingratitude, quem his  
 ‘verbis orditur. Ut fortunatos nimium sua si bona norint Agricolas  
 ‘ille optimus atque maximus Poeta censet: ita ego multò fælicissimos  
 ‘hujus sæculi qui ubiq; sunt mortales omnes judico, si sua ipsi aliquan-  
 ‘dò quæ divinitus contigere, bona agnoscere & grato animo prosequi  
 ‘beneficium cæleste volent. Etenim si verum iudicium facere, remque  
 ‘ut est expendere & æstimare studeas, vix annos intra mille, aut eò am-  
 ‘plius, tantum ulli sæculo boni obtigisse quantum huic nostro, sine ulla  
 ‘dubitatione confiteare necesse est. Nam si linguarum cognitionem  
 ‘et humanitatis optimarumq; artium et disciplinarum studia, si religi-  
 ‘onis sacrosanctæ, doctrinæ ecclesiasticæ, ac veræ germanæque theo-  
 ‘logiæ instaurationem, si rerum omnium et publicarum et privata-  
 ‘rum, aut pristinum in statum restitutionem, aut in meliorem formam  
 ‘redactionem, abusum et consuetudinem vitiosarum et corruptarum  
 ‘emendationem, veterumque denique et morum et institutorum cor-  
 ‘rectionem spectes, omnia melius atque præclarius habere comperies,  
 ‘quam superioribus sæculis multis, &c.

Fayus.

*Est enim innatū hominibus ut perpetuis querelis sese torqueant, dum præterita*  
*cum præsentibus conferunt,* Hæc enim semper deteriora, illa autem bea-  
 tiora esse prædicant. Verum enim est illud Comici, nosmet nostri pæ-  
 ‘niter. Id est, nemo suâ contentus est sorte, nemo in conditione suâ ac-  
 ‘quiescit. Ita præteritos annos desiderant et laudant senes.

*O mihi præteritos referat si Iupiter annos!*

*Qualis eram cum primam aciem, &c.*

‘Ait ille apud Virgilium, & senibus hoc adscribitur, quod sint laudato-  
 ‘res temporis acti, se pueris, stultè autem id fieri ostendit Solomon  
 ‘neque verum est sæcula priora fuisse meliora.

Ferus.

*Mundus enim semper fuit malus; quod autem hoc nunc primam sen-*  
*tis, ratio est, quia crescentibus nobis crescant experientia rerum & occa-*  
*siones irascendi.* Puer non curat quod alius alium fraudat, occi-  
 ‘dit &c. sed suis nugis occupatur, quando verò sit paterfamilias,  
 ‘sentit molestiam et infidelitatem familiæ, ibi irascitur &c. *sic malitia*  
*mundi*



*mundi semper manet eadem, tamen si aliquo seculo magis erumpit quàm alio, sed hoc fit quia aliæ subinde occasiones & casus majores existunt.*

Verum hi similes sunt ijs, qui infirmi cum sint, infirmitatis culpam lecto in quo jacent adscribunt, non autem vitiosæ complexionis. *Non igitur tempori sed tibi ipsi imputa mala tua.* Non est abbreviata manus Domini &c. sed peccata nostra prohibent bonum à nobis. Hinc Paulus pulchrè indicat, cur tempora sint et dicantur mala. In novissimis (inquit) diebus instabunt tempora periculosa, quia erunt homines semetipsos amantes &c. vides non tempori sed nobis ascribenda mala.

*Brentius.*

Propheta Amos cap. 5. ait, prudens in tempore illo tacebit, quia tempus malum est. Et Paulus Ephes: 5 ait, Redimite tempus quoniam dies mali sunt. Hinc colligat fortasse quispiam tempus esse causam improbitatis hominum. Nam plerique de præsentis tempore queruntur: et quisque putat melius sibi fuisse si tempore majorum vixisset. Deinde etiam hoc frequenter in ore omnium fertur, patres non fuisse stultos; et semper quæ olim fuerunt, plurimum commendantur, quasi præteritum tempus multò nobilius ac prudentius, quàm præsens fuerit. Sed Solomon stultum eum esse affirmat qui interrogat, cur nam superiora tempora presenti præsent. Nam neque bonum neque malum tempori est assignandum: quòd tempus neque bonum per se sit, neque malum, neque quenquam bonum vel malum efficiat. Et cum Amos ac Paulus tempus malum esse pronuntiant, non propter ejus naturam hoc faciunt: sed quòd tot mala, ærummæ, scandala, eo tempore grassata sint. Ideo quod malum est, hominibus imputandum est. Nec fas est ut quisquam de tempore non potius de seipso conqueratur. *Si quis enim sui malæ culpam in tempus conferre vellet (ut plerosque facere videmus) is non minus stultè faceret, quam si egrotus quispiam morbi causam, non suæ infirmiori naturæ sed lecto in quo decumbit ascriberet.*

*Orosius.*

Cum autem hæc & alia in communi vita contra officij rationem videris, cave ne in eam venias opinionem & eorum qui ante nos vixerunt conditionem putes huic in qua sumus nos esse præferendam; & hujus rei causam diligenter exquiras, imprudenter enim id & stultè facies. Eadem enim sunt causæ externæ, & eodem quo antea modo ad rerum nostrarum conservationem feruntur. *Enobis ipsis fuit nostrarum rerum perturbatio, quæ priscos illos homines etiam in diversa contorsit.* Nam ut rectè temperati mores immutantur, sic et tempora mutantur & fiunt acerbiora: ab initio verò nostri generis peccati tyrannis extitit, quæ illud pravis opinionibus imbuat, & illius mores corrumpit.

*Rhemus.*

Ut nihil simpliciter ad pietatem tempus facere rectè dicam, fatendum omnibus eundem esse Deum qui ante tria millia annorum, & à conditu orbis fuit, eum posse adhuc excitare Davidas, Samueles, Iobos, et ne immemores simus beneficiorum divinorum æstimatores,

Ccccc 3

dico



dicō etiam verbi Dei *in puras*, quantos & quales viros, & quam magno numero? Ecclesia in Germania, Gallia, Britannia, Sarmatia, Cimbria, Chersoneso, Pannonia, Bohemia, Horum qui oblitus est, nā nihil meminit. Renata sunt his seculis litera & artes omnes quae fuerunt sepulta barbaro Antichristianismi aeo in cenobijs & bibliotaphis. Sacra princeps illa theologia cui omnes disciplina submitunt fasces velaque ac regnum deferunt, cultissima nunc est, & norunt pueruli quae vera sit ad salutem semita per assiduam verbi predicationem. O felicia secula pra majorum aeo! & va, va, & quod non gratis ea osculamur animis, tantum certē immensum Dei beneficium.

Chartusianus.

Virtutes faciunt dies bonos, vitia malos, Seneca ait, quod discipulus est prioris diei, dies posterior. Triplex ponitur tempus, scilicet tempus legis naturalis ab Adam usq; ad Moysen, exinde tempus legis scriptae usque ad durationem legis, evangelica à Christo sub quo est tempus evangelicae legis usq; ad finem mundi. In quolibet etiam horum trium temporum potest intelligi prius et posterius. Dicunt igitur aliqui, quod tempus evangelicae legis fuit melius precedentibus duobus temporibus, quia in eo est data lex perfectissima, & abundantia gratiarum praecipua, propter quod tempus gratiae nuncupatur, & plures quam antea crediderunt in Deum. Similiter tempus legis scriptae dicunt melius fuisse tempore legis naturae, quia in tempore legis scriptae multa & magna gratiarum charismata hominibus sunt collata, magis quam antea. Sicque affirmant posteriora tempora fuisse prioribus meliora. Alij dicunt quod prima pars temporis legis naturae fuit melior quam pars ejus posterior, quoniam tempore Adam & diu postea ipse & ejus posteritas pro magna parte coluerunt unum verum Deum, postea vero circa tempora Noe ceperunt communiter ad carnis vitia declinare, prout in Genes. 6. narratur: et post diluvium ad Idolatriam corruerunt. Idem dicunt de tempore legis scriptae, quod scilicet tempora meliora fuerunt sub Moysē & Aarō & senioribus sub quibus facta sunt mirabilia multa & magna: Similiter in exordio primitivae Ecclesiae &c. Sicque affirmant tempora priora fuisse meliora comparando partem unius temporis ad aliam partem ejusdem temporis. Hinc videtur dicendum & respondendum sub 3<sup>ia</sup> distinctione (viz) quod dies dicuntur meliores & deteriores non solum propter malum culpa, sed etiam pena. 2<sup>da</sup> est quod dies dicuntur meliores & deteriores intensivè vel extensivè; intensivè propter gratiarum seu prosperitatum exuberantiam: extensivè propter multitudinem suppositorum servientium Deo. 3<sup>o</sup>. quod uno eodemque tempore dies apud quosdam sunt meliores, apud alios vero deteriores. Ex quā distinctione multa sumi possunt considerationes ad dissolvendam propositam questionem. Siquidem tempore Apostolorum intensivè erant tempora meliora, evangelio nondum undique divulgato. Rursus tempore primitivae ecclesiae durante persecutorum tyrannide, tempora erant peiora tum malitia culpa tum pena, postremo tempore evangelicae legis Christus in Ecclesia sua magnam frequenter fecit reformationem, nunc in unā Christianitatis parte, nunc in alia: sic quibusdam tempora posteriora facta sunt aurea & prioribus meliora.

Lyranus.

Stulta est huiusmodi interrogatio, dicendum quod hoc est, quia illi sic querentes propriam malitiam & suae inconstantiae defectum volebant retorquere in Deum, qui est actor temporum: quod erat blasphemia contra ipsum.

Serranus.



Serranus.

Monet morositatem illam esse fugiendam, quum homines praesentium calamitatum sensu impatientes de Deo conqueruntur, in quem iniquiorum difficiliorumque temporum causam derivant. *Est verum illud ut in imperijs, ita in universa vita dei το παρὸν βαρὺ, molestior quidem est praesens status; propius enim sentiuntur praesentia incommoda. Hac tamen patienter sunt à nobis ferenda, ut eam videlicet fortunam subeamus, qualem Deus nobis imposuerit. Habet unumquodque tempus sua incommoda.*

Jerem. 31. vers. 35, 36.

*Hac dicit Dominus qui dat solem in lumine diei: ordinem lunae & stellarum in lumine noctis: qui turbat mare & sonant fluctus ejus: Dominus exercituum nomen illi. Si defecerint leges istae coram me, dicit Dominus, tunc & semen Israelis deficiet ut non sit gens coram me cunctis diebus.*

Oecolampadius in locum.

‘Perpetuum fore regnum Christi in Ecclesia docet. Etenim sicut facit solem et lunam suum ordinem perpetuo servare: ita etiam non aspernabitur semen Israel. Comparationem mutuatur à rebus firmissimis certitudinem fidei declaraturus.

Lyra in vers. 36.

‘Si defecerint leges istae rebus naturalibus à me impositae. quasi diceret, sicut sunt stabiles, ita fideles stabunt coram me: quod perfecte impletur in ecclesia triumphante.

Cornelius à lapide.

‘Si defecerint leges istae] scilicet naturae, puta statuta solis, lunae & maris agitatio, fluctus & fluxus, quasi diceret, si ordinem in naturalibus constantem servo, multò magis in supernaturalibus: & citius ista pereant, quàm semen Israel, id est populus fidelis & Ecclesia Christiana deficiat.

Iohannis cap. 5. vers. 17.

Pater meus hucusque operatur, &amp; ego operor.

Hemingsius in locum.

‘Ut Deus post creatum hominem & quietem sabbati semper adest suo opificio, ipsamque sua providentia regit, fovet, tuetur: ita Christus post redemptionis opus completum, & quietem sabbati in sepulchro adest perpetuò suae Ecclesiae, eam regit, tuetur, fovet spiritu & verbo.

Theophylactus.

‘Vis discere quomodo operetur adhuc Deus? vide dispensationem rerum, & discite opera Providentiae, solem orientem, mare, fontes, flumina, & animalia, & simpliciter omnes facturas: & videbis creaturam opera sua operari, imò operationem recipere & moveri ineffabili providentiae verbo.



Calvinus.

‘Interea non desinit mundum à se conditum *sua virtute sustinere, regere suo consilio, bonitate fovere*, & cuncta suo arbitrio in coelo & in terra statuere. Ergo sex diebus absoluta fuit mundi creatio: regimen verò ejus perpetuum est, & assidue intuendo & conservando ejus ordine Deus operatur: quemadmodum Paulus docet, in eo nos vivere, moveri & esse *Act. 17. 28.* & David *Psal. 104. 29.* stare omnia docet, quatenus ea spiritus Dei vegetat, deficere autem simul ac ejus vigore destituta fuerint.

Ferus.

‘Cum illius sabbatum adhuc duret, non cessat tamen ab opere quo gubernat omnia quæ condidit, quo subinde *res alias ex alijs progenerat, quo collapsa restituit.*

Iansenius.

‘Præter hanc Dei operationem qua ab initio novas creaturarum species condidit, est alia ejus operatio, gubernatio scilicet & providentia creaturarum, & conservatio earum, ob quam *alia ex alijs progenerat, collapsa restaurat, caelestia in continuo suo motu & influentia continet*, atque hæc est operatio quam dicit Patrem usque modò operari.

Lyra.

‘Deus non sic producit res sicut artifex domum: quia domum factam dimittit & non conservat: & ideo domo facta cessat ejus operatio. Deus autem sic producit res *quod eas conservat in esse*; & ideo licet septima die quieverit à novis operibus condendis; non tamen quievit à creaturis productis conservandis.

Chrysostomus in cap. 2. Genes. ver. 2.

‘Christus dicens Pater meus usque hodie operatur, & ego operor: continentem suam providentiam nobis declarat, & operationem vocat *conservationem factorum quibus largitur ut permaneant*, dum totum gubernat mundum.

Mercerus in eundem locum Genes.

‘At vide quid dicat, Deum cessasse ab omni opere suo quod fecerat sex diebus scilicet, quia post sex dierum opera, jam nihil novi deinceps ex creationis primæ operibus creat aut creavit. At non desinit condita servare; & omni tempore, admirabili sua providentiâ in res omnes *uti, qui res non creavit ut creatas relinqueret, sed bonitate sua assidua & potentia contineret, stabiliret & tueretur.*

Paræus in eundem locum Genes.

‘Operatur igitur Pater hucusque. 1 quia totum universum hucusque conservat, *omnia sustentans verbo suo potente.* 2 quia vi omnipotentis verbi sui: *Crescite & multiplicamini*, individua singula, *etiam hodie multiplicat*, non quidem immediata creatione, sed naturali propagatione.

Calvinus in eundem locum Genes.

‘Non immeritò quæri solet qualis ista cessatio fuerit. Certum enim est, quatenus mundum *sua virtute sustinet Deus*, & providentia gubernat, *fovet creaturas omnes*, atque etiam *propagat esse in opere assiduum.* Verum est ergò illud Christi, *Patrem & ipsum ab initio hucusque fuisse operatos*: quia si paululum retrahat manum suam Deus, interibunt pro-

tinus



tinus omnia, & in nihilum diffluent: ut habetur *Psal.* 104. 29. *Nec*  
*verò probè Deus agnoscitur cæli & terræ creator, nisi dum perpetua illa vege-*  
*tatio ei tribuitur.*

'Hæc nobis *assidua vegetatio* probè meditanda est, ut singulis momen-  
'tis veniat Deus nobis in mentem.

*Actorum Apost. cap. 17. ver. 28.*

*In ipso vivimus, movemur & sumus.*

*Calvinus in locum.*

‘Per omnes mundi partes diffusa est vis spiritus, *que tueatur eas in suo statu*: cœlo & terræ *vigorem* quem cernimus, animantibus etiam motum suppeditet.

*Ad Coloss. cap. I. vers. 17.*

*Estque ipse ante omnia, & omnia per eum consistent.*

*Iohannes Davenantius Episcopus Sarisburiensis in locum.*

‘Est hoc novum & excellens Christi privilegium, quod non modò  
‘omnia condiderit, sed quod omnia *divina sua virtute ita sustineat & ful-*  
‘*ciat*, ut si illam subtraxerit in nihilum relaberentur.

*Eadem est actio si Deum spectemus in creatione & conservatione Creatura-  
rum; in hoc tantum differunt, quod creatio designat actionem Dei,  
quatenus de novo producit creaturam: conservatio designat eandem  
actionem quatenus productam Creaturam non derelinquit. Creatura ut fiat  
ens habet id à Deo influente; ut maneat ens à Deo eandem influentiam non ab-  
rumpente. Durandus itaque non dubitavit affirmare de qualibet crea-  
tura, quod quamdiu est, tam diu creatur à Deo, quia quoad Deum est  
eadem actio creationis & conservationis creaturarum. Hinc sequitur  
quod à quo omnia sunt condita, ab eodem etiam sunt conservanda: nam  
conservatio non est per aliquam novam actionem, sed per continua-  
tionem actionis quæ dat esse: Durand. lib. 2. distinct. 1. quæst. 2.*

‘Ad hæc confirmanda duo tantum loca afferemus. Primus *Joh. 5. 17. Pater meus usque adhuc operatur, & ego operor.* Quem locum Interpretes accommodant ad hanc *perennem Dei & Christi operationem in conservatione, & gubernatione creaturarum.* Quievit enim Deus die septimo, à creandis novis creaturis; sed nunquam cessat à *conservatione & administratione rerum conditarum.*

‘Alter habetur 1. ad Hebraeos, ver. 3. ubi Christus dicitur *ῥῶτον τὰ πάντα*  
*καὶ ῥῆμα τῆς δυνάμεως αὐτοῦ*. innuitur, Christi divinam virtutem esse *fulcrum*  
*& quasi basin* omnium creaturarum, quæ mox in nihilum corruerent,  
‘nisi ab illo sustentarentur.

*Hemingius.*

‘Unde ipsius aeterna providentia quâ omnes res *in suo statu conservat,*  
‘commendatur.

*Bullingerus.*



*Bullingerus.*

‘Exerit enim vim suam per res conditas omnes quas gubernat *vegetat*, moderatur, agitatur & *conservat*, id quod propriè Dei munus est.

*Aquinas.*

‘Id est *conservantur*, sic enim se habet Deus ad res sicut sol ad lunam, quo recedente deficit lumen lunæ, & sic si Deus subtraheret suam virtutem à nobis, in momento deficerent omnia. *Heb. 1.* Portans omnia verbo virtutis suæ.

*Theodoretus.*

‘Non solum enim est omnium opifex, sed etiam curam gerit eorum quæ fecit: & gubernat creaturam quæ stat per ejus sapientiam & potentiam.

*Aretius.*

‘Hoc est, Christus ut conditus omnia, sic *conservat* omnia. Quod ergo res *durant in hodiernum usque diem* Christo debetur: & quod nostra salus firma est, Christi beneficium est.

*Calvinus.*

‘Quatuor rationibus Angelos Christo subjicit: ne ejus gloriam obscurent: primò, quia per ipsum sunt creati; secundò, quia ad ipsum tanquam ad legitimum finem referri debet eorum creatio: tertio, quod ipse semper fuerit antequam crearentur: quartò, quòd eos *sustineat sua virtute & in statu conservet*. *Quamquam non de solis Angelis hoc affirmat, sed de toto quoque mundo.*

*Anselmus.*

‘Omnia in ipso constant, quia secundum immensitatem incircumscriptæ & incomprehensæ divinitatis ejus, omnia sunt intra ipsum, & ne in nihilum redeant *per eum consistunt*.

*Ad Hebræos cap. 1. ver. 3.*

*Portatque omnia verbo potentia sua.*

*Paræus in locum.*

‘Portare omnia & omnes creaturas coeli & terræ sustentare, cœri, conservare generali & speciali influxu: *ut cuncta creata in suo statu consistent*.

*Hemingius.*

‘Hinc discamus statum creaturarum *incolumem* consistere per filium.

*Chrysostomus.*

‘Hoc est gubernans siquidem cadentia & ad nihilum tendentia *continet*; non enim minus est continere mundum, quam fecisse; sed si oportet aliquid audacius dicere, adhuc amplius est: nam in faciendo quidem ex nullis extantibus rerum essentiæ productæ sunt; in continendo verò ea quæ facta sunt ne ad nihilum redeant *continentur*. *Hic ergo dum reguntur & ad invicem sibi repugnantia coaptantur magnum & valdè mirabile plurimæque virtutis indicium declaratur.*

‘Eadem ad verbum ex Chrysostomo Haymo mutuatus est.

*Aquinas.*

‘Portat ergo omnia quantum ad suum esse: portat etiam omnia quantum ad operari.

*Theodoretus.*



*Theodoretus.*

‘Non solum enim fecit omnia, sed ea etiam dirigit & gubernat. In-  
 ‘signem autem ejus ostendit potentiam cum dixit verbum ei sufficere ad  
 ‘omnium fabricationem & eorum curam & providentiam.

*Aretius.*

‘Christus res conditas *tuetur & in ordine conservat*: nam illud est  
 ‘ferre, *ab interitu & ruina vindicare*: id Christus facit verbo suo, hoc  
 ‘est, nutu suo potenti, voluntate sic omnia gubernante: verum id so-  
 ‘lius est Dei, quemadmodum & condere Dei est solius: Est igitur  
 ‘Christus Deus.

*Calvinus.*

‘Portare hic pro *tueri* accipitur, *facereque ut in suo statu maneant crea-*  
*tura*: intelligit enim omnia mox casura nisi ejus virtute sustinerentur.

*Lyra.*

‘Portans omnia, id est sustentans & *conservans in esse*.

*Beza.*

‘Heb: *Melchalchel*, quod valdè est expressum; significat enim, *susten-*  
*tare, tueri, alere*.

*Salmeron.*

‘Portatque omnia verbo virtutis suæ; id est, agat sive moveat & mo-  
 ‘deretur omnia: per eum enim per quem mundum condidit, conditum  
 ‘regit & administrat: idque absque labore ut Chrysostomus explicat,  
 ‘expendens vim illius verbi Græci *φέρειν* quod de his qui digito aliquid  
 ‘movent vel efficiunt (inquit) dici solet.

*Hyperius.*

‘Christus omnia sustentat, conservat, retinet, *in sua dignitate* ne con-  
 ‘cidant & dissolvantur.

*Anselmus.*

‘Qui & portat omnia, id est, *sursum tenet ne decidant* & in nihilum re-  
 ‘vertantur, unde creata ab ipso fuerant; & *sustentat* ea non labore nec  
 ‘difficultate, sed verbo virtutis suæ, id est, imperio suæ potentiae, hoc  
 ‘est, sola voluntate sua, quæ in eo virtus est & omnipotentia; per quod  
 ‘patet, quia patri compotentialis est.

*Ad Romanos cap. I vers. 20.*

*Ipsius enim invisibilia jam inde à mundo ex rebus factis intellecta condito*  
*pervidentur, aterna videlicet ejus cum potentia, tum divinitas: ad*  
*hoc ut sint inexcusabiles.*

*Orosius in locum.*

‘Vis divinam vim cernere? respice cœlum astris longe lateque collu-  
 ‘centibus distinctum & ornatum, definitos cœlestium orbium motus &  
 ‘equabiles in omni tempore conversiones, *universa naturæ constantiam* pulchri-  
 ‘tudinem & utilitatem considera, rem eam clarè perspicias.

*Anselmus.*

‘Si vigilanter exteriora conspiciamus, per ipsa eadem ad interiora re-  
 ‘vocamur: vestigia quippe Creatoris sunt mira opera visibilis creaturæ,  
 ‘quoniam



‘quoniam per hæc quæ ab ipso sunt, imus ad ipsum: menti enim nostræ  
 ‘peccato suo exterius sparsæ, necdum Deus sic interius innotescit: sed  
 ‘dum facturæ suæ decus foras proponit, quasi quibusdam nutibus in-  
 ‘nuit, & quæ intus sequamur ostendit, ac miro modo ipsis formis exte-  
 ‘rioribus nos ad interiora perducit: viæ quippe ad Creatorem sunt o-  
 ‘pera considerata creaturæ, quæ dum facta cernimus, potentiam fa-  
 ‘ctoris miramur. Nam quocunque se verterit anima, si vigilanter in-  
 ‘tendit in iisdem ipsis Dominum invenit, per quæ reliquit: ejusque po-  
 ‘tentiam eorum rursus consideratione cognoscit, quorum amore de-  
 ‘seruit: & per quæ averla cecidit, per hæc conversa revocatur. Ubi  
 ‘enim lapsi sumus, ibi incumbimus ut surgamus; & quasi ibi surgen-  
 ‘do manum considerationis figimus, ubi pede amoris lubrici corru-  
 ‘entes, negligendo jacebamus. Quia enim ab invisibilibus per visibi-  
 ‘lia cecidimus, dignum est, ut ad invisibilia ipsis rursus visibilibus in-  
 ‘nitentes redeamus: & quo casu anima venit ad infima, eo gradu re-  
 ‘vertatur ad summa.

*Ambrosius.*

‘Ea quæ humanis usibus evoluta anno gignuntur, ipsum decrevisse  
 ‘nulli in dubium venit. Æterna ergo virtus Dei Christus est, per quem  
 ‘instituit quæ non erant, & in eo manent. Cujus si dudum persona agni-  
 ‘ta non est, opera tamen manifesta sunt. Divinitas verò qua in opere sibi  
 ‘decreto perseverant elementa rerum, ut sint inexcusabiles.

*Beza.*

‘Libet hîc subjicere quasi pro hujus loci commentario quæ scripsit  
 ‘Galenus homo alioquin suspectæ in religione fidei. Sacrum hunc ser-  
 ‘monem ut verum hymnum conditori nostro compono, & hunc verum  
 ‘esse ipsius cultum statuo, non si taurorū hecatombas multas ei sacrificā-  
 ‘verim, aut unguenta multa vel cassias adoleverim: sed si tum ipse cog-  
 ‘noverim, tum etiam alijs exposuerim, quanta sit ejus sapientia, quanta  
 ‘vis, quanta denique bonitas. Quod enim omnia utrò voluit, quanta  
 ‘fieri potuit ornatu concinnare, & nulli horum bonorum invidet, statuo esse  
 ‘perfectæ bonitatis demonstrationem. Et hætenus quidem à nobis ut  
 ‘bonus celebratur. Rationem autem invenisse quâ universa quàm op-  
 ‘timè exornarentur, summæ sapientiæ: & quæcunque prius decreverat,  
 ‘ea quoque confecisse, ejus demum vis est ac potestas quæ nullo modo  
 ‘superari possit.

*Calvinus.*

‘Sensus est, ideo conditum esse hominem, ut spectator sit fabricæ  
 ‘mundi: ideo datos ei oculos ut intuitu tam pulchrè imaginis ad autorem  
 ‘ipsum feratur. Deus per se invisibilis est; sed quia elucet ejus majestas  
 ‘in operibus & creaturis universis debuerunt illinc homines agnosce-  
 ‘re: nam artificem suum perspicuè declarant. Quâ ratione Aposto-  
 ‘lus ad Hebræos, *secula dicit esse specula*, seu spectacula rerum invisibi-  
 ‘lium.

*Aretius.*

‘Hic primus est modus cognoscendi Deum, per res naturales ex libro  
 ‘Dei physico, qui Archetypum sapientissimum declarat esse, quia ma-  
 ‘china ista sapientissimè, ornatissimè, utilissimè composita est.

*Pererius.*



*Pererius.*

‘Participium præsentis temporis, ideoque reddens hanc sententiam.

‘Licet invisibilia Dei nec per seipsa, nec in seipsis videri à nobis queant, ea tamen quodammodo cerni & conspici à nobis, dum opera Dei aspiciamus, & contemplantur; in ipso enim eorum intellectu & contemplatione lucet quædam notitia illorum invisibilium Dei, æternitatem dico Dei, & omnipotentiam & bonitatem & sapientiam, & id genus alia: Quemadmodum per ipsum contuitum speculi cernitur, quæ in eo repræsentatur imago; & contemplantibus pulchrum ali- quod opificium seu artificium, simul etiam ejus qui fecit ars cognoscitur.

*Salmeron.*

‘Totus hic mundus speculum divinitatis divinæque gloriæ & magnificentiæ theatrum: ut invisibile sapientis ingenium in aliquo librò docto, & eleganter composito à se edito apparet. Et ut Apellis excellentis pictoris ars & sapientia in tabulis à se depictis resplendebat: ad eum modum sapientia & perfectiones divinæ in his visibilibus elucet.

*Paræus.*

‘Sicut ex opificio præstanti, opificis cognoscitur præstantia & sapientia, ut ex *Architæ* machina artificis noscitur ingenium: sic Dei æterna sapientia, bonitas, potentia, ex operibus mundi *pervidetur*, hoc est perspicue cognoscitur: sive enim cælorum naturam, sydera, motus admirabiles, sive meteora in aëre terribilia & varia, sive creaturas in aëre, terra & mare illustres, vastas & innumeras, maximè genus humanum intueamur: nulla est omnium quæ de Creatoris sapientia atque potentia non sit pro evidenti commentario.

*Theodoretus.*

‘Creatio rerum & horarum mutationes, & temporum vicissitudines, noctis & diei successiones, & nubium velut quædam parturitiones imbrium, & auræ ventorum & herbarum, arborumque & fructuum ex seminibus productiones, & alia hujusmodi permulta, quæ in hoc mundo cernuntur, aperte nos docent, & Deum esse omnium effectorem & gubernationis eorum quæ fecit clavum scitè ac sapienter tenere. Qui enim sola bonitate sua & benignitate adductus omnia fabricatus est, nunquam eorum quæ fecit curam abjecerit, & absque administratione reliquerit. Et ideo non dixit divinitus Apostolus: *Invisibile ipse*, sed plurali numero, *invisibilia ipsius*. Id autem est creatio rerum & providentia eorum, & iusta Dei in unumquemque sententia, rerumque administrandarum multiplices ac variæ rationes; Quamobrem veniam non merentur, qui cum ejusmodi præceptores habuerint, ex tot eorum doctrinis nullam utilitatem percipere, quare meritò subjunxit Apostolus, *Ita ut sint inexcusabiles*.

*Huc etiam alludit Augustinus sermone 50. de verbis*

*Domini, secundum Evangelium Iohannis.*

‘Interroga mundum, ornatum, cæli fulgorem, dispositionemque syderum, solem diei sufficientem, lunam noctis solatium, interroga  
D d d d d  
terram



‘terram herbis & arboribus fructificantem, & animalibus plenam, &  
 ‘hominibus exornatam; interroga mare tot tantisque natatilibus ple-  
 ‘num; interroga aëra innumeris refertum volatilibus; interroga om-  
 ‘nia, & vide si non illa sensu suo tanquam tibi respondeant? Deus nos  
 ‘fecit. Hæc & Philosophi nobiles quæsierunt, & ex artificio atque o-  
 ‘pificio mundi, Deum ejus opificem effectoremque cognoverunt. Hæc  
 ‘itaque ratione illi veritatem Dei agnoverunt, & Deus sui cognitionem  
 ‘impertivit eis, qua tamen illi per summam injustitiam abusi sunt, post-  
 ‘habito vero Deo, adorantes & colentes idola.

*Lib. Sapientia cap. 1. vers. 7.*

*Cum spiritus Domini impleat orbem terrarum, & idem continens  
 omnia cognitionem habeat vocis.*

*Iansenius in locum.*

‘Continet omnia spiritus: quia omnia in suo esse conservat.

*Holkot.*

‘Idem spiritus qui omnia continet: id est, gubernat & servat omnia, sci-  
 ‘entiam habet vocis.

*Lorinus.*

‘Continere præterea idem potest esse quod conservare.

*Lyra.*

‘Et hoc quod continet omnia, id est, spiritus sanctus omnia conservans in  
 ‘esse, sic pater & filius: nam indivisa sunt opera trinitatis.

*Carthusianus.*

‘Continet, id est, spiritus sanctus continet omnem in se perfectionem,  
 ‘in quo omnia causaliter exemplariterque consistunt, relucet & conti-  
 ‘nentur tanquam in Creatore, & quod cuncta conservet in esse, sine cujus  
 ‘manutentione nec ad momentum possunt durare.

*Vers. 13. 14.*

*Quia Deus mortem non fecit, neque delectatur perditione viventium.*

*Nam omnia creavit ut sint, & salutare sunt ortus hujus mundi, in quibus  
 non est pharmacum exitiale neque inferorum regnum super terram.*

*Lorinus in locum.*

‘Non lætatur Deus in perditione vivorum, quia non homines tantum,  
 ‘sed & alias res omnes condidit, ut suam naturam ac statum tuerentur &  
 ‘conservarent, nec ullum in ulla natura venenum iniecit, quod eam posset ever-  
 ‘tere: sed neque orci in terra regnum collocavit, hoc est, corruptionis in-  
 ‘teritusve, dominatum.

*Iansenius.*

‘Sensus est, non est in generationibus mundi creatum à Deo venenum  
 ‘aliquod exterminans & perdens.

‘Non est inter Creaturas à Deo creatas, creata perditio corrumpens aut  
 ‘corruptio vel malum perditionis.

*Cap. 8.*



Cap. 8. vers. 1.

*Pertingit autem à fine uno ad alterum fortiter, & disponit omnia utiliter.*

*Lorinus in locum.*

‘Infinita potentia sua, universæ principium naturæ finemque complectitur, nec aptius quidlibet in quolibet genere, melius, elegantius, *firmius* constitui potest, quàm quo modo sapientia illud constituit.

*Oforius.*

‘Summa potentia principium & finem naturæ universæ complectitur, & summo consilio rerum omnium statum & salutem constituit, ita ut nihil sit in quolibet genere, quantum rei uniuscujusque postulat conditio, quod melius ad utilitatem, aut elegantius ad pulchritudinem, aut *valentius ad stabilitatem* excogitari possit.

*Lyra.*

‘Ad hoc creavit res ut *permaneant in esse incorruptibiles, per seipsas*, ut angelos, animas humanas, corpora coelestia, & etiam elementa, quantum ad totalitatem; licet in aliquibus eorum partibus sit generatio & corruptio. res verò corruptibiles *conservat in esse, secundum earum species per continuam generationem.*

Cap. 11. vers. 21.

*Omnia mensura, numeroque & pondere disposuisti.*

*Carthusianus in locum.*

‘Verba per se sumpta profundius possunt exponi. Imprimis quòd univèrsum constitutum & factum est in mensura &c. Insuper quælibet res subsistens facta est in mensura, &c: sed de hac re introduci possunt multa subtilia quæ in libro de *venustate mundi*, & pulchritudine Dei induxi.

*Holkot.*

‘Generalius sic potest exponi. Imaginemur quòd à Deo cuncta procedant, sicut numeri ab unitate, & unaquæque species univèrsi certum gradum teneat secundum distantiam à prima causâ rerum. Et sic videtur loqui *Aristoteles 8<sup>o</sup>. Metaph:* ubi dicit quod formæ rerum se habent sicut numeri, & sic inveniemus quòd omnis res est in numero, id est, in distantia certa à Deo: modò quilibet numerus certam habet distantiam ad unitatem. Item omnis res est in mensura, quia omnis res creata est finitæ & limitatæ perfectionis, tam in essentia, quàm in potentia agendi. Tertiò, omnis res creata habet suum pondus, id est, naturalem appetitum ad aliquid in quo sua natura salvatur & perficitur: sicut creatura rationalis naturaliter appetit beatitudinem, & creatura corporalis locum sibi convenientem.

D d d d d 2

*Iansenius.*



*Iansenius.*

‘Significatur, Deum omnia disponere & ordinare debito ordine & modo & quadam proportione: sicut omnes creaturæ suum acceperunt à Deo numerum, pondus & mensuram.

*Lorinus.*

‘Augustinus generalem propositionem sumit de conditione rerum omnium: & docet non esse quidem Deum ex genere eorum quæ mensurantur, numerantur, appenduntur: neque mensuram, numerum, pondus ut concipiuntur in rebus, prius fuisse quàm crearentur res, tamen prout mensura est id, quod omni rei modum præfigit, numerus inquit speciem præbet, pondus ad quietem ac stabilitatem trahit. Deum dicit ista omnia esse, utpote qui terminet, formet, ordinet omnia & in seipso disponat, mensura sine mensura, numerus sine numero, pondus sine pondere. Itaque vel ait omnia disposita in mensura, numero, pondere, quia Deus in seipso, seu per seipsum illa disposuit; vel quoniam sic eadem disposuit ut haberent mensuram, numerum, pondus.

‘Bernardus docet pondus in rebus creatis designare dignitatem: mensuram esse locum & tempus, aut definitionem, seu limitationem essentiae: numerum spectari vel in compositione partium, vel in varietate & mutabilitate.

*Cap. 12. vers. 1.*

*Spiritus incorruptus tuus inest omnibus.*

*Lorinus in locum.*

‘Triplicem habere potest locus explicationem, de spiritus divini benignitate in puniendo præcipue: de eodem res incorrupte gubernando, hoc est, conservando & præservando ne corrumpantur, aut etiam corruptas restaurando: de spiritu conscientiae nostræ quem dedit Deus, quæ conscientia non finit nos de Deo vindice benigno peccatorum nostrorum sinisterius sentire, sed facit ut nosmetipsos tanquam reos damnemus.

*Ecclesiastici cap. 16. ver. 27.*

*Ornavit in saculum opera sua, prout in manu ejus sunt principia illius in generationem quamque: neque esurierunt, neque fatigata sunt in opificiis ejus, neque defecerunt ab operibus ejus.*

*Iansenius in locum.*

‘Significatur, Deum cum primas illas mundi partes cœlestes constituisse & distinxisset, ornasse perpetuo ornatu earum operationes: eas & stabiles esse fecit & indefatigabiles & pulcherrimo ordine inter se consentientes. Et paulo post.

‘De orbibus ergo cœlestibus aut sole, luna, & astris tanquam militibus Dei opus sibi injunctum assidue perficientibus dicit: quod nec patiantur aliquam egestatem nec fatigationem, ut vel præ fame vel



*vel fatigatione unquam desistant ab operibus suis ex Dei tanquam summi imperatoris jussu peragendis. Quo nihil aliud significatur quam illa nunquam vel defectum pati vel defatigari.*

*Hugo de Vienna.*

*'Disposuit opera sua, ita ut in æternum sine fine stare possint.*

*Vatablus.*

*'Significatur, in operibus & Creaturis Dei constantiam cum bonitate conjunctam esse, quod sine cujusquam incommodo singulæ officium suum faciunt.*

*Octavianus de Tusa.*

*'Significatur, summo ordine, summa concordia Angelos cœlorum motum regere atque hunc tenorem ad extremum usque servaturos.*

*Vers. 28. 29.*

*Alterum non fuit alteri angustia.*

*Et in seculum usque non sunt immorigera sermoni ejus.*

*Iansenius in locum.*

*'Sensus ergo est, quod cum sint in orbibus cœlestibus & stellis tanta multitudo, tantaque motuum & officiorum varietas: talium tamen militum Dei nullus alij unquam molestus fuit, nullus alium attrivit aut pressit: quemadmodum in magno militum exercitu fieri solet, sed unumquodque eorum constanter suum facit officium sine cujusquam perturbatione: nec unquam ea corpora prætergredientur ordinationem à Deo ijs factam: juxta illud Psal. 148. præceptum posuit & non præteribit.*

*Cap. 18. ver. 5.*

*Non possint minuere aut addere, neque pervestigare possunt homines mirabilia opera Domini.*

*Iansenius in locum.*

*'Significat opera Dei & esse perfectissima, & inscrutabilia: per hoc enim quod dicit, non est minuere neq; adjicere: significat ea adeo esse perfecta ut nemo possit ostendere aliquid in eis esse superfluum quod auferendum esset (id enim est ea minuere) aut aliquid in eis desiderari, quod addendum est, id enim est ad ea adjicere.*

*Lyra.*

*'Non est minuere nec adjicere: nam in ejus operibus nihil est superfluum nec diminutum.*

*Cap. 39. ver. 25.*

*Non est unde dicas quid istud est: omnia enim ad ministerium suum creata sunt.*

*Iansenius in locum.*

*Non licet dicere de operibus Dei per contemptum: Quid est hoc aut istud?*

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boc



*boc est, ad quid hac sunt facta, quemve usum aut fructum habent, etsi enim multarum rerum usus ignoretur, tamen omnia suo tempore quarentur, tanquam alicui usui aut convenientia aut necessaria, nihilque est quod non sit aliquo tempore desiderandum & optandum propter utilitatem quam habet: nihil item est quod non ad universi decorem & ornatum suo tempore requiratur ut sit.*

*Lyra.*

*Quid est hoc, aut quid est illud? id est, ad quid valet hoc vel illud: quasi diceret ad nihil. Sic dicunt homines fatui de animalibus venenosis, & consimilibus: eò quod aliquando nocent homini. Simile nam est ac si aliquis offendat ad securim artificis, & ex sua plagatione dicat eam non solum esse inutilem, sed etiam malam, cum tum sit ad bonum ordinata, & sic utitur eà carpentator: Deus autem omnia bona instituit, & ad bonum utitur omnibus creaturis.*

*Omnia enim in tempore suo quarentur: sicut serpens aliquando quaritur à medico, ut ejus carnibus utatur ad curationem leprosi: & bufo ut habeatur lapis pretiosus in eo nutritus.*

*Vers. 38. 39.*

*Opera Domini sunt omnia quæ bona sunt, & omne ministerium suppetat suo tempore.*

*Nec est unde dicas, hoc illo pejus est; nam omnia tempore suo probata erant.*

*Hugo de Vienna in locum.*

*Hoc est non potest disertè dici hoc tempus illo pejus est, nihil enim malum, vel nequius est à Domino. Et tangit hic author errorem quorundam qui putant à Deo esse, & non ex meritis hominum, quòd tempus unum nequius est alio; unde glossa in hac verba: Ne dicas priora tempora fuisse meliora quàm nunc sunt, virtutes enim faciunt dies bonos, vitia malos.*

*Jansenius.*

*Etsi enim sint quædam Dei opera, quorum rationes & utilitates latent tamen omnia suo tempore declarabuntur & cognoscuntur esse bona, laudemque invenient cum eorum rationes & fructus innotescant: sive hic in hoc mundo, sive perfectissimè in novissimo die, quando nihil occultum erit quod non sciatur.*

*Lyra.*

*Non est dicere in operibus divinis: Hoc illo nequius est, quia nullum est nequam in quantum à Deo est.*

*Cap. 42. vers. 18.*

*Non indidit sanctis, Domini ut enarrent omnia mirabilia ipsius, quæ firmavit Dominus omnipotens statuminando gloriâ suâ universitatem.*

*Jansenius in locum.*

*Quæ Dominus omnipotens ita firmiter constituit, ut stabilia sint, semperque perdurent per gloriam potentiae & majestatis ipsius.*

*Vers. 25.*



Ver: 25.

*Hac omnia vivunt manentque in sæculum omnibus in ministerijs,  
omniaque obediunt.*

*Iansenius in locum.*

‘Varijs modis celebrat Dei opera, quæ sicut commendavit ab eorum  
‘pulchritudine, ita nunc ab eorum *duratione & obedientia* tribuit eis  
‘vivere: quia in suo esse & vigore persistunt. Manere dicit in sæculum,  
‘quia perdurant vel in seipsis vel in sua saltem specie. Obediunt Deo  
‘in omni necessitate, quia per illa quicquid Deus vult præstatur  
‘ad omnem necessarium usum. Nam ut dicit Psalmista: Omnia serviunt  
‘tibi.

Cap: 43. ver: 12.

*In verbis sancti, stabunt ad iudicium, & non deficient in  
vigilijs suis.*

*Iansenius in locum.*

‘Quoniam juxta scripturæ morem astrorum multitudinem vocavit ap-  
‘paratum militare, pulchrè de eis hoc versu loquitur tanquam de  
‘militibus qui ad iussum sui imperatoris semper stant parati, custodias  
‘& vigilijs sibi deputatas accuratè servantes, graviter puniendi & repre-  
‘hendendi si ab ordine sibi constituto deficient quales Græcis dicun-  
‘tur *λεπτοτάκται* hoc est, ordinis desertores. Dicit ergo in verbis sancti,  
‘hoc est, juxta præceptum Domini stabunt ad iudicium eius, hoc est,  
‘ad exequendum ejus sententiam & voluntatem mox aderunt stellæ  
‘singulæ suo tempore & ordine præcedentes, & munus sibi a Deo attri-  
‘butum tuentes: & non deficient in vigilijs, hoc est, non fatigabuntur in officijs  
‘sibi veluti vigilijs delegatis:

Ver: 29.

*Propter ipsum confirmatus est itineris finis, & in sermone ejus compo-  
sita sunt omnia. Vel ut alij; Sermone ipsius consistunt omnia.*

*Iansenius in locum.*

‘Omnia Dei voluntate in destinatum sibi finem immobiliter perducun-  
‘tur, & per sermonem ejus, atque iussum & voluntatem omnia sunt con-  
‘stituta & recte disposita.

*Lyra:*

‘Et in sermone ejus scilicet Dei, composita sunt omnia, id est, disposita  
in pondere, numero et mensura. Vt dicitur sapientia. 11°.



## CHAP. 5. Ob. 4.

*That little use can bee made of my booke; but the profitable and manifold use thereof I trust I shall make to appeare so fully and cleerely, as thereby to wipe off that aspersion in the opinion of all indifferent judges.*

I Shall heere crave leave a little to inlarge my selfe, which I hope will not bee thought unseasonable or unsuteable, considering the controversie is betweene Divines, and the life of all *Theologicall* discourse is application. The opinion then of the preservation of the world frō decay (besides those uses I have already made of it in mine *Apology*) doth not onely serve as a good evidence against chance & fortune, & the more conspicuous illustration of the divine attributes, but for the exercise of our thankfulness, for the inflaming our desires towards the life to come, for the contemning of all humane workes in comparison of those of almighty God, for the breeding in us of a greater and stronger assurance of his care over us, for the making of us more constant in his service, for the straiter uniting of us in the linkes of mutuall amitie and freindship among our selves, for the inducing of us in all our actions to preferre the publique good before our private, for the arming of us to undergoe & indure with patience and contentment whatsoever crosses do or can befall us, for the observing of order, and the yeelding of due obedience to superiours, for the kindling of our love towards God; and lastly for the stopping of the mouthes of all ingratefull and repining murmurers: and because it may appeare that these uses are not contrived by mee, to serve mine owne turne I shall (by Gods helpe) vouch a good part of them out of the scriptures themselves, or out of the writings of auncient, learned, & reverend Divines.

First use for the  
exercise of our  
thankfulness.

I will beginne with *thanksgiving* and the setting fourth of the praises of the Creator; to the practise whereof the consideration of the Creatures perseverance in its being, order, and vigour, by his infinite goodness, wisdom and power, hath stirred up not onely devoute men on earth, but the blessed Angels and glorious Saints in heaven. It is the sacred Antheme which the Quire of *Seraphins* rebound each to other. *Esa. 6. 3. Holy, holy, holy is the Lord of hosts, the whole earth is full of his glory.* Or as the originall will well enough beare it. *His glory is the fulnes of the whole earth.* And it is the acclamation of the foure and twenty elders. *Rev. 4. 11. Thou art worthy O Lord to receive glory, and honour, and power, for thou hast created all things, and for thy pleasure they are, and were created.* The Prophet *David* likewise to shew the correspondence herein betwixt the Church militant and triumphant in his holy hymnes makes this the ditty of many of them. *Psal. 33. v. 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. Rejoice in the Lord O ye righteous: for praise is comely for the upright. Praise the Lord with harpe: sing unto him with the Psalterie, and an instrument of ten strings. Sing unto him a new song; play skilfully with a loude noise. For the word of the Lord is right,*  
and



and all his workes are done in truth. Hee loveth righteousness and judgement: *the earth is full of the goodnesse of the Lord.* By the word of the Lord were the heavens made: and all the host of them, by the breath of his mouth. He gathereth the waters of the sea together as an heape: hee layeth up the depth in storehouses. Let all the earth feare the Lord: Let all the inhabitants of the world stande in awe of him: for hee spake and it was done, hee commanded *and it stood fast.* Psal: 92.v.1.2.3.4.5.6. It is a good thing to give thanks unto the Lord, and to sing praise unto thy name O most high: To shew forth thy loving kindnesse in the morning: and thy faithfulness every night: Vpon an instrument of ten strings, and upon the Psalterie: upon the harpe with a solemne sound: for thou Lord hast made mee glad through thy worke: *I will triumph* in the workes of thy hands. O Lord how great are thy workes! and thy thoughts are very deepe. A brutish man knoweth not; neither doth a foole understand this. Psal 104.v.1.13.14.15.16.19.24.25.27.28.30. Bless the Lord O my soule, O Lord my God thou art very great: thou are clothed with honour and majesty. Hee watereth the hils from his chambers: *the earth is satisfied with the fruite of thy workes.* He causeth the grasse to grow for the cattell, and herbe for the service of man: that he may bring forth food out of the earth: and wine that maketh glad the heart of man, and oile to make his face to shine: and bread which strengthneth mans heart. The trees of the Lord are *full of sappe*, the cedars of Libanon which he hath planted. *Hee appointed the moone for seasons; the sunne knoweth his going downe.* O Lord how manifold are they workes! in wisdom hast thou made them all: *the earth is full of thy riches. So is the great and wide sea*, wherein are things creeping innmerable: both small and great beasts. These waite all upon thee: that thou maist give them their meate in due season. That thou givest them they gather: thou openest thy hand they are filled with good. Thou sendest forth thy spirit, they are created: *and thou renewest the face of the earth.*

Psal. 8.v.1.3.9. O Lord our Lord, how excellent is thy name in all the earth! When I consider the heavens the worke of thy fingers, the moone and the stars which thou hast *ordained.* O Lord our Lord how excellent is thy name in all the earth. Psalm. 111.v.1.2.3.4.7.8. Praise yee the Lord. I will praise the Lord with my whole heart: in the assembly of the upright and in the congregation. The workes of the Lord are great: sought out of all them that have pleasure therein. His worke is *honourable and glorious*: and his righteousness endureth for ever. He hath made his wonderfull workes to bee remembred: the Lord is gracious and full of compassion. *The workes of his hands are verity and judgement: all his commandements are sure. They stand fast for ever and ever: and are done in truth and uprightnesse.* Psalm. 119.v.89.90.91. For ever O Lord thy word is settled in heaven. Thy faithfulness is unto all generations: *thou hast established the earth, & it abideth. They continue this day according to thy ordinances: for all are thy servants.* Psalm. 148.v.1.2.3.4.5.6. Praise yee the Lord; praise yee the Lord from the heavens. Praise him in the heights. Praise yee him all his Angels. Praise yee him all his hosts.  
Praise



praise yee him sunne and moone: praise him all yee starrs of light. praise him ye heavens of heavens: and ye waters that bee above the heavens. Let them praise the name of the Lord: for hee commanded and they were created. *He hath also stablished them for ever and ever bee; hath made a decree which shall not passe.* Psal. 19.v. 1.2.3.4.5.6. The heavens declare the glory of God: and the firmament sheweth his handy worke. Day unto day uttereth speech, and night unto night sheweth knowledge. Their is no speech nor language where their voice is not heard. Their line is gone out through all the earth, and their words to the end of the world: in them hath he set a *tabernacle* for the sunne, which is as a bridegroom comming out of his chamber, and rejoiceth as a strong man to runne a race. His going forth is from the end of the heaven, and his circuit unto the end of it: *and there is nothing hid from the heate thereof.* Psal. 136.v. 1.2.3.4.5.6.7.8.9. O give thanks unto the Lord for he is good: for his mercy endureth for ever. O give thanks unto the God of Gods, for his mercy endureth for ever. To him who alone doth great wonders: for his mercy endureth for ever. To him that by wisdom made the heavens: for his mercy endureth for ever. To him that stretched out the earth above the waters: for his mercy endureth for ever. To him that made great lights: for his mercy endureth for ever. The sunne to rule by day: for his mercy endureth for ever; the moone and starrs to rule by night: for his mercy endureth for ever.

And in imitation belike of this Royall Psalmist, this sweet finger of *Israel*, *Iesus* the sonne of *Sirach* hath also to the same purpose many divine ejaculations, and heavenly raptures; And though the booke bee *Apocryphall*, yet commeth it neareth to the *Canonicall*, and by diverse of the ancients was so used. Chap. 16.v. 24.25.26.27.28.29.30. My sonne hearken unto mee, and learne my knowledge, and marke my wordes with thy heart. I will shew forth doctrine in waight, and declare his knowledge exactly. The workes of the Lord are done in judgment from the beginning, and from the time hee made them, hee disposed the parts thereof. *Hee garnished his works for ever, and in his hand are the cheife of them unto all generations: they neither labour, nor are weary; nor cease from their workes. None of them hindereth another, and they shall never disobey his worde.* After this the Lord looked upon the earth, and filled it with his blessings. *With all manner of living things hath he covered the face thereof, and they shall returne into it againe.* Cap. 39.v. 13.14.15.16.17.21.22.33.34.35. Hearken unto me yee holy children, and budde forth as a rose growing by the brooke of the feild: And give yee a sweet savour as frankincense, and flourish as a lillie, send forth a smell, and singe a songe of praise, blesse the Lord in all his workes, Magnifie his name and shew forth his praise, with the songs of your lips, & with harpes, and in praising him you shall say after this manner. *All the works of the Lord are exceeding good, and whatsoever hee commandeth, shall be accomplished in due season. And none may say what is this? wherefore is that? for at time convenient they shall all bee sought out: at his commandement the waters stode as an heape, and at the words of his mouth, the receptacles of water.* A man need not to say what is this? where-



wherefore is that? for hee hath made all things for their uses. His blessing covered the dry land as a river, and watered it as a flood. All the workes of the Lord are good: and hee will give every needfull thing in due season. So that a man cannot say this is worse then that: for in time they shall be well approved. And therefore praise yee the Lord with the whole heart and mouth, & blesse the name of the Lord. Cap. 42. v. 15. 16. 17. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. I will now remember the workes of the Lord, and declare the things that I have seene: in the words of the Lord, are his workes. The sunne that giveth light looketh upon all things: and the worke thereof is full of the glory of the Lord. The Lord hath not given power to the Saints to declare all his marvailous workes, which the almighty Lord firmly settled, that whatsoever is might bee established for his glory. Hee hath garnished the excellent workes of his wisdom, and he is from everlasting to everlasting, Vnto him may nothing bee added, neither can hee bee diminished: and he hath no need of any counsellour. O how desireable are all his workes! and that a man may see even to a sparke. All these things live and remaine for ever, for all uses, and they are all obedient. All things are double one against another: and he hath made nothing unperfect. One thing establisheth the good of another: and who shall bee filled with beholding his glory. Chap. 43. v. 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 16. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. The pride of the height, thackere firmament, the beauty of heaven with his glorious shew; The sunne when it appeareth, declaring at his rising, a marvailous instrument, the worke of the most high. At noone it parcheth the countrey, and who can abide the burning heate thereof? A man blowing a furnace is in workes of heate, but the sunne burneth the mountaines three times more; breathing out fiery vapours, & sending forth bright beams, it dimmeth the eyes. Great is the Lord that made it, and at his commandement it runneth hastily. Hee made the moone also to serve in her season, for a declaration of times, and a signe of the world. From the moone is the signe of feasts, a light that decreaseth in her perfection. The moone is called after her name, increaseth wonderfully in her changing, being an instrument of the armies above, shining in the firmament of heaven, The beauty of heaven, the glory of the starrs, an ornament giving light in the highest places of the Lord. At the commandement of the holy one, they will stand in their order, and never faint in their watches. By him the end of them hath prosperous successe, and by his word all things consist. Wee may speake much and yet come short: wherefore in summe, hee is all. How shall wee bee able to magnifie him? for hee is great above all his workes. The Lord is terrible & very great, and marvailous is his power. When you glorifie the Lord exalt him as much as you can: for even yet will he farre exceed, & when you exalt him, put forth all your strenght, and bee not weary: for you can never goe farre enough. Who hath seene him that hee might tell us? and who can magnifie him as hee is? There are yet hid greater things then these bee, for wee have seene but a few of his workes: for the Lord hath made all things, and to the godly hath he given wisdom.

S. *Augustin* in his fourth booke de Genesi ad literam. cap. 6. having discoursed at large of the perfection of Gods workes in measure, number



number and waight, at last concludes; *Gratias itaque Creatori semper agat animus humanus, à quo ita creatus est, ut hoc possit videre, quod avium nulla, nulla bestiarum, quæ tamen nobiscum vident & calum, & terram & luminaria, & mare, & aridam, & omnia quæ in ijs sunt.* The like Conclusion inferred upon the like discourse hath *Eusebius* in his fourth booke and fourth cap. *De Demonstratione Evangelica. Diei noctisque vicissitudines quæ terminatis motibus constant, horarumq; ac tempestatum nunc quidem augmenta, nunc autem diminutiones, orbis item annuos, ac circuitus temporum, astrorumque in orbem motus, tum solis cursus lunæque conversiones, tum consensus inter se omnium ac repugnantias, unumque ex ijs omnibus mundum quum intueris, nunquid tibi esse fas putas, imprudentiam siue temeritatem, siue fortuitam aliquam causam, autorem universi enunciare? an Dei verbum revera, & Dei sapientiam & Dei virtutem efferre, laudibus?*

By which it appeares, that we are bound to give thanks for the continuance of the goodnesse of almightie God not only to our selves, but to the other Creatures made for our use, in as much as beeing not made for themselves but for us, neither can they give thanks for themselves but by us. Yet can it not bee denyed, but that in their kinds they praise their Creator, for the continuance of their well being, as well as man. *Proclus* in his booke *de sacrificijs* affirmeth of all Gods Creatures; *Omnia precantur, hymnosque concinunt ad ordinis sui ducem, alia intellectuali modo, alia rationali, alia sensitivo, alia naturali.* And that in this opinion of his, he is not mistaken it may evidently be scene in the 148. Psal; where even the Psalmist exciteth all the forenamed sorts of Creatures to offer vnto God their prayers and invocations. Praise him all yee Angels: his intellectuall Creatures. Praise him all yee people: his reasonable Creatures. Praise him beasts and cattell, creeping things & flying foules: his sensible Creatures. Praise him heavens and starrs, mountains and hils, fruitfull trees and cedars: his naturall and insensible Creatures. And thus as *Tertullian* in his booke against *Hermogenes* truly observeth: *Deo etiam inanimalia & incorporalia laudes canunt.*

Lastly, *Theodoret* as he is of all other of the ancients the most cleere in proving the Divine Providence by the perpetuation of the vigorous operation, or constant vigour of the Creature; soe is hee likewise the most solemne and serious, in returning praises and thanks on that behalfe, and most earnest in stirring up others to doe the like. *De materia & mundo versus finem: Quotiescunque igitur omnia hæc videmus, quoties solem modo ad Boreales tractus, modo ad australes, modo ad æquatæ calis partes excurrere, quoties & lunam modo auctam lumine, modo imminutam, nec minus & stellas, certis orientes temporibus & occidentes, messis præterea & sementis tempus significantes, tum & nantis ostendentes hyemem ac tranquillitatem, ne quæso amici homines hæc ipsa nobis Deos faciamus, sed horum potius authorem, opificem, gubernatoremque laudemus, ac per ea quæ contuemur oculis, pergamus ad eum, qui videri non potest. Ad hoc autem non est opus peregrinatione sed fide, per hanc enim solam videre illum nobis licebit. Cum itaque stationes anni videmus suis quamq; pertransire temporibus, cum terra pluviâ dispensari, cum terram germinare, cum virentibus herbis obduci, undare segentes, prata floribus renidere, comare sylvas, ramos arborum fructibus*



fructibus pręgravari, linguam moveamus in ejus laudem, qui hac terra dona contribuit. Ne verò montium nymphas, ueve fontium ac fluviorum, ueve filias Nerei referamus in Deos. Ne cantemus Fulum Cereri, ueve ipsi Rhea Latier-san. ne Baccho dithyrambum, ne pæana Pithio Apolloni, ueve Diana concinamus hypoepum. Sed rerum omnium conditori Deo hymnos Davidicos proferamus, cumque eo pariter exclamemus: Quam magnificata sunt opera tua Domine? omnia in sapientia fecisti. Quotiescunque canoras aves audiemus varios cantus emodulari, cicadasque tremulos evibrare concentus, Musis Sirenibusque dimissis, sapientissimum Deum, eundemque potentissimum adoremus, qui & ejusmodi aviculis tantam tribuit Musica harmoniam, & humanum genus undecunque nutrit, fovet, & mulcet. And in the upshot of his first Sermon de Providentia, hee breaks out into this patheticall exclamation. O amorem erga homines ineffabilem! o sapientiam inenarrabilem! quis utique divina providentia bonitatem, potentiam, in dubijs copiam, in difficultibus facilitatem, operum magnitudinem, divitias, pro dignitate admittitur? Revera mirabilis facta est scientia tua ex me, confortata est, non potero ad eam. Idem & ego clamo. Quod si verò mihi parueris, eandem mecum vocem edes, & benefactorem pro virili laudabis, & infinitis beneficijs affectus, gratos sermones illi referes, tandemque cum Propheta exclames. Quam magnificata sunt opera tua Domine? Omnia in sapientia fecisti: tibi sit gloria in æternum Amen.

That the world of eternity which is to come, infinitely exceeds this present world, every Christian will and must acknowledge; but the excessive excellency of the one may (as I should thinke) be much better gathered from the glorious beauty of the other, (which notwithstanding is to have an end) then from the corruptibility thereof. To exceed a thing base and contemptible is no great masterie, but by infinite degrees to excell that which wee admire and have great reason to admire, as being the admirable workmanship of the Creator, this is it (as I conceive) that much rather purchaseth both honour and love. This I am sure was the course which S. Basil tooke, to bring men in love with the next life, by the contemplation of the Creatures; as may appeare in his *Hexam. hom. 6.* Qui porro per eas divitias, quas à se profluxas, paratasque nobis jam præstitit, & ea bona quæ nobis pollicetur fore, omnino certiores nos facit, & præsentium experientia rerum qualia sunt ea quæ expectantur, ostendit. Nam si ea quæ non nisi per exiguo tempore persistunt talia sunt, quales esse res illas perpetuas existimare oportet? Et si ea quæ conspiciuntur adeo bella sunt, adeo pulchra, qualia putanda sunt ea quæ non cernuntur? si Magnitudo cæli mentis humana metiendi facultatem exuperat, quanam mens, quæ ratio, quæso, rerum investigare sempiternarum naturam posset? Si sol iste corruptioni subjectus, adeo pulcher est, adeo magnus, velocissimus quidem motu, suas autem peragens ordine miro periodos, moderata quidem ad universum præditus magnitudine, ut haudquam proportionem toti reliquæ machinæ ad mensuram transgrediatur: pulchritudine verò naturæ quasi quidam oculus splendidus creaturam ipsam decorans, cujus si aspectus infatiabilis est, qualem nam ipsum esse justitiæ solem arbitrari nos debemus? Si solem

Second use for the inflaming of our desires towards the life to come.

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*nunc haud conspicere, detrimentum est homini ceco: quod damnum, quod detrimentum est peccatori verissima illa & perpetua luce carere?* To which very purpose a late meditationist well amplifies the eternall joyes and happinesse of the world to come, by the magnificence of this world though made to be destroyed. In creating this transitory world (which is but a base cottage in regard of his owne eternall habitation) Consider (saith he) what power, what magnificence, what majesty almighty God hath shewed: what heavens and how wonderfull hath hee created? what infinite starrs and other lights hath hee devised? what elements hath he framed? & how marvailously hath he compacted them together? the seas tossing and tumbling without rest, and replenished with infinite sorts of fish: the rivers running incessantly through the earth like veines in mans body, and yet never emptie, nor overflowing the same: the earth it selfe so furnished with all variety of creatures, as the hundreth part thereof, is not used nor imploied by man, but only remaineth to shew the full hand, and strong arme of the Creator. And all this (as I said) was done in an instant, with one word only, & that for the use of a small time, in respect of the other future life, which is to endure for all eternity. What then may we imagine that the habitation prepared for that eternity shall bee? If the cottage of his servant, and that made only for a time to beare of (as it were) a shower of raine, bee so princely, so gorgeous, so magnificent, so majesticall as wee see this world is: what must we thinke that the Kings palace it selfe is, appointed for all eternity, for himselfe & his freinds to raigne together? We must needs thinke it to bee as great as the power and wisdome of the maker could reach to performe; and that is incomparable & above all measure infinite. And then going on in the same straine hee bringeth in S. Augustine speaking in the same manner. This was a most forcible consideration with good S. Augustine, who in the secret speech of his soule with God, said thus: O my Lord, if thou for this vile body of ours hast given us so great and innumerable benefits, from the firmament, from the aire, from the earth, from the sea: by light, by darkenesse, by heat, by shadow: by dewes, by showers, by windes, by raines: by birds, by fishes, by beasts, by trees: by multitude of herbes, and variety of plants, and by the ministerie of all thy Creatures: O sweet Lord what manner of things, how great, how good, & how innumerable are those which thou hast prepared for us in our heavenly Countrie, where wee shall see thee face to face? if thou do so great things for us in our prison: what wilt thou give us in our pallace? if thou givest so many things in this world to good and evill men together: what hast thou laid up for only good men in the world to come? If thine enemies and friends together are so well provided for in this life: what shall thy onely friends receive in the life to come? if there be so great solaces in those dayes of teares: what joy shall there be in that day of marriage? if our jayle and prison containe so great matters: what shall our Countrey and Kingdome do? O my Lord & God thou art a great God, & great is the multitude of thy magnificence and sweetnesse; & as there is no end of thy greatnes, nor number of thy mercies, nor depth of thy wisdome, nor measure of thy benignity: so is there, neither end, number, depth, length, greatnes or measure of thy rewards to them that love thee, and do fight for thee.

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The third use of this doctrine is for the *contemning of all humane works* in comparison of those of Almighty God. As the workes of God himselfe are as nothing in comparison of himselfe, there being no proportion betwixt a finite being and an infinite: so the fairest and strongest workes of man are as nothing in comparison of those of almighty God. And though there bee not the like disproportion betwixt his workes and ours, as betwixt him and us, or betwixt himselfe and his workes, yet is the difference wide enough to shew the infinite distance of the causes they spring from; and from this difference it is, that comparing the one with the other, wee looke upon all humane workes, as upon molehills compared with mountains, or upon the bables and rattles of children compared with the royall pompe and state of the greatest potentates. *Est animorum ingeniorumque naturale quasi pabulum, consideratio contemplatioque natura. Erigimur, latiores fieri videmur, humana despiciamus, cogitantesque supera atque caelestia, hac nostra ut exigua & minima contemnimus.* The contemplation of nature is as it were the naturall food of the mind; we are lifted up & seeme to bee enlarged, we despise humane affaires, and by meditating upon the caelestiall, wee contemne these things of ours as small and of little account, saith Tully in his fourth booke of *Academicall questions*: and in another place, *nihil ei magnum videri potest in rebus humanis, cui universus orbis, totiusque mundi cognita est magnitudo.* Now the speciall point of difference, betwixt the workes of God and man is this, that the workes of man, bee they never so glorious to looke unto, never so well fenced and fortified, are all of them (together with man himselfe) ruinous and subject to decay; but the workes of God like their maker, lasting and permanent. Houses, Castles, obelisks, Pyramids, townes, citties, Kingdomes, Empires have their times of rising and falling, either by conflagrations, or inundations, or devastations, or mouldring away by degrees, they fall and consume of themselves; Creet in formes ages being renowned for one hundred citties (from whence it carried the name of *Hecatompolis*) hath at this day scarce two to shew. Seneca in one of his Epistles, speaking of *Lyons* in *France*, tells us that by reason of fier, there passed but one night betweene a great City and none at all. And the like may bee observed of divers other mighty Citties heretofore the imperiall seats of great and potent Monarchs, which seemed in a manner to bee founded and rooted in Adamant, that now they are so utterly demolished and defaced, as that even their very places can noe more bee found, nor a man say that heere they stood; *As Ninivie, Susis, Ecbatane* and diverse others reckoned up by *Pausanias* in *Arcadicis*: *Mycena* (saith hee) *qua in bello Trojano imperarunt Gracis*; *Ninus* deinde in qua *Assyriorum* regia fuit; tertio *Thebae* *Boeotica*, *qua principem olim locum in Gracia obtinuerunt*: *hae omnes ad internecionem usque sunt desolatae.* Upon which occasion he entereth into a notable meditation of the frailety of all humane glory, concluding with this *Epiphonema.*



*Sic res mortalium sunt momentanea, & nulla ex parte firma.* And it should seeme that this meditation had made a deepe impression into diverse other of the heathen, in so much that *Ovid* in the fifteeneth of his *Metamorphosis* lighting upon it, addeth diverse other instances unto those of *Pausanias*.

*Nunc humilis veteres tantummodo Troia ruinas,  
Et pro divitijs tumulos ostendit avorum.  
Clara fuit Sparte, magna viguere Mycena:  
Nec non & Cecropis, nec non Amphionis arces.  
Vile solum Sparte est: alta cecidere Mycena.  
Oedipodionia quid sunt nisi nomina Thebae?  
Quid Pandionia restant nisi nomen Athena?*

So that as the Prophet *Obadiah* speaketh. v. 16. they are now become as if they had never beene. But of the works of God it can not so bee said; whereupon *Solomon* in the booke of the Preacher, looking upon the works of man, in his first chapter pronounceth of them all that they are vanity, but in his third taking a veiwe of the works of God, that he hath made every thing beautifull in his time: v. 11. and againe. v. 14. I know that whatsoever God doth it shall bee for ever.

Yet such is the folly and brutish stupidity of the greatest part of men, that they more admire a goodly citty, or the faire Pallace of a Prince, or a strong and well fenced Castle, then the magnificent and marvailous frame of the world; which neither can bee surprised by treacherie, nor battered by violence, nor eaten out by the teeth of time.

Let us heare if you please *S. Cyprian*, elegantly expressing and powerfully inforcing this profitable use, from the view of the world and the parts thereof,

*Cyprianus de spectaculis.*

*Habet Christianus spectacula meliora, si velit; habet veras & profuturas voluptates, si se recollegerit; & ut omittam illa quae non contemplari potest, habet istam mundi pulchritudinem quam videat atque miretur. Solis ortum aspiciat, rursus occasum mutuis vicibus dies noctesque revocantem, globum lunae, temporum cursus incrementis suis decrementisque signantem, astrorum micantium choros, & à summa de summa mobilitate fulgentes, anni totius per membra divisa, & dies ipsos cum noctibus per horarum spatia digestos, & terra molem libratam cum montibus, & proflua flumina cum suis fontibus, extensa maria cum suis fluctibus atque littoribus: interim constantem pariter summa conspiratione nexibusque concordiae, extensum aerem medium tenuitate sua cuncta vegetantem, nunc imbres contractis nubibus profundentem, nunc serenitatem resecta raritate revocantem, & in omnibus istis incolae proprios, in aere avem, in aquis piscem, in terra hominem; Hac inquam, & alia opera divina, sint Christianis fidelibus spectacula. Quod theatrum humanis manibus extructum istis operibus poterit comparari? magnus licet lapidum molibus extruatur, crusta sunt montium; & auro licet resecta lacunaria reluceant, astrorum fulgore vincentur. Nunquam humana opera mirabitur, quisquis se cognoverit filium Dei; Deijcit se de culmine generositatis suae qui admirari aliquid post Deum potest.*

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The fourth use of this doctrine may be, for the breeding in us a greater, & stronger assurance, of the special care of almighty God over mankind, his Church, and all the particular members thereof. As the world was made for mankind, so was mankind for the Churches sake, and therefore as the world shall have an end when the generation of mankind ceaseth, so when the number of the elect (the onely members of the Church properly so called) is fully accomplished, then shall the generation of mankind likewise cease and not before. Now then if his Providence extend to the perpetuation of the heavens, the elements, the foules, the fishes, the beasts, the wormes, the plants, the stones, the mettals all made for the use of mankind, much more to the preferuation of mankind it selfe; and againe much rather to the safety & protection of his Church the eye and jewell of mankind. The Church triumphant like the sunne remaines unchangeable in the highest perfection of glory & happinesse; but the Church militant like the moone sometimes waxing & sometimes waning; sometimes full of brightnesse, and sometimes againe hardly to bee discerned, yet so as to them who know her conditions there is no feare of a totall & finall loosing of her light, but an assurance rather of her recovering it againe and that in the fulnesse thereof; so as the fiery darts of Satan and the gates of hell shall never be able wholly to prevaile against her. Stormes may arise and indāger this ship, but as long as Christ is in it (who both can by his word, and in his good time will rebuke these stormes and command a calme) there is no feare of an utter miscarriing, hee limiteth the rage of the enemies thereof, as hee doth the waves of the sea. *Hitherto shall yee goe and no farther.* Let us not bee so foolish then as to conceive almighty God to be like the Ostrich, which having laid her eggs in the sand forsaketh them, and forgetteth that the foote may crush them, or that the wilde beast may breake them *Iob. 39. 14. 15.* Noe no his fatherly care reacheth to the upholding and maintaining of all things even the lowest, and basest creatures that hee hath made. Who provideth for the raven his foode, when his young ones cry unto God? saith *Iob. 38. 41.* and the Prophet David answers him. *Psal. 147.* Hee that telleth the number of the starrs, and calleth them all by their names. Hee who covereth the heaven with cloudes, who prepareth raine for the earth, and maketh grasse to grow upon the mountaines, hee it is even he who giveth to the beast his foode, and to the young ravens which cry. He it is who by his strenght setteth fast the mountaines being girded with power, who maketh the outgoinges of the morning & evening to praise him, who visiteth the earth, and enricheth it with the river of God, who watereth the ridges, setleth and softneth the furrowes, and plentifully increaseth the springing thereof, who crowneth the yeare with his goodnesse, and his paths drop fatnesse, so that the little hils rejoyce on every side, who cloatheth the pastures with flocks, and covereth the vallies with corne, so that they shoute and singe for joy *Psal. 65.* Doth God take care for *Oxen*? saith the Apostle. *1. Cor. 9. 9.* Yes sure he takes care for *oxen*, that their race faile not, but in a more especiall manner for men, for his servants, whom *Oxen* are made to serve. And this is

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the very use which our Saviour himselfe makes of this very doctrine. *Math. 6. v. 26.* Behold the fowles of the heaven for they sow not, neither reape, nor carry into the barnes: yet your heavenly father feedeth them. Are yee not much better then they? And againe v. 28, 29, 30. And why care yee for rayment? learne how the lillies of the feild doe grow, they are not wearied, neither Spinne; And yet I say unto you, that even *Solomon* in all his glory was not arraied like one of these. Wherefore, if God so cloath the grasse of the feild, which to day is, and to morrow is cast into the oven: shall hee not much more cloath you, O yee of little faith? which *Prudentius* hath thus elegantly expressed:

*Nonne vides ut nulla avium cras cogitet unquam?  
Et se pascendam Domino non anxii credat?  
Confidunt volucres victum non defore viles,  
Passeribusque subest modico vanalibus asse  
Indubitata fides, Dominum curare potentem  
Ne pereant: Tu cura Dei, facies quoque Christi  
An dubites, ne te tuus unquam deserat author?  
Ne trepidate animis, vita dator est dator esca.*

It is a singular peece of the Providence which Almighty God hath expressed in the composition and disposition of the parts of flies & fleas, and gnats for the preservation of their nature, as *S. Augustin* in sundry passages of his workes hath accurately observed, and lively described *Enar: in Psal. 148.* *Quis disposuit membra pulicis & culicis, ut habeant ordinem suum, habeant vitam suam, habeant motum suum? Vnam bestiolam brevem, minutissimam, considera quam volueris: si consideres ordinem membrorum ipsius, & animationem vite quâ movetur, ut pro se fugiat mortem, amat vitam, appetit voluptates, devitat molestias, exerit sensus diversos, viget in motu congruo sibi. Quis dedit aculeum culici quo sanguinem sugat? quam tenuis fistula est quâ sorbet? quis disposuit ista? quis fecit ista? Expavescis in minimis; lauda magnum. Hoc itaque tenete fratres mei, nemo vos de fide excutiat, & de sanâ doctrinâ. Qui fecit in celo Angelum, ipse fecit in terra vermiculum: sed Angelum in celo pro habitatione caelesti, vermiculum in terrâ pro habitudine terrestri. Nunquid Angelum fecit repere in cano, & vermiculum in calo? distribuit sedibus habitatores, incorruptionem incorruptis sedibus dedit, corruptibilia corruptibilibus locis. Totum attende, totum lauda.*

And againe de *Gen: ad literam lib. 3. cap. 14.* *Creat minima corpore, acuta sensu animantia: ut majore attentione stupeamus agilitatem muscæ volantis, quàm magnitudinem jumenti gradientis, ampliusque miremur opera formicarum quàm onera camelorum.* And againe de *verâ religione cap. 41.* *Vermiculi laudem sine ullo mendacio copiosè possum dicere: considerans nitorem coloris, figurâ teretræ corporis, priora cum medijs, media cum posterioribus congruentia, & unitatis appetentiâ pro sua natura humilitate servantia, nihil ex una parte formatum, quod non ex alterâ parili dimensione respondeat.* Now the application hereof to our present purpose wee shall likewise find to be made by himselfe, *De civitate Dei lib. 5. cap. 11.* *Deus itaq; summus & verus cum verbo suo, & spiritu sancto quæ tria unum sunt, Deus unus omnipotens, creator & factor omnis anima atque omnis corporis: cujus sunt parti-*



*participatione felices, quicunq; sunt veritate non vanitate felices: qui fecit hominem rationale animal ex anima & corpore: qui eum peccantē nec impunitum esse permisit, nec sine misericordia dereliquit: qui bonis & malis essentiam cum lapidibus, vitam seminalem etiam cum arboribus, vitam sensualem etiam cum pecoribus, vitam intellectualem cum solis Angelis dedit, à quo est omnis modus, omnis species, omnis ordo: à quo est mensura, numerus, pondus: à quo est quicquid naturaliter est, cuiuscunque generis est, cuiuscunque estimationis est: à quo sunt semina formarum, formæ seminum, motus seminum atque formarū. Qui dedit & carni originem, pulchritudinem, valetudinem, propagationis fecunditatem, membrorum dispositionem, salutem, concordiam: qui & animæ irrationali dedit memoriam, sensum, appetitum: rationali insuper mentem, intelligentiam, voluntatem: qui non solum cœlum & terram, nec solum angelum & hominem, sed nec exigui & contemptibilis animantis viscera; nec avis pennulam, nec herbæ flosculum, nec arboris folium, sine suarum partium convenientia, & quadam veluti pace dereliquit, nullo modo est credendus regna hominum, eorumq; dominationes & servitutes; à suæ providentiæ legibus alienas esse voluisse.*

The fifth use of this doctrine is, for the stirring of us up to bee the more constant in the service of God, and diligent in the performance of our duties. As the other creatures were all made to serve man, so man alone to serve his maker in a religious manner, and to that end was the world set in his heart *Eccles. 3. 11.* that it might there stand both as a mirrour of the Creators glory, and either as a patterne of regularitie, or as a monument to upbraide his disobedience. How constant is the Sunne in his setting and rising? the Moone in her waxing and waning? the Sea in its ebbing and flowing? the Planets in their Eclipses, conjunctions and oppositions? onely man for whom all these were made, is most debauched & inordinate in the course of his life; most uncertaine and unconstant in the service of his maker: Whereas *Plato* in *Timæo* seemes to be of opinion that we had eyes given us chiefly to this end, *ut circuitus quæ in cœlo peraguntur intuiti, ipsorum notationem traduceremus ad corrigendam vitæ disciplinam, ad eorumque ordinē & stabilitatē, nostræ mentis vagos & erraticos motus componeremus.* Nay the Prophet *Jeremie* descends lower even to the fowles of the aire, to bee schooled by them. The Storke knoweth her appointed times, & the Turtle, & the Crane, & the Swallow observe the time of their comming, but my people know not the judgement of the Lord. And the Prophet *Esay* steps yet one degree lower. The ox knoweth his owner, & the asse his masters crib (they are constant in their service and obedience) but *Israel* doth not know, my people doth not consider, & in the verse immediately going before, he calleth heaven & earth to record, as being the most sufficient & competent witnesses in regard of their untainted conformitie to his law. Heare ô heavens, & give eare ô earth, for the Lord hath spoken, I have nourished and brought up children, and they have rebelled against me. *Solomon* in the sixth of the *Proverbs*, sendeth the sluggard a greeting to goe heare a Lecture read unto him by the Pismire, to whom Almighty God hath given a wonderfull instinct of providing for her owne

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preservation. Goe to the Ant thou sluggard, consider her wayes and be wise, which having no guide, overseer or ruler, provideth her meate in summer, and gathereth her foode in harvest. It is also a world of wonder duly to consider the stupendious workes, of the Bee & of the Spider for the continuance of their kindes; of the one in the admirable building of their combs, & treasuring up their pretious nectar with indefatigable industry, & of the other by the most curious & artificiall weaving of their webs, for the intangling of silly flies by which they are nourished. And for mine own part I cannot be perswaded, but all these are still in their severall wayes of working as expert and diligent, as at their very first Creation they were. Onely man hath swarved and is started aside from that originall perfection with which hee was invested; so as he who was made to bee the commander of all these, is now in that regard become a schollar to the meanest of them, they all carrying this inscription in capitall letters graven on their foreheads, as a good lesson to be taken forth and learned by him; *Qui fecit me propter te, fecit te propter se*: and withall proclaiming aloud in his eares, *Accipe, Redde, Cave*: Receive the benefit which God by mee reacheth forth to thee, but then remember to returne that thankfulness and service which for the use of me he expecteth from thee, or else take heed least hee punish thee for abusing both thy selfe and me.

The Ancient Fathers and other grave Divines are in this point no lesse frequent and copious, then delightful and eloquent, I will make choise of some few.

*Tertullian in his booke de Trinitate cap. 1. if that booke bee his which is found amongst his workes.*

*Regula exigit veritatis, ut primo omnium credamus in Deum patrem & Dominum omnipotentem, id est rerum omnium perfectissimum conditorem qui cælum alta sublimitate suspenderit, terram dejectâ mole solidaverit, maria soluto liquore diffuderit, & hæc omnia proprijs & condignis instrumentis & ornata & plena digesserit. Nam & in solidamento cæli luciferos solis ortus excitavit, luna candentem globum, ad solatium noctis mensurnis incrementis orbem implevit, astrorum etiam radios varijs fulgoribus micantis lucis accendit: & hæc omnia legitimis meatibus circumire totum mundi ambitum voluit, humano generi dies, menses, annos, signa, tempora, utilitatesque factura. In terris quoque altissimos montes in verticem sustulit, valles in ima deiecit, campos aqualiter stravit, animalium greges ad varias hominum servitutes utiliter instituit. Sylvarum quoque robora humanis usibus profutura solidavit, fruges in cibum elicuit, fontium ora reseravit, & lapsuris fluminibus infudit. Post quæ ne non etiam ipsis quoque delicijs procurasset oculorum, varijs florum coloribus ad voluptatem spectantium cuncta vestivit. In ipso quoque mari quamvis esset & magnitudine & utilitate mirabile, multimoda animalia, nunc mediocriis, nunc vasti corporis finxit, ingenium artificis de institutionis varietate testantia. Quibus non contentus ne fortè fremitus & cursus aquarum cum dispendio possessoris humani alienum occuparet elementum, fines litoribus inclusit: quo cum fremens fluctus, & ex alto sinu spumans unda venisset, rursus in se rediret, nec terminos concessos excederet, servans*



servans jura præscripta : ut divinas leges tanto magis homo custodiret, quantò illas etiam elementa servassent.

Eusebius de præparatione Evangelica. lib. 7. cap. 4.

*Si universus mundus, cælum, sol, luna, stella omnes, terra & quæcunque in ipsa sunt, cuncta naturæ opera, naturaque ipsa Creatori Dei servit, quanto magis homines ratione ac libero decoratos arbitrio obtemperare Creatori decet? Germinet terra virentem herbam (inquit Deus) & lignum pomiferum faciens fructum, & habens unumquodque sementem secundum speciem suam, & statim non modo tunc, sed usque ad hunc diem paruit terra, parebitque semper in posterum; Producant aquæ reptilia anima viventis, & volatilia sub firmamento cæli, & una cum verbo, nutuque divino opus effectum est: & eo instituto, semper ita factitatur. Sint sol & luna, ceteraque stella in signa & tempora, in dies & annos, neque unquam hoc præceptum stellæ neglexerunt, sed incessabili mirabilique suo cursu dies & noctes, tempora & annos conficiunt. Quam igitur veniam homines consequentur, divina negligentes mandata?*

Ambrosius Comment. in Psal. 118. in illa verba: *In æternum Domine permanet verbum tuum in cælo.*

Si verbum Dei in cælo permanet imitemur cælum ubi permanet verbum: permanet ordo solennis coelestium statutorum, & beneficiorum Domini crebræ vices solennibus muneribus perseverant.

Idem Hexam. lib. 3. cap. 17.

*Germinet, inquit, terra herbam virentem] & statim omni surgente germine terra completa est. Et homini dicitur: Dilige Dominum Deum tuum: & non est charitas Dei omnium infusa visceribus. Surdiora corda hominum sunt quam dura saxorum. Terra indebitos fructus nobis ministrat, dum obsecundat auctori: nos debitum munus negamus, dum non veneramur authorem. Vide in parvis quæ providentia sit Dei: & quia comprehendere non potes, mirare quomodo alia semper florentia reservaverit, alia mutationes habere voluerit expoliationis & amictus. Inter cana nivium, pruinas frigorū viriditatem suam arva conservant: & cum ipsa tecta sint gelu, partus sui tamen haud exiguam speciem viriditatis obtexunt. In ipsis quoque generibus arborum quæ diuturnis frondibus vestiuntur, non mediocris distantia est: servat indumentum suum semper olea vel pinus, sed tamen folia sua sæpe commutant: nec ea quasi diuturna, sed quasi succedanea prætendunt suæ arboris pulchritudini, perpetui integritate vestitus vice muneris obumbrantes. Palma autem virens semper manet conservatione & diuturnitate non immutatione foliorum: nam quæ primo germinaverit folia, ea sine ulla substitutionis successionē conservat. Imitare ergo eam ô homo, ut dicatur & tibi: statura tua similis facta est palmæ. Serva viriditatem pueritiæ tuæ & illius innocentiae naturalis quam à primordio recepisti, ut plantatus secus decursus aquarum fructum tuum in tempore tuo habeas præparatum, & folium tuum non defluat.*

Hieronymus in Comment. in Psal. 148. of those Commentaries be his which goe under his name.

*Quo modo sol, luna, & stella laudant Deum? in eo quod à suo officio & servitio non recedunt, servitium ipsorum laus Dei est. Præceptum posuit & non præteribit. Præceptum soli posuit, Ecce per tantos annos, præceptum*



præceptum Dei nunquam præterijt, in tantum non præterijt, ut cursus ejus ex humana observatione comprehensus sit. Præceptum posuit & non præteribit. *Luna præceptum posuit ut per 30 dies crescat atque decre-  
cat.* Numquid cursus suos aliquando mutat? In cœlo præceptum Dei servatur, & in terra non servatur. *Mari præceptum posuit, ut littora sua non egrediatur: venit Oceanus tumens fluctibus, & in se redit, & præceptum Dei meminit.* Totus mundus ei servit, & præceptum ejus meminit, & homo solus non meminit.

*Philippus Mornæus Plessiaci Dominus, De veritate  
religionis Christianæ. cap. 16.*

‘Rursum quàm turpiter inversa est, in homine, in microcosmo nostro, lex illa & politia, *quæ in universo inq; singulis refulget* quàm corpus animæ parère jubetur? In herbis, in arboribus, in brutis, anima certa quædam analogia alimentum distribuit: corpus ejus jussa capeffit, nec renuit unquam: facultas unaquæque etiam suas partes ordine exequitur: vegetativa suos appetitus exequitur, non excedit: sensitiva naturales voluptates captat, non violat. In homine quid? quòd corpus imperat animæ, aratrum bobus? & voluntatem appetitus ducit & abducit, rationem sensus? quin & natura sæpe vim patitur, & vim sibi ipsi molitur? nisi certè conturbatam in eo naturam fateamur, cujus gratiâ ipsa rerum natura comparata erat? *Nempe hominem à recto itinere deflexisse, cum & ceteræ mundi partes suum insistant, & natura recti admoncat satis?*

*Denique uno excepto homine, nunquid toto mundo occurrat, quod gradum suum, quod dignitatem non accuratè teneatur & retineat?*

*Ludovicus Vives de veritate fidei Christianæ, lib. I. cap. 17.*

‘Bestiæ omnes statim ut natæ sunt, vel brevissimo post tempore præstantissimum illud suæ naturæ usurpant, & opera edunt illi præstantiæ conformia, & ut quædam paulo diutius tardent, usurpant certè tandem & re ipsa demonstrant se hujus esse naturæ ac ingenij. Quod si non faciunt, certe indubitatum facimus judicium, corrupta ea esse ac depravata ex causâ aliqua vel interna vel externa. Homo autem quamdiu bona mente non utitur? quàm pauci aliquando, quàm multi nunquam? ut appareat à rectitudine naturæ suæ declinasse; Quid, quòd animantes omnes statim vergunt quasi nutu quodam ad inclinationem perfectionis suæ, *soli homines à sua sunt aversi & abhorrent*, nempe à cultu mentis & sapientia. Bestiæ naturæ ductu nollent vivere vitam plantarum, & ne illuc relabantur exercent semetipsas. At quam multi hominum cupiunt vitam brutorum agere, immersi delicijs & corporeis voluptatibus, sine ulla cura aut respectu mentis, ac ne cogitatione quidem, sitne mens aliqua, an nihil homo distet à bestia.

*Spinaeus de tranquillitate animi, lib. 2.*

‘Debet is qui humilitatem discere cupit, sese cum omnibus creatis rebus comparare: quas omnes à maximis ad minimas, ut formicas & apes, *ordinem suæ creationis servare advertet, seque in hoc rerum immenso choro, in quo reliquæ omnes una voce laudes creatoris concinunt, solum esse qui dissonet & concentum violet.*

Where



Where by the way wee may observe that they prove the fall of man by the corruption of his owne nature, not by that of the other Creatures; or rather because he alone hath degenerated from his primitive state, and not the other Creatures.

The sixth use of this doctrine is, for the straiter uniting of us in the linkes of mutuall amitie and friendship. It is the common voyce and generall consent of the whole world, that nothing in the world is more usefull then friendship, without which all our riches, our honours, our pleasures either soone vanish, or relish little; neither indeed can humane society bee otherwise maintained but by it. Now this lesson as we may learne it from the booke of God, and the writings of learned men, aswell Heathen as Christian, so may the most ignorant, who can not reade in these bookes, from the sight of their and our owne bodies, the little world, and the wonderfull connexion of all the parts thereof, and mutuall dependance of each member upon other; yet this little world carrying in it foure humours, answering in proportion to the foure elements, whereof one alwayes is so predominant, as it finally conquers all the rest, findes the same seedes to be the instruments of its dissolution, which were the principles of its constitution. But in the great world it is not so, if we looke up to the heavenly bodies, we shall never there behold hanging out any flagge of defiance; no bloudie colours displayed, no armies ranged; wee shall heare no drumme, no trumpet sound an alarme to the battle; the matter and forme like man and wife, are there married by such a sacred and inviolable knot, as they never jarre, and are never wearie of each other, but everlastingly imbrace each other in a most lovely & amiable manner; nor can possibly bee divorced but by the hand of that eternall Priest who joyned them. And for the glorious lights of heaven, they never so much as tilt or breake their staves each upon other in disport, much lesse brandish their swords, or charge their pikes, or discharge their gunnes in earnest; they are so farre from fighting, as they never so much as muster their forces, or skirmish for pastime: *pacem summa tenent*. They all passe their time, and passe all their time in dauncing the measures, having solemnly sworne not a temporarie truce for certaine dayes, or weekes, or moneths, but a perpetuall peace each to other; neither doth the greatest of them disdain the lesse, nor the least envy the greatest; the one gives and never ceases giving though he receive nothing backe againe, which is the true embleme of divine and heroicall bountie; and the other receives and never ceases receiving, though it have nothing but thanks in his kinde to returne againe, which is the character of contentednesse and humilitie. If from the heavens we descend to the elements, how lovingly are they imbraced and cherished by the heavens, and their warmth? and mutually imbrace and cherish each other by their symbolizing qualities? and of the mixt bodies as they are the parents, so likewise the nurses. Whiles they confusedly tumbled together in the Chaos,

The sixth use  
for the straiter  
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and friendship.

--- *Nulli sua forma manebat.*

*Obstabatque alijs aliud.*

But



But afterwards

*Hanc Deus & litem melior natura diremit,  
Dissociata locus concordie pace ligavit.*

So as, though they continually skirmish, and sometimes blowes and wounds passe betwene them, yet never was any of them scene to part out of the field either as an absolute conquerour, or as wholly vanquished, nay they never part but upon termes of reconciliation, and though to their owne proper losse and disadvantage, they helpe to cure the wounds & repaire the breaches which formerly themselves had made, thereby teaching us that the end of all warre should be peace; and not onely so, but to preferre the weale publique before our owne particular interest, as we plainly see they doe, when things naturall in that regard forget their ordinarie naturall woont, that which is heavie mounting sometimes upwards of its owne accord, and forsaking the center of the earth, which to it selfe is most naturall, even as if it did heare it selfe commanded to let goe the good it privately wisheth, and to relieve the present distresse of nature in common. This admirable agreement of all the parts of the world joyntly conspiring for the supporting each of other, and consequently the upholding of the whole frame, *Hugo de Sancto Victore* hath well observed, *lib. 7. didasc. erudit. cap. 4. Si universitatis hujus machinam intuitus fueris; invenies quam mirabili ratione, & sapientia compositio rerum omnium perfecta sit, quam apsa, quam congrua, quam decora. In qua non solum concordiam servant similia, sed etiam quæ (creante potentia) diversa & repugnantia, ad esse prodierunt, dictante sapientiâ, ad unam quodammodo amicitiam & fæderationem conveniunt. And a little after: Omnium membrorum junctura tantam invicem servant concordiam, ut nullum omnino possit inveniri membrum, cujus officium alteri non videatur afferre adminiculum. And thereupon at last concludes: Sic omnis natura se diligit, & miro quodam modo plurium dissimilium in unum redactorum concordia, unam in omnibus harmoniam facit.*

And *Gregory Nazianzen*, in his tenth Oration de Reconciliatione Monachorum, hath aswell applyed this agreement of the Creatures to the entertaining and nourishing of friendship among men. Deinde respiciamus in cælum sursum, & in terram deorsum, divinas voces audientes; & discamus leges creaturæ, quod cælum & terra, & mare, & universus hic mundus, magnum Dei elementum, & perquam celebre: quæ cuncta Deus tacite prædicans nobis ostendit. Donec enim quietem & pacem inter se habent, ac in proprijs natura permanent terminis, & nullum contra aliud insurgit, neque benevolentia dissolvit vincula, quibus opifex verbum universa colligavit, decor est, quod dicitur, & pulchritudo ineffabilis, nemoque his unquam splendidius quid, aut magnificentius novit: quamprimum autem pax cessat, etiam mundus esse desinit. Nunquid enim cælum benè ordinatum tibi esse videtur? cum aëre & terra communicans, cum huic quidem lumen, illi autem pluviam, benevolentia impartitur lege. Terra autem & aër, hæc quidem alimenta, ille verò respirationem cunctis præstat animantibus, quæ propter hæc, vitam obtinent, dum elementa hæc paternum imitantur amorem. Anni autem tempora nonne placide temperantur? ac paulatim sibi invicem succedunt? calorif-  
que



que ac frigoris austeritatem nimiam, immutatione sua readdunt mitiorem, & ad voluptatem pariter & utilitatem perquam commodè paci subministrant. quid autem nox & dies? nonne aquas inter se portiones sortiuntur? & hic quidem ad opus nos excitat, illa vero quietem reddit. Quid verò sol & luna, stellarumque pulchritudo ac multitudo? quæ omnia suo ordine oriuntur & occidunt. Mare autem & terra nonne placidè inter se commiscuntur? & utiliter ac humaniter se hominibus exhibent, illisque affluenter & liberaliter opes suas impertiunt: flumina autem per montes & planiciem currentia, nonne in eo utilitatem suam ostendunt, quod terminos suos non transgrediuntur, & retro conversa terram abscondunt? Elementorum autem permixtio & temperatura, necnon membrorum commensuratio & consonantia, animalium quoque cibus, genitura et habitatio, nonne omnia inter se sunt discriminata? & hæc quidem prævalent, alia autem subjacent, quædam verò nobis obtemperant, nonnulla sunt libera: quum igitur hæc omnia ita se habeant, & propter primas harmoniæ causas, siue confluentias, & conspirationes directæ ac eductæ, quidnam aliud ex his intelligere oportet? quam quod per ea, amicitia prædicetur ac concordia, & quod hominibus legem ferant, ut & ipsi inter se probè conveniant.

The seventh use of this doctrine is, for the observing of order (the finew of duration) and the yeelding of due obedience to superiours, the very life and soule of order. The Schoolemen out of S. Augustine define order to be *parium impariumque sua cuique tribuens loca, dispositio.*

The seventh use for the observing of order and the yeelding of due obedience to superiours.

That there is such an order among the Angells in heaven, the very word *Archangell* used in holy Scripture sufficiently testifieth; and that the like is found among the visible Creatures the Apostle witnesseth, where hee tells us that there are celestially bodies, and bodies terrestrially, but the glory of the celestially is one, and the glory of the terrestrially is another. There is one glory of the Sunne, another of the Moone, and another glory of the starres: and one starre differeth from another in glory. And looke how much the heavenly bodies exceed the sublunarie in glory and efficacie; so much doe they likewise in height and situation; as they are to governe the lower world by their light and warmth and influence, so are they placed in a more eminent roome for the due performance of that great worke; and as it is said that the starres in their courses or paths fought against *Sisera*, *Judges* the 5. 20. So in their courses also and just order, they labour day and night for the good of those who are committed to their charge, whose welfare they are ordained to procure: they step not aside, neither doe they quit their paths or rankes (as some have fondly imagined of the Sunne by his drawing nearer to the center then in former ages) but precisely keepe their stations without any trenching or intruding each upon others jurisdiction. The same order is likewise observed among the elements, aswell in relation to the heavens, as in regard of themselves; the fire the purest of them being seated next the celestially bodies; and in the highest place, and being the most noble and active of them all; then the aire as beeing the most necessarie for the breathing of all sensitive creatures every moment; then the water though not so diaphanous and moveable as the aire, yet of a transparent and fleeting nature, then

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the earth the grossest and dullest of them all, and in that respect hath a situation assigned as from the heavens most remote, so most fixed and steadfast in it selfe, and lowest in reference to the other elements. The same order is also prescribed unto, and inviolably kept by the severall inhabitants of these regions, according to that of Nazianzen in his Oration *de modestia in disceptationibus observanda. Ordo præterea cunctis animantibus generationem & cibum, nec non unicuique regiones suas proprias lege assignavit. Nemo enim Delphinum videt terram sulcantem, neque bovem in unda laborantem; quemadmodum nec solem in nocte crescentem & decrecentem, sive lunam interdum ignis flammam emittentem.* The fowles of the aire spring not out of the earth as doe the plants, nor the plants walke upon it as doe the beasts, nor the beasts talke and discourse as doth man, nor any of these live and dwell under the water as doe the fishes: the constant observation of which order, *existentium parens est ac securitas*, saith the same Nazianzen: *Siquidem ordo colligavit, ordinis vero inversio dissolvat, quum placuerit colliganti, ut dissolvantur universa.* And then going on makes application thereof to the Church: *Ceterum quam ob rem hæc cuncta enumeravi? aut quonam noster dirigitur sermo? ordo etiam in Ecclesiis ita statuit, ut alij sint oves, alij vero pastores: ita ut hi imperent, illi vero obediant; sitque hoc tanquam caput, istud manus, hoc oculi illud vero aliud corporis membrum, quo omnia recte inter se conveniant, commodumque tam ad præfectos, quam subditos redundet.* God is not the author of confusion but of peace, saith the Apostle, 1. Cor. 14. 33. he is the author first of order, then of peace which is the effect of order, as discord is of confusion and disorder. Whereupon hee concludes that chapter, *Let all things be done decently and in order*: which cannot be except some command and some obey according to that charge of his in another place. Obey them that have the rule over you and submit your selves. Heb. 13. 17. If such then that should obey, either thrust themselves into the place of commanders, or refuse to submit, the order, and consequently the peace of the Church is thereby broken, and then what else can bee expected but dissolution and desolation? for looke what a leake is in the shippe, a cracke in the wall, a wound in the bodie, a rent in the garment, the same is division in the Church. Wee see that a Kingdome, a Province, a Citie, a Towne, a corporation, an household, an armie, a fleet, a shippe cannot bee governed or subsist without order: and shall wee by experience finde it, and readily acknowledge it to bee requisite in all these, and bee so sottish as to conceive that onely the Church of God needes no order? or that order can possibly bee observed where all would command, none obey? Can the little world stand if the lungs should put themselves into the place of the liver? or the liver of the heart? or the heart of the braine? Can the great world stand if the Moone should usurpe the place and office of the Sunne? the fire of the Moone? the aire of the fire? the water of the aire? the earth of the water? there is no man so unreasonable but will presently answer mee, that upon such an inversion of the order of the parts, must needes instantly ensue the subversion of the whole. And what other can we expect in the Church where



where the subordinate Bishop usurpes the office of the Metropolitan? the inferiour Minister of the Bishop? the People of the Minister? the hearer of the teacher? the sheepe of the shepheard? Doubtlesse it was not so in that Church whereof the Apostle professeth. Though I bee <sup>2. Coloss. 5.</sup> absent in the flesh, yet I am with you in the spirit, rejoyceing and beholding your order and your stedfast faith in Christ. *Order and Stedfastnesse*, disorder and unstedfastnesse goe together both in the world, and in the Church and in the state.

The eighth use of this doctrine may bee for the kindling of our love towards God, not onely in regard of his love towards us manifested in the continuance of the comfortable use of the Creatures; but also, and that more specially, in regard of his owne lovelinesse, gathered from the continuance of the perfection and excellencie of the Creatures. As the Loadstone drawes iron unto it, and the Amber strawes: so two things there are which specially draw our affection, *Bountie* and *Beautie*, bountie towards us, beautie in the thing it selfe we affect; the one of these flowing from God, wee daily see, and taste, and feele, the other remaining in him, and hee invisible in himselfe, we can no otherwise discern or judge of but by his workes, which the more glorious and beautifull they are if wee sticke not in the Creatures themselves, but by them as by a ladder mount up to the Creatour, it cannot be but that wee should bee the more inamored of, and ravished with that fountaine of beautie from whence they flow, and which as farre surpasseth them all, as a bright sparkling starre doth the glimmering of a worme in the night, or rather as the cleare shining of the sunne in his full strength at high noone doth the light of a dimme burning taper. Were it not that wee daily looke upon the light, there is nothing which would more cheere and delight the eye then that, it being as the first so the most beautifull of all the Creatures of God, in comparison of which, all other created beauties are but deformities, and without it nothing: yet the light it selfe is but as a shadow to the father of lights, to him who cloatheth himselfe with light as with a garment, and dwelleth in light unaccessable. And if the Sunne the headspring of all visible light bee so glorious that it dazels the eye which beholds it, what shall wee conceive is the transcendent light and glorie of the author thereof, to whom the Sunne it selfe is not so much as the least sparke of fire to it. What a flame of love then should this excessive beautie kindle in our soules, and so divert them from doting upon that transitorie beautie which (bee it never so pleasing) the scratch of a pinne, or the fitte of an ague marres it: and then death having a while seized upon it, and triumphed over it, it becomes more loathsome, then before it was lovelie. If wee must needs fall in love, let it bee with him in whom are united (and that in an eminent and unlimited manner) all the rare and choicest flowers of perfection, which are severally to bee found in all things, so that it may truely bee said of him,

*Qua diversa beatos  
Efficiunt, conjuncta tenet.*

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The eighth use  
for the kindling  
of our love to-  
wards God.



This meditation *Aquinas* in his second booke & second chapter *contra Gentiles* hath well expressed. *Hæc consideratio animos hominum in amorem divinæ bonitatis accendit: quicquid enim bonitatis & perfectionis in diversis creaturis particulariter distributum est, totum in ipso universaliter est adunatum, sicut in fonte totius bonitatis, ut in primo libro ostensum est. Si igitur Creaturarum bonitas, pulchritudo & suavitas, sic animos hominum allicit; ipsius Dei fons bonitatis, rivulus bonitatum, in singulis creaturis repertis diligenter comparata, animos hominum inflammatos totaliter ad se trahet. Vnde in Psal. 91. dicitur. Delectasti me Domine in factura tua, & in omnibus operibus manuum tuarum exultabo: & alibi de filiis hominum dicitur Psalm. 35. Inebriantur ab ubertate domus tuæ, (quasi totius creaturæ) & sic torrente voluptatis tuæ potabis eos, quoniam apud te est fons vitæ.* Neither is there any meditation which doth more effectually transforme us into the Image of God then this, according to that of the Apostle. 2. Cor. 3. 18. *Wee all with open face beholding as in a glasse the glory of the Lord, are changed into the same image from glory to glory.*

The eighth use.

The eighth use of this doctrine is, for the arming of us to undergoe and endure with patience and contentment, whatsoever crosses doe or can befall us, as also for the stopping of the mouthes of all ingratefull and repining murmurers. As there is nothing which makes us more thankfull, then an opinion that the blessings we receive, exceed those which are bestowed upon others: so there is hardly any thing that makes us more impatient then a conceit, that the afflictions which befall us are without example; but on the other side, when comparing the historie of former ages, with the experience of our owne times, wee find that the great and publique scourges of the world, excessive colds, droughts, windes, raines, snowes, thunders, lightnings, earthquakes, inundations, conflagrations, warres, famines, pestilences, contagious diseases and the like, have beene more grievous in ancient times then now they are, & withall that many great blessings we now enjoy, which to them were denied, this makes us with comfort and patience, cheerefully to imbrace the crosse that lies upon us, and to kisse the rodde that strikes us;

*Ferre quam sortem patiuntur omnes,  
Nemo recusat.*

And withall the hope and expectation of better successe for the future, according to the Revolutiō of that wheele which never leaves turning, aswell in the workes of nature, as humane affaires; which *Maginus* in his preface to his *Geography*, hath in part described, though to another purpose: *Certum est insignes variationes in terra partibus continuo evenire, propter bellorum incursiones; aquarum inundationes; marium præruptiones; ac recessus; imperiorum, regnorum, et dominiorum instabilitates. Etenim non solum regiones, urbes, oppida, flumina & alia huiusmodi sua nomina pro tempore mutant, amissis prorsus prioribus, verum etiam & fines ipsarum regionum variantur, et urbes oppidaque senectute delentur, bellorum calamitate evertuntur, aliaque de novo conduntur, et mare uno in loco continentem terra dilatat, in alio coarctat, & flumina quandoque auferuntur, quandoque minuantur, quandoque cursus variant, quandoque etiam prorsus deficiunt. Sic quoque fontes, stagna, paludes alibi*



alibi exiccantur, alibi verò procreantur, ut nihil certe humanâ conditione labilius judicari possit. Finally this doctrine of the gracious continuance of Gods blessings in the use of his good Creatures, serves to stoppe the mouthes of such ingratefull murmurers as are ever repining against the state of the present times, and complaining of the decay and distemper of nature, as if the Divine Providence did not as favourably extend it selfe to us as to our predecessours. It was the blasphemous speech of *Alphonſus* the tenth, King of *Spaine*, (as witnesseth *Robertus Toletanus*, lib. 4. cap. 5.) *Si creationi affuiſſem mundum melius ordinaiſſem*, for which hee escaped not unpunished, and I wish that many of us did not draw too neare to him, by accusing and depraving the works of God (which we understand not) through the sides of decayed nature. These doth *Theodoret* sharply taxe in his first Sermon *de Providentiâ*: *Sed exurget fortasse ingratus quispiam qui ea quoque quæ bene & pulchrè facta sunt, simulque sapienter et commodè administrantur, reprehendere vel culpæ volens dicat: Cur sodes istæ anni conversiones sunt? & quanam ex hisce anni partium successionibus ad nos utilitas redit? sed ohe sapientissime fortissimeque Providentiæ accusator, tu potius diſito, quanam bona non harum beneficio nobis contingant! Initium enim sumentem hyeme, semina terris mandamus: qui vero eam nobis artem tradidit, pluvijs è nubibus demissis illa nutrit, ac fovet: & marinas aquas verbo in altum subvehens atque sublime ferens, salſas illas & amaras dulcedine conditas transmutat, et in guttas discernit, quas nunc quidem parvulas dimittit, nunc verò majores & torrentis instar ruentes, perinde ac si cribro aliquo hosce nubium factus discernat. In hunc ergo usum hybernum tempus conditum est, ut te hominem ingratiſſimum alat, ut tibi, inquam, iniquiſſimo beneficiorum celeſtium censori necessarium victum supeditet. Desine igitur ingratus esse: desine per ipsius providentiæ munera, illi calumnias struere: desine, inquam, bona quæ tibi data sunt, contra datorem & largitorem ceu tela ejaculari. Quin potius in omnibus quæ hæcenus dicta sunt, Dei Providentiâ agnoscere discito, quæ omnia regit et gubernat, simulque omnium bonorum copiam tibi liberaliter parat.* And againe in his second Sermon *de Providentiâ*. *Et cum Providentiæ munera quotidie percipiant, illa ipsa tamen quæ percipiunt, convitijs lacerant, & per ea quibus fruuntur, rectorem & gubernatorem suum oppugnant.* These unhappie murmurers *S. Bernard* also happily meets with, *Serm. 3. in festo Pentecostes*, *Tria in magno hujus mundi opere cogitare debemus, videlicet quid sit, quomodo sit, ad quid sit constitutus; Et in esse quidem rerum inestimabilis potentia commendatur quod tam multa, tam magna, tam multipliciter, tam magnificè sunt creata: sanè in modo ipsa sapientia singularis elucet; quod hæc quidem sursum, hæc verò deorsum, hæc in medio ordinatissime sint locata. Si verò ad quid factus sit mediteris, occurrit tam utilis benignitas, tam benigna utilitas, quæ etiam ingratiſſimos quosque multitudine, & magnitudine beneficiorum possit obruere: potentiſſimè siquidem ex nihilo omnia, sapientiſſimè pulchra, benigniſſimè utilia sunt creata.*

These be some of the uses which I have thought on, drawne from the doctrine of the divine Providence, in the worlds preservation, neither improper I trust nor unprofitable; whereunto might bee added many more, as also the inconveniences which follow from the oppo-



site opinion, by rebating the edge of mens vertuous endeavours, in the imitation of their noble and worthy predeceffours, and likewise by making them more carelesse in regard of their present fortunes, and in providing for posterity; but because I have handled these points at full in the third and fourth Section of the first booke of mine *Apologie*, I forbear the repetition of them here againe.

These two following testimonies out of *Clemens* and *Philoponus*, being by oversight omitted in their proper places, I thought it not amisse heere to insert them.

*Clemens ad Corinth. epist. priori. pag. 28.*

*Cæli per ejus gubernationem inconcussi, in pace illi subjiciuntur, dies etiam & nox, nullam alijs remoram facientes, constitutum ab eo cursum absolvunt. Sol & luna & syderum chori, secundum ejus mandatum sine ulla transgressione, in concordia statutos sibi terminos explicant & evolvunt: gravis & fertilis terra, suo tempore, secundum ejus voluntatem, hominibus, feris, & omnibus, quæ in ea sunt animantibus, alimentum in abundantia profert, non hæsitans, neque mutans quicquam eorum, quæ ab eo decreta sunt. Abyssorum investigabiles & inferorum inenarrabiles fluctus eisdem mandatis continentur. Immensi maris profunditas in cumulos coacervata, claustra & repagula quibus vallatur, non transgreditur, sed prout ei præcepit, ita facit. Dixit enim, Huc usque venies & in te ipso comminuentur fluctus tui. Oceanus hominibus impermeabilis, et quæ trans ipsum sunt mundi, eisdem Domini mandatis gubernantur. Verna, æstiva, autumnales, & hyemales tempestates, in pace alia, alijs succedunt. Ventorum stationes peculiari suo tempore, manus suam sine offendiculo obeunt. Fontes etiam perennes, ad usum & sanitatem facti, Vbera sine defectu, ad vitam hominum sustentandam præbent; & animalia minima in pace & concordia congressus suos gregatim faciunt. Hæc omnia magnus opifex & omnium Dominus, in pace & concordia fieri jussit, benignum se omnibus præbens, nobis vero superabundanter, qui per Dominum Iesum Christum ad miserationes ejus confugimus; Cui gloria omnis et magnificentia in secula seculorum, Amen.*

*Patr. Junius in Annotat.*

*Pag. 28.] De lucis et tenebrarum, diei et noctis, mutua et perpetua successione, de constanti & irremisso à prima creatione utriusque cursu, sine ulla confusione, aut impedimento quocunque, legatur Chrysost. homil. 3. in Gen. & Iustinus Martyr ad Diognetum. Et Eucherius de contemptu mundi; Cernis ut etiam dies atque anni, et cuncta hæc ornamenta cæli, Dei verbum mandatumque infatigabili observatione conservent, præceptorumque ejus custodiant irremissa lege famulatum.*

*Philoponus lib. 7. de mundi creatione cap. 8.*

*Omne enim quod ex partibus constat, habet etiam secundum quamlibet sui partem, propriam perfectionem, necnon pulchritudinem inde pullulantem, ut v. g. in manu hominis quando nihil deest magnitudini, vel figura, digitorumque adinvicem proportioni, cæterisque quæ ipsam ornant. Similiter in capite quando habet oculorum situm, & figuram, & magnitudinem convenientem, coloremque ac motum, & actionem, & in quolibet cæterorum similiter. Verumtamen licet qualibet pars per se pulchra sit, omnium tamen in composito concinnitas*



nitas, atq, cum toto congruentia consensioque, nec non animalis ex his omnibus perfectio, tantum superat pulchritudines quae sunt in partibus, quanto totum suis partibus praestantius est. Siquidem haec sunt ipsius causa, ipsum vero est id, cujus causa sive finis. Idem etiam in arte factis videre licet. Dum v. g. lyricen unamquamque chordam ad futurum concentum intendit, ejusque sonum explorat, peritus quidem musicae statim percipiet ejus concinnitatem. At ubi ceterum concentus ex omnibus cujusque chordae vim prius ignorantibus, perceptus fuerit, tunc utique pra concentu unius omnium simul chordarum excellentiam quis admirabitur?

Hoc igitur etiam in universo mundo considerandum est; siquidem pulchra quidem qualibet pars ejus secundum se considerata, sive elementum sive animal dixeris. Caelum quoque pulchrum, uti & splendor qui singulis inest luminaribus: verum si ex his omnibus compositionem & ordinem & ad invicem consentionem perspexeris, & quantus sit motus caelestium ordo, quantaque sit ex illis quae in ipso sunt utilitas ac contemperatio, quaque sit elementorum similiter ad invicem constitutio & ordo, & ut nulla pars ipsorum etiam vi in alteram se transferri patiatur, sed illico ad proprium locum tendit, & ut nullum cetera superare valeat, sed dum in se mutuo transmutantur, in contrariis ejus quod redundat exaequatio fiat; & quaecumque pro cujusque natura unicoque omnium salutis universi scopo faciunt, merito illud acclamatum cernet, Et vidit Deus omnia quaecumque fecit, & ecce bona valde, seu pulchra vehementer. Vel ut Aquila referens hoc ad universum, dixit, Et vidit Deus simul omne quaecumque fecit, & ecce bonum valde; Vocem quidem plurali partes designans, singulari vero illam ex omnibus in unum mundum conspirationem.

## CHAP. 6. Ob. 5.

*The opinion of the worlds Abolition when there shall bee no further use of it, is farther enlarged and confirmed, because what hitherto hath beene written in that point, seemes not to have given satisfaction unto all.*

## SECT. I.

*Suarez his disputation containing his reasons for the worlds Renovation, together with his arguments against the Abolition thereof.*

**T**His ensuing disputation of Suarez the Iesuite, being sent mee some years past, by a learned Divine, and a deare freind of mine, (now with God) with desire to satisfie him by making an answer thereunto, at his motion I did it, and as himselfe professed hee received good satisfaction, save onely in one Scruple arising from the 8<sup>th</sup> to the Rom: which I likewise afterward Cleered to his full Contentment. An English answer I know is not futeable to Latin arguments, yet because after my resolution to publish them, I wanted time to translate either of them, I was perswaded to expose them as they are to the publique veiw, the rather for that Suarez is generally accounted, for the greatnes of his wit, as a giant among the Schoolemen of this latter age; from whence a just estimate may bee made of the weakenes of the cause hee hath in hand.



*Suares de Renovatione Mundi in 3 partem Thomæ.  
tom. 2. q. 59. art. 6. dif. 58. sect. 1. &c.*

- 1<sup>o</sup>. In fine mundi & tempore ultimi judicij singularem fore mundi renovationem & quasi recreationem asserit. Id probat. 1<sup>o</sup> Scripturæ testimonio. Esa 65. Ecce ego creo cælos novos &c. Et ; 66. Sicut cæli novi &c. Apoc. 21. Vidi cælum novum &c. 2. Pet. 3. Novos verò cælos &c. Et sic ait omnes Sanctos hæc loca intelligere 2<sup>o</sup> Ratione eâque duplici. 1<sup>o</sup>. Mundus est propter homines præsertim electos. 1. Cor. 3. Omnia Vestra &c. At Electi innovandi. Decet ergo consensu modo & mundum innovari. 2<sup>o</sup>. Mundus nunc habet statum generationibus & corruptionibus accommodatum : at post judicium cessabit generationum & corruptionum successio : Ergò oportet ut status mundi innovetur, & statum recipiat immortalis vitæ proportionatum, juxta illud Rom. 8. Expectatio Creaturæ &c.
- 2<sup>o</sup>. Hanc innovationem fore non ante sed post peractum judicium, Christique reditum in cælos. Quod probat. 1<sup>o</sup> Scripturâ. 1. Cor. 15. Deinde finis cum tradiderit &c. 2<sup>o</sup>. Testimonio Aug. de Civ. l. 20. c. 4. Peracto judicio tunc esse desinet hoc cælum & hæc terra, quando incipiet esse cælum novum & nova terra &c. 3<sup>o</sup>. Ratione duplici. 1<sup>o</sup>. Reprobi suâ præsentia contaminarunt novum mundum : ergò ante eos expulsos non erat commodum tempus renovandi. 2<sup>o</sup>. Non expediebat reprobos vel ad modicum tempus frui luce & gloria novi mundi.
- 3<sup>o</sup> Qualisnam hæc Mundi renovatio futura sit inquit. Docetq;  
1<sup>o</sup> Quosdam opinari fore Substantialem. 1. Simplicia omnia corpora tam cælestia quàm terrestria substantialiter annihilatum, vel saltem corruptum iri, aliaque nova alterius substantiæ ac naturæ creanda vel generanda esse. Sic Ambr. Catharinus, Hieron. Magius, Fr. Vallesius, Et è Patribus Hilar. Chrysost. Theodoret. Occumen. Justin. Martyr, Ambros. Basil. Nyssen. Clemens, Euseb. Fundamentum hujus sententiæ Esa. 34. Tabescent omnis militia cælorum. &c. & 51. Cæli sicut fumus &c. quod Aquila & Symmachus sicvertunt testante Hieron, Cæli comminuentur in nihil, & in salis modum conterentur & evanescent. Et 65. Ego creo cælos novos &c. Apoc. 21. vidi cælum novum &c. Job. 14. Homo cum dormierit &c. Eccl. 17. Quid lucidius Sole &c. Ps. 101. Opera manuum tuarum &c. Mat. 24. Heb. 1. Cælum & terra transibunt &c. 2. Pet. 3. Accedit ratio. 1<sup>o</sup>. Cum cessatura sint munera, propterquæ creati sunt cæli & sidera Deut. 4. quid mirum si ipsorum substantia mutetur. 2<sup>o</sup>. Cessabit motus cælestium, Ergo & natura. Nam ex motu veniamur naturam : & cur perpetuò manerent præter naturam ac violentè illæ Substantiæ. 3<sup>o</sup>. Cælierunt lucidiores Esa. 30. & aliæ proprietates aliam substantiam jam requirunt. Denique



Denique Plato in Timæo, & alii aiunt coelos esse corruptibiles. Vide Sixtum Senensem Biblioth. l. 3. c. de Ethnicorum Rhapsodiâ.

2<sup>o</sup> Alios existimare hanc innovationem Substantialem quidem fore, sed tantum in Elementis. Aquam n. & ignem penitus esse consumenda, terram & aërem in meliorem statum restituenda, ut Beda & Glossa ordinaria, 2. Pet. 3. Saltem aquam, ut Aug. de Civit. l. 20. cap. 16. Ambros. in Apoc. 21. ubi dicitur mare non amplius futurum.

3<sup>o</sup> Se autem sic dicere atque statuere.

1<sup>o</sup> Elementa & corpora cœlestia non annihilanda esse, ita ut neque substantia maneat, neque proportionale loco ipsius producat. Et hoc quidem quoad cœlum & terram certum videri de fide, quia in Scripturâ cœlum novum & terra nova perpetuo dicantur permanitura: quoad reliqua vero probabile. Hoc probat.

1<sup>o</sup> Quia Scriptura sub nomine cœli & terræ omnia simplicia comprehendit. Sic Gen. 1. 1. sub terrâ Aqua, sub cœlo Diaphana omnia censentur.

2<sup>o</sup> Quia non legimus mundum annihilandum sed innovandum & à servitute corruptionis liberandum. Rom. 8. 1. Cor. 7. Præterit figura &c. non substantia, ut Hieron. & Aug. Et per *omnem creaturam saltem* simplicia ex quibus mundus constat, Paulus intelligit. Eccles. 3. Cognovi quod omnia quæ Deus fecit, &c.

3<sup>o</sup> De cœlesti corpore & terrâ constat, ut suprâ. De aëre probatur, quia aliter esset vacuum, nec est accommodatius corpus ad replendum, de igne nulla ratio est (cum sit ejusdem naturæ cum igne conflagrationis) cur corrumpere: & est elementorum maxime incorruptibilis. De aquâ, Scriptura non negat. Nam illud Apoc. 21. Et mare jam non est. Aug. de Civit. 20. c. 16. exponit de turbulento sæculo hoc. Anselm. & Thom. de mari quoad proprias qualitates & motum. Denique si manet unum contrariorum cur non & reliquum, cum spectet ad mundi perfectionem.

2<sup>o</sup> Cœlum Empyrium (nam supponitur esse) permanens. 1<sup>o</sup> Si reliqui cœli ut suprâ, multò magis hoc. 2<sup>o</sup> Utcunque de alijs cœlis intelligantur Scripturæ peritura esse, de hoc non est verisimile. Finis enim ejus non inservire inferiori huic mundo, sed ut sit beatorum sedes, tum Angelorū qui nunquam peccarunt, tum hominum redemptorum. Ergo regnum paratum. Et 2. Cor. 5. Scimus si terrena &c. Addit, nec purgandum aut innovandum fore hoc cœlum. 1<sup>o</sup> Quia status beatitudinis dicatur. 2<sup>o</sup> Motum nullum habet, & purissimum creatum fuit, nec aliquid inquinatum ipsum intravit. Ob. Angeli in eo peccarunt. Resp. Incertum an adhuc viatores ibi fuerint. 2<sup>o</sup> Peccatum fuit mere spirituale, & independens à loco, ideòque non contaminavit illud.

3<sup>o</sup> Reliqua cœlestia immutanda quoad Accidentia quædam, non Substantiam. Hoc probabile non certum. Aug. in Psal. 101. ad illud; Ipsi peribunt. De Civit. lib. 2. c. 14. 16. 18. 24. Hieron. Greg. Bed. Gennad. Primas. Ambros. Anselm. Epiphani. Iren. Oecumen. Lombard. Thom. Rationes.

1<sup>o</sup> Scriptura. Psal. 148. Ipse dixit & facta sunt &c. Job. 37. Tu forsitan



fitan cum eo fabricatus es &c. Et, omnia opera quæ fecit Deus perseverant in perpetuum.

2<sup>o</sup> Illud Esa. 30. *Erit lux luna* &c. Hieron. exponit de tempore post Christi adventum. Ergò duratura sunt. Nam si de alio Sole aut Luna quam communi loqueretur Propheta, manifesta æquivocatio esset.

3<sup>o</sup> Ex Rom. 8. idem colligunt Hieron. & Epiphan. Nam si Substantialis innovatio sit, destructio erit, non perfectio, & timerent, non expectarent.

4<sup>o</sup> Si cœli substantialiter corrumpendi sunt, id igne conflagrationis fiet. At ille corpora cœlestia non attinget. Nam illud. 2. Pet. 3. *Cœli erant prius, & terra de aqua*, &c. de aëre intelligendum est.

1<sup>o</sup> Sic in hunc locum Hieron. & Aug. 2<sup>o</sup> Loquitur de mundo inferiore qui aquis mundatus. 3<sup>o</sup> Quia hi cœli facti ex aqua, at non sic ætherei. Ergo non hi, sed aërei igni reservati. Et eò tantum pertinet ignis quò aqua diluvij: non quia non possit naturâ suâ altius ascendere, cum aqua gravis sit, ignis levis, sed quia utraque inundatio tum aquæ tum ignis, non in naturis suis sed in divinâ ordinatione fundetur. Ob. Petrus distinguit inter cœlum & Elementa. Resp. 1<sup>o</sup> dicit *transitura*, quod localiter fieri potest, unde & dicit, *magno impetu*. 2<sup>o</sup> Cœli nomine significatur tota hæc expansio, de quâ aliquid interdum dicitur ratione inferioris partis, aliquid ratione superioris, idque sine æquivocatione. 3<sup>o</sup> Et aeris fortassè regio rapietur, sed ex raptu superiorum cœlorum. 4<sup>o</sup> Si cœlum distinguitur ab elementis, ergò & terra, quæ tamen est elementum. 5<sup>o</sup> Aër ut cœlum rapietur, ut elementum accendetur. 6<sup>o</sup> Probabile est elementorum nomine Aquam & terram tantum intendi, tum quia sunt quasi primordialia fundamenta respectu totius universi, tum quia suprâ distinxerat Petrus cœlos ab Aquâ & terrâ.

5<sup>o</sup> Cœlum est vel incorruptibile, juxta magis receptam opinionem Philosophorum, Theologorum, & multorum Patrum, & sic non potest igne corrumpi: vel corruptibile, & sic ab igne non potest in meliorem naturam transformari. Ob. At ignis divinæ vindictæ in peccata instrumentum erit, unde & poterit. Resp. Poterit si Deus voluerit fortasse, at sine fundamento dicitur facturum Deum. Summa.

1<sup>o</sup> Cœli non sunt igne corrumpendi.

2<sup>o</sup> Cœli non sunt igne purgandi. Ratio

1<sup>o</sup> Scriptura non docet ascensurum ultra secundum aëris regionem.

2<sup>o</sup> Non potest naturâ agere in cœlum: ut instrumentum Dei caret fundamento.

3<sup>o</sup> Cœlum cum sit purissimum sordes non habet expurgandas.

Ob. Job. 15. *Cœli non sunt mundi* &c.

Resp. Sensus est, vel Angeli, vel corpora cœlestia ad Deum comparata, quo respectu non opus est ea purgari. Nam peccato nec Substantia, nec qualitates immutatae sunt.

Ob. Propter prævisum peccatum minùs perfectum creatum fuit quàm alioqui fuisset. Theodoret.

Resp.



Resp. Figmentum, sine fundamento in Scripturâ, nec consentanea enumerationi. 1<sup>o</sup> quia statuit Deus creare cælum, antequam prævidit peccatum. 2<sup>o</sup> quia non solet propter peccatum mutare naturas, præsertim in causis universalibus ad mundi perfectionem spectantibus. 3<sup>o</sup> Cæli non dantur homini ut domicilium pro hoc statu, sed terra quæ est corruptibilis. Dati autem sunt ad juvandam conservationem per generationum successionem, & inde debuit esse incorruptibilis.

Quest. An hi cæli sint innovandi?

Affirmatur. 1<sup>o</sup> quia cessabit motus eorum, unde & quiescent: quod significat Esa & Ioh. Libro complicato, & quia tempus non erit. 2<sup>o</sup> Quia accipient maius incrementum lucis & claritatis: idq; non emanans e corporibus beatorum, ut Richardus, sed per modum proprietatis intrinsecæ & permanentis, ad eum modum quo glorificatis beatorum corporibus tribuitur.

4<sup>o</sup> Probabile esse nec Elementa quoad substantiam corrumpenda, sed innovanda ac perficienda. Hoc probat. 1<sup>o</sup> Ex patribus qui æquiloquantur de toto universo, & Elementis ac calis. 2<sup>o</sup> Scriptura Eccl. 1. Terra in æternum &c. & 3. omnia opera quæ fecit &c. Rom. 8. Omnis creatura &c. 3<sup>o</sup> Inductione. 1<sup>o</sup>. Non ignem. Nam ignis conflagrationis est ejusdem naturæ, unde ergo corrumpat? Ignis in suâ sphaerâ est purissimus, nec eget purgatione, nec eò pertinget ille purgans ignis. 2<sup>o</sup>. Non aerem secundum superiorem partem, quia vapores eò non pertingunt ut opus sit purgatione, nec etiam ignis conflagrationis. 3<sup>o</sup>. Non aquâ nam non legitur in Scriptura igne exsiccandam. Aug. de Civ. l. 20. c. 16. nec fore novam aquam ut novam terram: 4<sup>o</sup> Non terram totam, nam non internum, ergò nec terram circa centrum, nec verisimile est ignem tam citò posse penetrare ad intimas partes, & tam densam substantiam consumere. Elementa ergò manebunt: nec veri simile est in aliâ specie, ergo in suâ. Quid opus ergò primum corrumpi, deinde reproduci?

Ob. 2. Pet. 3<sup>o</sup>. Elementa solventur; tabescent.

Resp. Accidentali mutatione, non substantiali.

Ob. Ibid. Terra exuretur.

Resp. Quoad superficiem & quod purgandum est.

4<sup>o</sup> In quo consistat hæc futura innovatio inquit, docetq; duplicem esse 1<sup>o</sup> Privativam, ablatione sordium quæ sunt præter naturam Elementorum, quæ fiet per ignem. Sed quarum sordium? Illustrat.

1<sup>o</sup> Similitudine templi violati & peccatis non apti ad res sacras peragendas donec cæremonijs quibusdam purificetur, quibus nulla res Physica tollitur a templo, sed tantum moralis quædam mutatio fit.

2<sup>o</sup> Physicâ ratione. Nam mixta omnia corruptibilia & generabilia quæ generationum successione conservantur per ignem tollentur. Affectiones etiam omnes extraneæ & substantiæ admixtæ consumuntur, Veluti falsedo maris &c. Et sic de excrementis terræ.

2<sup>o</sup>. Positivam, additione perfectionis. Addetur in Elementis lux & claritas. Nam ut Thom. Terra erit sicut vitrum in superficie, aqua ut Crystallum, aer ut nunc cælum, ignis ut cæli luminaria. Rom. 8.

Paulus



Paulus ait gloriæ participes fore. Et cum cælorum quies perpetua futura sit, illuminatio illa semper eadem erit. Esa. 60. Non occidet Sol &c. Apoc. 21. & 22. Et hoc de reliquis elementis facile creditum est, quia diaphana sunt: de terra cum densa sit difficile videtur, facile tamen est quoad extimam superficiem. Nam si lux ad centrum penetraret, fruerentur illa luce damnati. Et cum terra natura sua densa est, non est capax luminis in profunditate absq; miraculo, quod non videtur necessarium ponere. Excepto tamen inferno loco tenebrarum videtur reliquum terræ perspicuum fore & pervium Beatorum oculis: idque insinuant Apoc. 21. *Platea civitatis* &c. & Esa. 60. *Non erit tibi amplius Sol* &c. Paludanus ait illuminandam esse terram usque ad limbum puerorum inclusive.

Quæ contrà has opiniones afferuntur Scripturæ exponi possunt.

- 1<sup>o</sup> Vel de aërio cælo intelligi, ut suprâ ostensum est.
- 2<sup>o</sup> Si de superioribus cælis, non de vero interitu sed variatione status & ministerij loqui.
- 3<sup>o</sup> Loquutiones interdum hyperbolicas & comparativas esse, ut illud, *Calum & terra transibunt* &c. i. prius illa deficient quam verba mea.
- 5<sup>o</sup> Quo ordine, & a quibus causis mundi purgatio & innovatio perficienda sit.
  - 1<sup>o</sup> Post iudicium, Christi; cum Sanctis reditum in cælos, Cæli magno impetu transibunt, i. cælestes orbes velocius agitabuntur, secumq; rapiens cælos aërios & ad universi conflagrationem, motu, influentiâ & actione concurrent.
  - 2<sup>o</sup> Post hanc Commotionem ignis conflagrationis sequetur, ut qui sit aptissimum ad purgationem instrumentum propter puritatem & activitatem. Hic,
    - 1<sup>o</sup> Ignis iste non est alterius naturæ a nostro ut Lact. l. 7. c. 21. sed ejusdem, loquitur n. Scriptura de eo ut re nobis notâ; nec ulla necessitas est fingendi alium ignem, cum noster aptus sit ad prædictum effectum.
    - 2<sup>o</sup> Hic ignis non est ille qui in suâ spherâ est. Descendere n. ad terram est contra naturam, & vacuus locus esset, & nimis rarus est, ideoque minus aptus ad agendum. Nec est novus creatus: nil n. opus. Probabile ergò est generatum iri in mediâ aëris regione, divino imperio, ex vaporibus & exhalationibus ibi existentibus aut eò ascendentibus. Et primò præire iudicem ad locum iudicij: deinde ibi quiescere durante iudicio: deniq; finito iudicio & reprobis in infernum detrusis mundum inflammare, juvante cælorum motu, Sole, astris: forte & Angelis igni fomitibus applicantibus.
    - 3<sup>o</sup> Quantus hic ignis futurus est, incertum, An tantus ut universum terræ & aquæ corpus undique simul circundet, & ascendat altissimos montes quantum aquæ diluvij: an satis sit, ut successive feratur, & sic totum mundum circumeat atque purificet. Hoc tamen probabilius.
    - 3<sup>o</sup> Per hunc ignem fiet totius terræ exustio & Elementorum purgatio,



gatio, ut suprà ostensum. Sed hic sola difficultas est de mixtis, comburenda n. Sequitur. Sed.

- 1° Videtur inconueniens. Nam vel futura sunt in mundo innovato, vel non. Si futura sunt, frustrà exuruntur ut denuo producantur: Si non, contrà mundi perfectionem est. Nam cum perfectiora sint quàm Elementa, mixtis pereuntibus & Elementis solum remanentibus imperfectus erit mundus. 2° *Rom: 8.* Omnis creatura expectat &c. Ergò & mixta. 3° Mixta ministrarunt Sanctis, Ergò & participes erunt gloriæ. 4° Ornant mundum, quare & possunt oblectare Beatos. 5° Anselmus, Guilielmus Paris: affirmant. Et *Ps. 103.* Emitte spiritum tuum &c. 6° Si Sulfur & vermes in inferno, cur non animalia, aves, flores in mundo innovato ad accidentalem Sanctorum beatitudinē?
- 2° Sed non recedendum est à communi Theologorum sententiâ, mixta non permanfura. 2° Corruptibilia sunt, & ideò solum manebunt ea corpora quæ ordinem habent ad incorruptionem. 2° Mixta fere omnia referuntur ad usum hominis ratione corporis corruptibilis, qui usus cessabit.
- 4° Finitâ mundi exustione, excrementa siqua manent, & ignis ipse deferentur in infernum. 1° Sic Thom. & reliqui Theologi. 2° Purgatio mundi in hunc finem ordinatur, & excrementa solent in infimum locum reijci. 3° Uniuersa hæc pæna damnatis debetur. Ergò verisimile est hiatum terræ duraturum donec omnia excrementa detrudantur & tum esse occludendum.
- 5° Finita purgatione quiescet cælum, Sole, luna, astris in eo situ manentibus, qui maximè ad pulchritudinem mundi conferre videbitur. 1° *Esa. 60.* Sol non occidet. &c. *Rom. 8.* Creatura subiecta est vanitati &c. 1. mutationi, vicissitudini. ut. *Eccl. 1.* Oritur Sol &c.
- Ob. Quies cæli violenta est, cui motus naturalis.
- Resp. Motus non magis naturalis est quàm quies. Quod autem jam movet fit propter conservationem vniversi per generationum & corruptionum vices.
- 6° Finito motu cæli, fiet innovatio & illustratio mundi 1° Nulla n. est ratio ut ultrà differatur. 2° Actio innovandi non requirit successionem ex parte agentis, quia est infinitæ Virtutis: neque ex parte actionis & termini, cum sit quædam illuminatio & perfectio sine resistentiâ contrarij, Ergò & in instanti fiet.
- 7° Et ultimo. Quod situm Elementorum attinet, ignem & terram in suis locis supremo & infimo futura nulla controversia est. Quæritur solum de aquis an totam terram complexuræ sint, an pars aliqua terræ sit apparitura. Sed hæc quæstio ex alterâ pendit, an infantes qui in solo originali peccato decedunt, habitaturi sint vel in superficie terræ, an in subterraneo aliquo loco. Si illud dicitur, non sunt complexuræ universam terram: si hoc, fortasse sunt complexuræ. Sed hujus quæstionis determinationem, ad locum de Originali peccato reijcit.



## S E C T. II.

*An examination of the precedents arguments brought against the worlds Abolition.*

**T**Hough it bee true that many of the ancients understood these passages of the worlds renewing; yet latter divines upon better Consideration doe not, and I thinke any man if hee doe but advisedly reade them, will easily find, that no such thing can bee enforced from them, as in mine Apology I have made it appeare; and for the ancients themselves (as may appeare by *Suarez* himselfe a little after in this very disputation) from the very passages by him alleaged, they inferred not a Renovation of this world, but the Substitution of a new instead of this, being evidently Convinced, and thereupon freely acknowledging that this present world was to be utterly abolished, to which opinion neither *Suarez*, nor the schoolemen will subscribe.

To his first reason I answer as *Peter Martyr* doth in like case to *S. Augustin*. *Verum hic ego libenter ex Augustino sciscitarer, utrum constituat corpora sanctorum post judicium victura in hoc mundo? quod si affirmabit, videbitur facere cum millenarijs; sin vero id neget & asserat (quod nos credimus) corpora nostra esse in Calum rapienda, quae erit ista accommodatio qualitatum elementorum, ad nostra corpora immortalia? Classe. 3<sup>a</sup> loco: Com: Cap. 17,*

To his passage alleaged out of *1. Cor. 3.* I answer that *all are yours*, that is, for your use, but what use the elect shall have of the innovated world I have long sought, but as yet can not find, and in truth for mine owne part I conceive that this opinion of the innovation of world, first sprang from the millenaries, holding that the Saints after there resurrection, were for a thousand years to live heere in this world, and to make use of it: which seems to bee more agreeable to reason then to maintaine a restauration of the world, and yet to assigne no convenient end or use thereof; yet they who came after, forsaking the error of the millenaries in the one, seeme to have followed them in the other.

To his second reason I answer that both the proposition and assumption I allow, but from those premises the Conclusion rather should be, *ergo status mundi cessabit, then innovabitur*. And as the present state of the world shall cease, because then man shall have no farther use of it, so mee thinkes the inference should be as stronge the other way, man after his resurrection shall have no use of the renewed world, therefore renewed it shall not bee.

To this passage alleaged out of *Rom. 8.* I say the Creatures expecting of the manifestation of the sonnes of God, doth not sufficiently inferre the future innovation of the Creature it selfe, in as much as that may bee, either in reference to the glory of the elect, or to there owne deliverance from the bondage of Corruption.

And besides what is there meant by the Creature is very uncertaine. *St Augustin* tels us, that by it some there were who understood the angels



gels, of which opinion Theodoret seems to have beene and before him Origen, but Augustin himselfe by the Creature understands the naturall man, as may be seene at large in two severall treatises of his: lib. 1. question. 83. Cap. 67. and againe in *expositione quarundam propositionum ex epistola ad Rom*: Cap. 53. the one being to bee found in the first, and the other in the second part of his fourth tome; in both hee considers the words exactly, and in the former tels us that the referring of the word Creature to trees and herbs and stones and the like; savours strongly of the Manichean heresie; and in the other that vaine heretiques out of that chapter misunderstood, have spread many impious & foolish positions, therein alluding againe as it seemes to the Manicheans. And Augustin is herein followed both by Anselme and Lyra. St Gregorie takes another way and understands it of the man regenerate living heere in this state of mortality lib. 4. Mor: in Cap. 3. *Jobi in illa verba; requieverunt fessi robore & quondam vincti pariter sine molestia &c.* where hee copiously and eloquently expresseth his opinion, and therein is he followed not only by Cajetan and Catharin, but by Salmeron in his 3. booke & 17<sup>th</sup> disputation upon the epistle to the Romans. His words are these. *Sed ut verum fatear, mihi prastantior videtur prior sensus, non solum, quia non apparet qua sit illa expectatio in impijs, vel in Creaturis Sensu destitutis, nisi naturalis Cujusque rei appetitus, qui de re supra naturam posita (qualis est illa mundi renovatio) esse non potest, sed & quia sine schemate Prosopopœia, si potest exponi, scriptura est interpretanda, & denique sensus primus multis scriptura testimonijs corroborari potest, Heb. 11. Luc. 12. 1. Cor. 15. Job. 14.* And Aquinas in his Commentaries on the 8<sup>th</sup> to the Romans, allowes of all three expositions, both St Augustins and St Gregories and that which is now commonly received; so as doubtlesse in all there opinions, hee who vpon those wordes shall build the renovation of the world, shall build upon a very uncertaine foundation, and for my selfe I must professe I can not well conceive, how the unsensible Creature can be said to groane or travaile in paine, or the unreasonable to bee capable of hope or free will, or lastly to expect earnestly the manifestation of the sonnes of God; you will say these things are spoken figuratively, bee it so, yet of necessity though not these affections or qualities themselves yet somewhat proportionall thereunto must bee found in these Creatures; else can the Apostles argument bee of no validity to prove what there hee intends; and this attributing of supernaturall properties to unreasonable Creatures, can hardly I thinke bee paralled in any passage of holy Scripture. Which the cleere judgement of the great Augustin well perceiving, made him shunne the exposition now commonly received, as likewise did St Hierom whose words as I find them quoted by Salmeron are these, *de rationali Creatura sermonem fecit, & non (sicut quidam existimant) de irrationali vel insensibili qua ad servitutem hominum Creatæ est & posthac peritura.* Lastly I can not understand; how the insensible Creature in regard of the service it performes to man can bee said to bee subject to vanity, since it should have performed that service even in the estate of innocency, & vanity wee know came not in but by the fall; and besides I see not in what sense it can well be



termed to bee capable of the glorious liberty of the sonnes of God, that beeing nothing else but eternall happines, though some and that of our owne Church, grounding themselves upon those words, have beene so bold as to affirme that the very beasts (at leastwise those which were made at the first Creation) shall in the day of judgement rise againe to immortality; a brutish assertion and well deserving to bee ranged among those impious positions S. *Augustin* speaks of.

d To his second position, touching the time of this innovation, I say that hee buildes it vpon a supposition of an innovation which is not yet sufficiently proved. Besides what he meanes by *post peractum iudicium* I know not, but am sure that S. *Peter*. 2. 3. 12. tels us that in the very day of judgement, the heavens being on fire shall be dissolved, & the elements melt with fervēt heate: neither can it be imagined if there bee any such innovation as is pretended but that it shall insue instantly upon this dissolution. And for his place out of the. 1. Cor. 15; it rather makes for me, who hold an *end*, (as the Scripture calls it) not an innovation. His passage out of S. *Augustin* is Cap. 14. not. 4. as your Copie hath it; but to *Augustines* authority *Thomas* answers supplem: part. 3. quest. 74. art. 7. ad 1<sup>um</sup>. *Augustinus non loquitur determinando sed opinando* and maintaines the direct Contrarie to *Suarez* throughout that article.

To his first reason, the reprobates with there presence can no more contaminate the new world, then the reprobate angels did the heavens by there fall, which notwithstanding still Continues the mansion of the elect angels and glorified Saints.

To the second, it might bee as convenient (for any thing I can understand) for the reprobates to looke upon the light and glory of the new world, as upon the glorified Saints, and Christ himselve setting in judgement in as much as being not to injoy it, it shall make more for the confusion then consolation.

To these might be added *Salmeron*, who in his fourth disputation on the second of S. *Peter* thus writes: *Quaquam autem cali & terra & omnia Conterenda sint, & postea in melius reformanda: voluit tamē deus per Petrum & per alios prophetas declarare omnia peritura & in nihilum fere redigenda, ut agnoscamus omnipotentiam ejus, qua non solum potuit mundum Condere, sed etiam destruere & in chaos antiquum redigere, & quod magis est in nihilumvertere: quod tamen videretur nobis prorsus fieri non posse.* and *Beza* seems to have beene of the same opinion, annot: in cap. 8. ad Rom. v. 20. *Vani- tatis id est illi per ignem dissolutioni quae annihilationis erit species, sicut aperte & copiose describitur 2. Pet. 3. 7. 10. 11. & 12. promittuntur enim novi Cali & nova terra non priorum restitutio sive in eundem sive in meliorem statum: nec ijs possum assentiri qui hanc dissolutionem, ad solas qualitates referendam censent;* so as undoubtedly hee held a dissolution, of the substance yet not by an abolition of the essence, as hee expresseth himselve in his annotations on the very next verse, but by a separation (it should seeme) of the forme from the matter; & Consequently by an abolition of the forme, the matter remaining the same, and truly did I hold any innovation of the world, I should rather assent to these, thē to *Suarez*, & those that follow his opinion, as well in regard of the grave authority of the



the patrones thereof by him cited, as also of the waighy reasons, and pressing scriptures by him alleaged which he very slightly and Coldly answers, but for mine owne part some of them I thinke unanswerable, and thus farre agree with them being doubtles herein convinced by plaine evidence of Scripture ) that there shall bee a dissolution of the world not onely in regard of the qualities but of the very substance thereof which some of them seeme to hold by an annihilation or totall abolition, others onely by corruption, or a destruction of the formes, though herein I differ from them, that I hold as a totall so likewise a finall abolition without any substitution of a new world instead of the abolished, they the substitution of a new in place of the old abolished that is, new matter together with new formes and new qualities or at least wise new formes & qualities, the matter still remaining the same. but the places which they ordinarily bring for prooffe of this, are in truth so weake that the very reading of them(as before I said ) would serve for a sufficient answer, and for the 8<sup>th</sup> to the Romans as I find it not alleaged by them, so neither can it serve there turne in as much as it must bee the same creature which waiteth for the manifestation of the Sonnes of God, which is subject to vanity, which groaneth and travaileth in paine till now, the selfe same I say, and not another instead thereof that must and shall bee delivered from the bondage of Corruption into the glorious liberty of the children of God, as in the resurrection the same bodies of ours and not others instead thereof shall bee raised to immortality, *absurdum enim est & deo indignum ut hac quidem Carolaniatur illa vero Coronetur* saith *Tertullian*. And for those who hold that the same Creature in kind shall bee restored ( as did the fathers of the *Latin* Church they hold withall that in that passage to the Romans, the unreasonable and unsensible creature can not bee understood; so as they who from thence would prove a renovation of the world in *specie* have doubtlesse the chiefe both of the *Greeke* and *Latin* fathers therein against them.

This opinion as it is related by  *Suarez* rather makes for mee then against mee in as much as some of the elements it wholly annihilates, and if some, why not all? there being no reason that I know, why in this innovation the earth should bee preferred before the water, or the aire before the fire specially there being in scripture no mention made of the abolition of the fire as of the water there seemes to bee *Reu: 21.1*. But for *Beda*; *Bonaventure* and *Aquinas* on the fourth of the sentences indeavour to interpret him as if hee intended nothing else but some great change in the fire and water, then in the other two elements, in regard of there active qualities of heate and Cold, whose operations shall then cease; but saith *Pererius lib. 2. de Calo & astris quest. Comment: in Genesin Beda in lib. de Sex aetat: mundi Cap. 69. Satis explicate & diserte Sententiam suam exponit, quae prorsus nihil a supradicta opinione Augustini differt*. Now though it be true that *S. Augustin* in the place alleaged Commenting upon those words, *& mare jam non est* at first tels us, that *utrum maximo illo ardore Siccatur, an & ipsum versatur in melius non facile dixerim, Calum quippe novum & terram novam futuram*



*legimus. De mari autem novo aliquid me nspiam legisse non recolo: yet hee thus Concludes that chapter; Iam tunc non erit hoc saculum vita mortali- am turbulentum & procellosum quod maris nomine figuravit which though Suarez observed not, yet Pererius did, verum illud (saith hee,) ex apocal: productum & mare jam non est, non movit Augustinum ut putaret post diem judicii non futurum mare. And for Ambrose hee is as much or more mistaken, then in the testimony of Augustin; the words are these: quod vero infert, & mare jam non est possumus Secundum litteram intelligere Vt mare penitus deleatur; Aliter, mare jam non erit quia propriam figuram amittet Sicut Calum & terra ut in pulehriorem formam reparetur. Sed Spiritualiter hoc intelligendum puto and at last Concludes. Mare igitur jam non erit, quia omnis multitudo impiorum Cum deceptoribus suis demonibus, in infernum detrusa, presentem mundi faciem a sua inquinata habitatione munda prestabunt. And besides, Cuthbert Tonstall Bishop of Durrham, who about 80. years since brought those Commentaries into light, makes a doubt whither the author of them were St Ambrose Bishop of Milan; but Sixtus Senensis Bibli: Sancta lib. 4. flatly denies it and gives his reasons for it.*

Hee saith not *Certum est* but *videtur de fide*, but wee know *quadam videntur & non sunt*, and so doth Paraus take this to bee: *Questiones has ex earum numero esse meminerimus, de quibus etiam optimis Theologis licet dubitare, ignorare, dissentire, Salva fidei & Charitatis Compagne, Comment: in 8. ad Rom: explicat. Dubij decimi ex vers. 21. and with him herein agrees peter Martyr: pij animi esse Censeo neutram partem pertinaciter affirmare: nihil enim habemus alterutram in partem Satis Certo definitum Loc. Com. Classe. 3. Cap. 17 yet for mine owne part I professe it to be a part of my beleefe that neither the heavens, nor earth are so to be dissolved or annihilated as nothing proportionable thereunto shall supply theyre functions, though in a transcendent and supernaturall manner! that which the divines terme the Emphyriall heaven and the Scriptures the heaven of heavens or third heaven 2. Cor 12. 2. shall more then supply all that which the visible and materiall heavens now doe, & that which the Psalmist calls the land of the living. I had utterly fainted, but that I verely beleaved to see the goodnes of the Lord in the land of the living Psal. 27. 13. shall more then supply all that which this earth wee now live upon doth: as then I beleieve, that the body of Christ is truly in the Sacrament though not in a proper but a figurative sense; so doe I as verely beleieve that upon the dissolution of these heavens and earth, wee shall have new prepared for us but in a figurative not in a proper sense which notwithstanding shall be as proportionable to our future state of glory, as these are to our present state of mortality, and this I hope is no heresie, at least wise, I have not found it, condemned by any Councill, which Suarez in reason should have produced.*

His owne opinion (which is that the heavens & the elements without any of the mixt bodies, shall be renewed) hee holdes but probable, & trnly for mine owne part) I thinke his proofes being well waighed, will hardly reach so farre.

His first prooffe is because under the name of *Heaven* all the simple bodies diaphanous, and under the name of *earth* the *earth* and water, are



are comprehended, where hee seems to exclude the water from the bodies *diaphanous*, by what rule or for what reason I know not; His allegation from the first of *Gen*: I thinke none ever expounded So but himselfe, the Common opinion of divines for this last. 800 years and upward being, that by heaven in that place the Emphyreall heaven, and by earth the first matter is to bee understood; but for mine owne part I should Conceive with *Zanchius* and *Parau* that those words containe an universall proposition in regard of the particular workes of the Creation which by peecemeale afterward insue, and Consequently, that not onely the simple but the mixt bodies are therein to bee included. Which exposition wonderfully pleaseth *St Chrysostome* neither is it disallowed by *St Augustine. lib. 11. de Civitate dei Cap. 33.* and *Basil* in his. 3. homilie upon *Gen*: ingenuously acknowledgeth that it was *a maioribus tradita* and in truth I thinke that those words of our Creed maker of heaven and earth were borrowed from the words of *Moses* in that place, & for any thing I have ever redd or heard no man ever expounded them, as they stand in the Creed, only of simple bodies, but of the whole world together with all the parts and species therein Contained both visible and invisible, as the nicen Creed more distinctly expresseth it: if then wee should understand those places where mention is made of a new heaven and a new earth, as those words are in likelihood to bee understood in the first of *Gen*: I see not how it can well bee avoided but that the mixt bodies must aswell be renewed as the simple. And to this same purpose his passage out of the 8<sup>th</sup> to the *Romans* is more full which himselfe seems to acknowledge, for whereas the Apostle speakes of the Creature hee renders it the world and no man I thinke ever yet so defined the world as to consist only of simple bodies which he seemes to imply in that which followes *per omnem Creaturam saltem simplicia ex quibus mundus constat Paulus intelligit* where hee did well to add *Saltem*, for no interpreter (that I ever yet met with) hath so expounded that place if hee understood it of the unsensible Creature, but that he referred it to the mixt aswell as the simple bodies; I need not quote authours to this purpose for I presume there is not so much as one that ever commented on that chapter who can bee shewed to the contrary either ancient or moderne, *Romanists* or reformed. And whereas hee saith *non legimus mundum annihilandum*, I wonder what can be spoken in more plaine termes for annihilation; then is that in some of those passages which himselfe had alleaged in the page going before, as namely *Iob. 14. 12. Rev. 20. 11.* or that of *Esay. 51. 6.* as *Aquila* and *Symmachus* by the testimony of *St Hierome* translate *Celi Commineantur in nihil.*

His second allegation out of. 1. Cor. 7. 31. save that it comes backd by the countenance of *Augustine* and *Hierome* (though the places hee cites not) himselfe no doubt would soone answer, the Apostle intending no more in that place then doth *S. Iohn, 1. 2. 17.* and therefore hath our *English* translation rightly rendred it not the figure but the fashion of this world passeth away, and if the figure of the world properly so termed, (as it stands in relation to substance) were there to be un-



derstood, then from a sphericall must it bee turned to a quadrate, or some other which no man I thinke hath hitherto presumed to affirme.

To his third allegation *Eccles. 3. 14.* First I would willingly know whither God made not the mixt bodies aswell as the simple, and if so, why the one shall not be for ever as well as the other: but both doubtlesse are there said to bee for ever. 1. 4. of the same booke, that is, to abide till the Consummation of all things, and *huc* (saith *Lorinus*) *omnium interpretatio fere collimat.*

His third argument being grounded upon a supposition not sufficiently proved; which is, that the heavens and the earth properly so called, shall bee renewed needs none other answer: but that the foundation being sandie, the building laid thereupon cannot be sound; yet by the way wee may first observe that in the same page before hee had made S. *Augustine* affirme that the element of water was *penitus consumendum*, out of that place of the *Revelat. mare non erit amplius*, but heere he tells us that S. *Augustine* in the same booke and chapter understands those wordes *de turbulento saculo hoc*. Secondly, if all the elements are to be renewed because they make to the perfection of the world, I see not by what right hee can exclude the mixt bodies, without which undoubtedly the world could not bee but very imperfect; and lastly for his reason drawne from the nature of contraries it might as well follow that darkenesse should then likewise succeed by turnes, because it is opposite to light.

That the Emphyreall heaven shall still remaine without any innovation, I willingly agree with him.

As before he made the number of the bodies to be renewed but probable, so likewise heere the manner of renewing them, wherein hee dealt wearily, foreseeing hee must otherwise condemne all those Fathers who hold a substantiall change amongst whom hee named some before, (as nawely *Ambrose* and *Oecumenius*) whom notwithstanding here he brings in againe as allowing onely of an accidentall; and *Peregrinus* in his 14<sup>th</sup> disputation upon the eighth to the *Romans* sets *Irenaeus* in the former ranke, whom *Suarez* in this point ranges among the latter.

His prooffe out of *Iob* I cannot finde, except that be it, verse the 18. *Hast thou with him spread out the skie which is strong, and as a molten looking-glasse?* but what he can from thence inferre to his purpose I know not. That out of the *Psalmes* will without straining beare the same interpretation as the other out of *Ecclesiastes*, which I have already shewed not to make for his opinion, the meaning of both being (as I conceive) that the world shall endure in the state that God created it without decay till the Consummation thereof.

His allegation out of the 30 of *Esay*, *Hierome* (saith hee) expounds *de tempore post Christi adventum*, and so doe I understand it, with the foundest Expositours, but after Christs first comming in the flesh, not after his second to judgement; our last Translatours thus summe that chapter from the 18. verse to the 27. (the passage by him alleaged being in the 26.) [Gods mercies towards his Church] and in truth the



the wordes which immediately follow in the same verse, that this augmentation of light shall bee, *in the day that the Lord bindeth up the breach of his people, and healeth the stroke of their wound*, plainly shew that hee speakes not of the renovation of the world, but of his Church or chosen people: neither is that speech of the Prophet, being so understood, a *manifest equivocation*, (the proper character of a Jesuite) but an elegant metaphour, thereby implying the great increase of knowledge which should bee under the Kingdome of Christ, as *Amos 8. 9.* The famine of the word is shadowed under the setting of the Sun at noone. *Hierome* (saith hee) and *Epiphanius* collect the same from the 8. to the *Romans*, for if this innovation were substantiall, *destructio erit non perfectio, & timerent non expectarent*; but I would willingly bee resolved of him, whether perishing, vanishing, dissolving, passing away, melting, burning up, falling downe as a withered leafe (which are the Scripture phrases) be not equivalent to destruction? And againe, the Creatures expect not their destruction but their deliverance, as a man desires not physicke, but his health that is wrought by it, though the one perchance cannot well be effected without the other. Now for *Hierome* how hee understood that passage in the 8. to the *Romans*, which concernes this businesse I have already shewed, if *Salmeron* alleadge him aright.

Fourthly, hee tells us that the fire ordained to burne the world shall not touch the heavens, whereas all those Gentiles who speake of the worlds end by fire, include therin the heavens aswell as the other parts thereof: and so doe the Scriptures (and that in so manifest termes, as I wonder any man should make a doubt thereof) specially *S. Peter 2. 3.* But (saith he) *Hierome* and *Augustine* understand him of the region of the aire; yet that *S. Augustine* was not so resolute in that exposition, or at leastwise in that opinion as he would make us beleeve, sufficiently appeares by those wordes of his, in his enarration on the 101. *Psalme*, *Sunt autem & cæli cælorum superiores in firmamento, sed utrum & ipsi perituri sint igne; an hi soli cæli qui etiam diluvio perierunt disceptatio est, aliquanto scrupulosior inter doctos nec facile, maxime in angustia temporis explicari potest*: And if *Suarez* with his Schoolemen, had used the like modestie in this and other questions of like nature, it would have become them much better; but *Gregory* determines it directly against them. *Cælum igitur & transibit & erit, quia & ab ea quam nunc habet specie, per ignem tergitur; & tamen in sua semper natura servatur, unde per Psalmistam dicitur: mutabis eos & mutabuntur*; so as hee holds expressly that the same heavens whereof the Psalmist there speaks, (being undoubtedly the starrie heavens) shall at last be purged by fire.

And of the same heavens (saith *Salmeron*) in his disputations upon that place of *Peter*, speaketh the Apostle, *loquitur ergo hoc in loco de veris cælis de quibus David dixit: Initio tu Domine terram fundasti, & opera manuum tuarum sunt cæli, ipsi peribunt [nimirum per ignem.] Vbi ostendit veros cælos & veram terram verè peritura.* But more confident he is a while after, backing his Exposition with strong reasons. *Quod autem quidam ex patribus interpretantur non de supremis & veris cælis, sed de aëreis & aqueis esse intelligendum: ratione ipsius textus revincuntur, nam imprimis ostendimus*



*ostendimus nunquam celorum nomine in plurali numero aëreos & elementares celos accipi: Deinde post celos nominatos subdit; [Elementa vero calore solventur, & infra, & elementa ignis ardore tabescunt,] quod ad aërem & aquam & sphaeram ignis spectare videtur. Non possunt ergo per celos accipi illa tria elementa, cum his celos ab elementis contradistinguat: and to Suarez his argument, that the heavens spoken of by S. Peter were by his owne testimonie in the same Chapter, v. 5. made of the waters, which of the starrie heavens cannot be affirmed: he answereth that by water in that place is to bee understood the first matter out of which all things were made, as Gen. 1. 2. The Spirit of the Lord mooved upon the face of the waters: but had Salmeron well considered of the matter, he needed not to have sought so farre for an answer, in as much as it plainly appeareth not onely by the Greeke, but the best Latine copies, that those wordes out of the water and in the water, are to be referred to the earth and not to the heavens, which our last Translatours well cleare by rendring the wordes thus, [by the word of God the heavens were of old, and the earth standing out of the water and in the water] not the heavens then but the earth is said, not to be made, but to stand out of the water, in as much as a part of the face of it is uncovered, and for the use of living Creatures made higher then the water, but the greatest part is yet covered with water, and so in that sense as truely likewise it is said to stand in it.*

Now to Salmerons second argument he gives no lesse then sixe severall answers, but one good one would have beene worth them all: such as they are we will examine them in the same order, as by him they are proposed.

His first answer then is [*Dicit transitura quod localiter fieri potest & dicit magno impetu*] this answer is so obscure as I can but guesse at his meaning, which I take to be this; that the fire shall not worke upon the heavens, but they shall passe away with a great noyse in regard of their swift motion; if so, then the starrie heavens are there to bee understood, yet how a thing may bee said to passe away, and withall to remaine still in the same place. I cannot well conceive, but beside this passing away, it might have pleased Suarez to observe that they are reserved unto fire. v. 7. and being on fire shall bee dissolved. v. 12. neither is it said that they shall passe away *magno impetu*, as he hath it, but with a great noyse, such a noyse as is the cracking or hissing of thinges that burne in a fervent fire.

His second answer is, that heaven is taken for the whole expansion, some speeches being verified in regard of the higher, and some of the lower part thereof; this we deny not, but all the question is how the word *Heavens* is in this chapter of S. Peter to be understood, we say it is to bee referred to the starrie heavens, because it is distinguished from the elements, whereunto as yet hee hath made no kinde of answer.

His third comes in with a *fortasse rapietur*, but I thinke we may more safely reply upon him with a *fortasse non rapietur*, at least in his sense, and by what warrant he substitutes *raptus* instead of *transitus* I know not, by  
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the one a vanishing, and by the other a whirling round being signified.

His fourth carries (I confesse) some face of an answer, but the knot will bee untide if wee consider that the Apostle having spoken of the elements in generall, v. 10. instanceth more specially in the earth, not to distinguish it from the other, but to shew that notwithstanding above and beyond the rest, it abounds in the variety of the manifold and excellent workes both of God and man; yet shall it also together with all the workes thereof bee burnt up: but why the Apostle should likewise instance in particular in the region of the aire, I know no such reason.

To his fifth, I know not what warrant he hath for that *raptus cali* he there speakes of, much lesse that the aire shall be so whirled as it is an *heaven*, but set on fire as it is an element, these be meere fictions of his owne braine, he might (in my judgement) more probably have said according to his owne grounds, that the higher region of the aire should be whirled about together with the heavens, but the lower region should be set on fire, for so hee holdes that the last fire with which the world shall be consumed, shall ascend no higher then did the waters of the flood, that is fifteene cubits above the highest hills: but I would demand, then, what should become of the residue of the aire above those fifteene cubits, or how it shall remaine and not be purged as well as the lower region?

Lastly, hee tells us that by the name of the elements the water and earth are to be understood, but that (say I) is unlikely, considering they make but one globe, and so many times goe under the name of one element, and why the aire and fire should not be termed elements as well as they, I see no reason; since (whatsoever *Suarez* seeme to affirme to the contrary) they as primordially concur to the worlds constitution, as doe the earth and water; neither doe the aire and fire more depend upon the earth and water for their being, then doe the earth and water upon them, and whereas hee tells us that *S. Peter* distinguisheth the heavens (he speakes of) from the earth and the water, v. 5. so doth he likewise from the other elements, v. 10. and againe, v. 12.

His fifth generall argument to prove that the heavens shall not bee destroyed in regard of their substance, is, because if they be incorruptible the fire cannot worke upon them, and if corruptible, they cannot by the fire be transformed to a better state. To the last member of his division I answered first, and desire to learne of him why the elements being corruptible (at leastwise in regard of their parts) should bee purged by that fire, and not the heavens, if they bee likewise corruptible as being compounded of the elements, or of the same matter the elements are compounded of: and for the first member of his division, *Aquinas* indeed tells us, *suppl. 3. part. quest. 74. art. 4.* and experience hath confirmed it for the space of these many thousand yeares, that *Corpora caelestia peregrina impressionis non sunt receptiva*, but that axiome of his can none otherwise be understood but in the course of nature: and so likewise it is impossible that materiall fire can worke upon immateriall



riall substances, the Apostate Angels I meane, and damned spirits, but by the power of God and as an instrument of his wrath or will, it may and shall worke even upon spirituall substances, much more then upon the heavens, and that it shall then and thus worke himselte a little before seemes to affirme; *Vtraque inundatio tum aqua tum ignis non in naturis suis, sed in divina ordinatione fundatur.*

Foreseeing this answer to his argument he frames it into an objection, and then answers it, that the fire may perchance worke upon the heavens if God so will, but to affirme that hee so will wants a sufficient ground. Where I wonder why he should so limit Gods power, who without all *peradventure* can aswell extend the effectuall operation of fire to things which in their owne nature are not combustible, as he can and hath suspended it from working upon things which in their nature are combustible; but I more wonder that he should say that this assertion, *that the fire shall worke upon the heavens*, wants ground; since S. Peter, (if he be read without prejudice, and his sense not shifted by sophistry) hath so clearely expressed it, that to an ingenuous minde no farther doubt can possibly be left thereof.

Touching his summe in some things I agree with him, in some other I differ; in this I agree that *Celi non sunt igne purgandi*, and I cannot but allow well of his reason, *Calum cum sit purissimum sordes non habeat expurgandas*, and his answers to the objections drawne from *Iob* and *Theodore* I hold sufficient: but his other position, that *Celi non sunt corrumpendi*, is so directly contrary to the cleare testimonies of Scriptures and Fathers, specially those of the Greeke Church, that (to speake in the most favourable termes of it) I cannot but hold it erroneous.

His first reason to prove that those heavens shall bee renewed, is because their motion shall cease, a strange inference, yet not so strange as are the places hee brings to prove the cessation of that motion; the bodies themselves remaining. *All the hoste of heaven shall be dissolved* saith the Prophet *Esay 34. 4. and the heavens shall be rowled together as a scrole: and all their hoste shall fall downe, as the leafe falleth off from the Vine, and as a falling figge from a figge-tree.* Which very words S. *Iohn Revel 6. 13.* seemes to have borrowed from the Prophet: *And the starres of heaven fell unto the earth even as a figge-tree casteth her untimely figges, when shee is shaken of a mighty winde: And the heaven departed as a scrowle when it is rolled together, and every Mountaine and Island were mooved out of their places.* Both which passages (if they be to bee understood properly, and not figuratively as *Iunius* would have it) seeme rather to inferre an abolition or corruption then a renovation: and the rowling together of the heavens seemes rather to inferre their burning as a peece of parchment, that rivells up together in the flame, then a cessation from motion.

And for his other testimonie, *Revel. 10. 6. That fire shall be no more*, though the heavens should stand still, yet time may remaine by the motion of some other thing which may serve to measure it, as on the other side though they should still moove, yet all reasonable Creatures being removed out of the world, time should then cease, (at leastwise in regard of use) there being none left to measure motion: but for mine  
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owne part I should thinke that the cessation of time, implies rather an abolition then a cessation of motion in the heavenly bodies, once I am sure that it implies the one as well as the other.

His second reason drawne from the increase of light, is a bare affirmation without warrant, so as by a bare negation it may as easily bee rejected.

That the Elements likewise shall not perish in their substance, but bee renewed; Hee endeavours to prove first from the Fathers. *Qui aque loquuntur de toto universo*: yea but I would willingly know what Fathers hee meanes; if the Greeke, they by his owne acknowledgement hold that the whole world shall perish in substance; if of the Latine, they likewise hold that the whole world shall bee renewed in qualities, not onely the heavens and elements, but the whole world, it being indeed most true which he affirmeth, *loquuntur de toto universo*, so as he can have little helpe from the Fathers, either Greeke or Latine to maintaine his opinion.

And for Scripture lesse; all three places which hee brings to that purpose from the first and third of *Eccles.* as also from the eighth to the *Romans*, beeing already fully answered: nay they all rather make against him, who shutes out the mixt bodies from his renovation, which notwithstanding, those passages all include.

So likewise his induction is neither true in the severall parts thereof, nor, were it true, doth it make for him. First then for the fire, hee tells us that it is of the same nature with that fire which shall burne the world: this indeed S. *Augustine* seemes to affirme, *De Civit. Dei.* 20. 16. *Tum figura huius mundi mundanorum ignium conflagratione prateribit; sicut factum est mundanarum aquarum inundatione diluvium.* And herein is hee followed by *Aquinas* and the greatest part of the Schoolemen; but upon what ground they build I know not, other then their owne imagination. And considering it shall have those purging qualities and effects in regard of the universall, which are pretended, but are improper for the nature of our fire; mee-thinkes they who hold such a purification, should withall hold that the instrument ordained for the effecting thereof, should bee of some other nature then any yet created; but of what nature soever it bee, *Aquinas* holdes in expresse termes that it shall worke, not *ut naturale agens*, but, *ut instrumentum divinae virtutis*, and so it may doubtlesse worke both upon the heavens and the element of fire, and if upon them much more upon this: and that it shall indeed worke upon the elements appears by S. *Pet.* 2. 3. 10. 12. where the element of fire (if any such be, or it be rather the most subtile part of the aire) is not excepted; nay the ordinary glosse (and that of *Bede*) telling us in expresse termes, that all foure are there to bee understood, and consequently that of fire: Neither doth *Aquinas* himselfe to me seeme to bee of any other opinion, in as much as *supple. 3. part. quest. 74. art. 3.* having proposed this objection in the front of that article. *Videtur quod ignis ille non sit ejusdem speciei cum igne elementari, nihil enim*  
Hh h h h *seipsum*



*seipsum consumit, sed ille ignis quatuor elementa consumet ut dicit glossa. 2. Pet. ult. Ergo ignis ille non erit ejusdem speciei cum igne elementari. Thereunto hee makes this answer: Ad primum dicendum, quod ignis ille quamvis sit ejusdem speciei, cum igne qui apud nos est, non tamen est idem numero; videmus autem quod duorum ignium ejusdem speciei, unus alterum destruit, major scilicet minorem, consumendo materiam ejus, & similiter etiam ille ignis ignem qui apud nos est consumere poterit.*

And that the Element of fire is in its spheare so pure as it needes no purgation, hurtes not mee, who hold not that it shall bee purified but consumed. And whereas he tells us that this purging fire (as he calls it) shall not reach so farre, I may more truely lay of his bold assertion therein, then he doth in some other cases; *caret fundamento.*

Touching the higher region of the aire, that likewise (saith he) is so pure as it needes no purging: yea but though the vapours ascend not thither, yet by consent of the best Philosophers, exhalations doe, from whence there are bred Comets and other fierie Meteors, which there appeare, and carry (no doubt) much droffie matter in them: but (as I said before) for my selfe I hold no such purgation, but an abolition which the last fire shall performe; for that it shall not reach thither (as was said) *caret fundamento.*

For the Element of water hee quotes Saint *Augustine de Civit. Dei. 20. 16.* but the wordes are not as hee quotes them. *Quod autem ait, & mare jam non est, utrum maximo illo ardore siccetur, an & ipsum vertatur in melius, non facile dixerim. Calum quippe novum & novam terram futuram legimus, De mari autem novo aliquid me uspiam legisse non recolo.* Where Saint *Augustine* leaves it doubtfull whither the Element of water shall bee wholly abolished or no, and *Suarez* himselfe leaves it doubtfull whither if it remaine it shall bee renewed or no, or in what manner.

Lastly for the earth, hee teacheth us that it shall remaine in kinde, but the whole massie body thereof shall not bee purified. No shall: how then shall wee now have a new earth, and why doth Saint *Peter* assure us that the Elements shall melt with fervent heat, and that the earth with the workes that are therein shall bee *burnt up*? marrie that quoth hee, is to bee understood onely in regard of the surface of the earth, and an accidentall change. But I demaund whither to be *burnt up*, imply onely an accidentall change; as also how it should come to passe, that some parts onely should bee advanced to the honour of this change, and not all? Of this last hee gives a double reason, the one that the fire cannot so swiftly pierce into the bowels of the earth; which is true if wee consider it as a naturall agent, and not rather as an instrument of Gods power and justice. His other reason is drawne from Hell, but whether Hell bee locally seated about the earths Center (as hee presupposeth) I finde it no where in Scripture determined.

How this morall change shall bee effected in the world by fire, or to what ende I cannot conceive; a Temple that hath beene abused to prophane uses, may againe bee reconsecrated by prayer, or (as  
their



their practise is ) by the sprinkling of holy water and such like Ceremonies, but now what resemblance this last fire shall hold with these I know not: Againe, Temples are thus cleansed that religious exercises may the more conveniently bee performed in them, but to what ende the world should bee so purified, I cannot understand. Besides, if any corner of the Temple bee polluted, the whole is held unholy; and the same reason seemes to bee in the world, because of the continuitie of all the parts, without which the frame it selfe could not stand, and then must the heavens and the element of the fire, and the higher region of the aire bee purified aswell as the rest; and for the two lower it is certaine, that howsoever for the present they may bee accounted pure, yet by reason of the continuall interchange of the Elements, and their daily transmutation one into another, it cannot bee but they have contracted that morall or rather relative pollution which hee speakes of, as also in regard of the manifold and daily abuse of them all by wicked men.

His Physicall change hee makes to consist, first in the utter abolition of the mixt bodies, and then in removing all extraneous affections from the Elements, as saltnesse from the sea, and excrements from the earth. For the mixt bodies I shall have a more proper place to speake of them hereafter, but for the two affections of the Elements which he instanceth in, I see not well how they can be removed by fire, saltnesse being rather caused then taken away by it, and for the earth, if by the working of the fire upon it, it should bee reduced to its owne nature, it would bee none other then sand, or dust, or ashes; it is the moisture that now holdes the parts thereof compacted together, and yet is there much aire mixed with it as it is, but if that moisture should once be removed from it, the parts thereof being more porose must needs either remaine emptie, or admit of more aire, and consequently cannot consist without these adventitious affections.

His positive change consisting in the addition of a new perfection, hee would willingly ground upon the eighth to the *Romans*, where (saith hee) *Paulus ait gloria participes fore*; yea, but how if it bee not so to bee found in the text? The wordes are *Creatura liberabitur a servitute corruptionis in libertatem gloria filiorum Dei*; not *Creatura erit particeps illius gloria*, that is his glosse which corrupts the text; and I hope hee will not say that the unreasonable and unsensible Creature shall be made pertaker of that glorious libertie, which is reserved for, and is proper unto the sonnes of God.

His best warrant then for this positive change is from *Aquinas*, who affirmes *suppl. 3. part. quest. 91. art. 4.* that the earth shall bee as glasse, the water as Chrystall, the aire as heaven, and the fire as the lights of heaven. But I would willingly learne from whence all these glorious effects shall proceede, how they can stand with the nature of the Elements (which are still supposed in their substance to remaine the same) or lastly to what ende and purpose they shall

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bee: it should seeme by *Suarez* that hee would make the fire to bee the instrument of all this wonderfull change; but how fire in the course of nature (for miracles he labours by all means to avoide them) can produce such effects as to make the earth like glasse & the Sea like Chrystall; for mine owne part I must professe I cannot conceive, and for the element of fire and higher region of the aire, hee assures us that the last fire shall not reach unto them.

Secondly, how earth can put on the properties of glasse, and yet still remaine earth; how water can put on the properties of Chrystall and yet still remaine water, how aire can put on the properties of heaven (which is thought to bee a solid bodie) and yet remaine aire; or lastly, how fire can put on the properties of the lights of heaven, and yet still remaine fire, I cannot understand, nor how these things should be accomplished without the destruction of the essentiall qualities of the elements, and consequently of the essences themselves

Thirdly, to what end shall all this great adoe be? the Master of the Sentences, *Lib. 4. dist. 48.* here ingenuously professes himselfe to be ignorant. *Si vero quaritur quis sit usus lucis, solis & lunæ, fateor me ignorare, quia in Scripturis non memini me legisse.* And if no use can be assigned of the light of the Sun and Moone, much lesse of that in the Elements, & this ingenuitie of the Master of the Sentences *Peter Martyr* both commendeth and followeth: *Loc. Com. Class. 3. cap. 17. Sed ea Sacris Scripturis non confirmantur; nec satis apparet cum Christi corpus & infinita justorum corpora sole ipso magis lucentia, oculis beatorum conspicienda sint, quid præterea oblectationis afferre possit instauratarum creaturarum conspectio; quare placet mihi candor & simplicitas Magist. Sentent. Cum dicat se nescire quod in Scripturis sacris non meminerit se legisse. Utinam in alijs rebus definiendis uti voluisset pari modestia & fide.*

Whereas hee affirms that this illumination in the Elements shall never faile, because the heavenly bodies shall perpetually rest in the same situation; hee seemes to say that the Elements shall borrow their light from the lights of heaven, and if so, then of necessity must the Elements bee more inlightned on that Hemisphere, where the Sunne rests, then in the other where there will bee little or no light in comparison of the other Hemisphere.

And for those passages which hee quotes of *Esay*, and the *Revelation*, being rightly examined, they rather make for mee then for him: *The Sunne shall bee no more thy light by day, neither for brightnesse shall the Moone give light unto thee: but the Lord shall bee unto thee an everlasting light, and thy God thy glory,* saith the Prophet. *Chap. 60. vers. 19.* and then in the next verie hee thus goes on. *Thy Sunne shall no more goe downe, neither shall thy Moone withdraw it selfe: for the Lord shall be thine everlasting light, and the dayes of thy mourning shall be ended.*

To which passage of the Prophet the Apostle seemes to allude *Rev. 21. 23.* *And the Citie had no neede of the Sunne, neither of the Moone to shine in it: for the glory of God doth lighten it, and the Lambe is the light*



light thereof; and againe in the very next chapter v. 5. *There shall bee no night there, and they neede no candle neither light of the Sun, for the Lord God giveth them light, and they shall raigne for ever and ever:* then which I know not what could be devised to be spoken more expressely, that there shall then be no more Sunne or Moone, because the inhabitants of the new *Ierusalem* shall not want the use of them. So as why he should quote those two places of the *Revel.* I know not, they making both directly against him. And for that of the Prophet, where he saith *Thy Sun shall no more goe downe, &c.* it must undoubtedly bee referred to that Sunne which he had immediately before spoken of. *The Lord shall be unto thee an everlasting light, and thy God thy glory:* for of the Sunne and Moone properly so called, hee had said in the former part of that verse, there shall be no more use of them.

That which most of all seemes to trouble him in this businesse is the transparencie of the earth, least the light should shine downe to hell: but the great wit of S. *Augustine* could not well resolve it selfe (as it seemes) where to place it, for in his 20<sup>th</sup> booke *De Civit. Dei* and 16<sup>th</sup> chapter, speaking of hell fire, hee thus goes on, *Qui ignis cujusmodi & in qua mundi vel rerum parte futurus sit, hominem scire arbitror neminem, nisi forte cui spiritus divinus ostendit:* in which passage I finde both *Vives* and *Martyr* to be deceived, taking him as if he spake of the last fire which shall consume the world, whereof indeed he speaks immediately after in the same Chapter.

But *Suarez* taking it for granted that hell must bee in or about the center of the earth, tells us that the earth shall be transparent and lightsome just to the confines thereof, which I take to bee the same with *Paludanus* his opinion, that it shall be illuminated *usque ad limbum puerorum inclusive*, which (as I remember) they make to border upon Hell, but whither or no these infants shall bee removed from thence at the day of judgement, and dwell heere upon the earth, it is not yet determined amongst them; the onely thing in this point which now rests to be inquired is, how farre the borders of Hell reach upward, (for downward I thinke they all agree that they extend full home to the Center) if then from thence wee allow for Hell three thousand miles upward, there remaine yet five hundred by the calculation of Geometricians to the upper face of the earth, all which according to the opinion of *Suarez* shall bee transparent and lightsome, and that without a miracle, though by his leave his Master *Thomas* be therein of another minde. *Terra vero quamvis ex natura sua opacitatem habeat propter defectum lucis; tamen ex divina virtute in sui superficie gloria claritatis vestietur, sine praesudicio densitatis ipsius.* But I wonder why both *Aquinas* and himselfe should speake of illuminating onely the superficies of the earth, and yet withall affirme that this light shall shine downe to Hell, as if the verge of Hell extended to the superficies of the earth: which were it so, no roome could bee left for the *Limbus puerorum*. Suppose then wee allow but the thousandth part of the Globe of the earth for the superficies thereof, or from the bounds of Hell (and lesse I trow they will not allow) yet there still remaine three miles and an halfe



downward, I would demaund then what shall become of all the mightie quarries of stone, and mines of mettall, which lie within this compasse, shall they remaine? or shall they be annihilated? if they shall remaine, then shall not all the mixt bodies bee abolished, if they shall be annihilated, then either *vacuum* must be admitted, or some new bodies must be created, and substituted instead thereof.

Two Scriptures hee alleadges for this illumination of the earth, the first, *Revelat. 21. 21. And the street of the Citie was pure gold, as it were transparent glasse:* but no man neede doubt but that the Apostle there speakes figuratively of the heavenly *Ierusalem*, for otherwise wee may as well understand the twelve gates (there spoken of) to be of twelve entire pearles, and the twelve foundations to bee of twelve pretious stones in a litterall and proper signification; and besides, the wordes being that the street of the citie *was* of pure gold, but *was as it were* only of transparent glasse, there is greater reason (as I conceive) to resemble it to gold then to glasse: it being said to bee the one, but the other in shew and appearance. Lastly, if onely the *streets* were thus transparent, then this illumination of the earth shall not pierce so deepe downe as they suppose, or the limits of hell aspire higher then we imagine.

His second Scripture is *Esay 60. 19. The Sunne shall bee no more thy light, &c.* which mee seemes is strangely alleadged to the purpose hee would straine it to: specially considering that before hee had made this illumination of the earth to bee caused by the lights of heaven.

Hee now comes to the Exposition of those Scriptures which are brought against his opinion, but this part (which hee should especially have stood upon) he passeth over so shortly and sleightly, as makes mee thinke hee was guilty of the defence of a bad cause, or cared not much to betray it. The Expositions hee brings are three without any particular application: and besides (which is worth the noting) hee cunningly conceales all the reasons which are brought against him, though many and strong, as if they deserved not any answer.

His first Exposition is, that by heaven is to be understood the region of the aire; which Exposition by reason of S. *Augustines* great authoritie in the Church, (and none otherwise) carries with it some shew in the interpretation of the *2. Pet. 3.* but for the other Scriptures produced in his first page, wherein heaven is mentioned, I finde not any who so expound that word, neither in reason can they.

His second Exposition or rather shift is this, that where the starrie heavens are understood, there it must be meant not of a reall perishing, but onely of the variation of their state and ministerie: but to overlooke the places onely by himselfe quoted, pag. 1. I would aske whither in the judgement of any reasonable and indifferent man. *Ta- bescent omnis militia caelorum. Caeli sicut fumus*, or as *Aquila* and *Symma- chus* turne it, *Caeli comminuentur in nihil, & in salis modum conterentur & evanescent. Ego creo novos caelos. Vidi novum caelum. Homo cum dormierit non resurget*



*resurget usque dum non erunt cæli. Opera manuum tuarum cæli, ista peritura sunt. Cælum & terra transibunt.* I say I would aske whether these places can possibly bee expounded onely of a variation of the state and ministerie of the heavens; and that into a better state without any change of the substances.

To the last of these hee frames his last exposition, as if the wordes were to bee understood hyperbolically or comparatively, thus, Heaven and earth shall sooner passe away then my words, which exposition as I denie not, so I thinke it cannot well bee denied, but that the wordes likewise imply a passing away of heaven and earth; and Salmeron having set downe both senses, first the absolute and then the comparative, Concludes, *prior sensus scripturis videtur magis consonus, & per transitum intelligo, innovationem essentialem saltem secundum formam. Dicuntur enim cali non tantum transire, sed perire etiam & veterascere. Deficere ut fumus & senescere apud Esajam. Atteri apud Iob, recedere in apocalypsi: ardere & solvi apud beatum Petrum. Cali novi & terra nova dicuntur ab Esaia & in apocalypsi. Et quamquam Cælum non recipiat peregrinas impressiones ex se; secus erit ex precepto dei. Ideo Petrus apud Clementem lib. Recognitionum tradit, quod ut ovum frangitur ut pullus delitescens videri possit; ita Cælum hoc quod sub aspectum cadit dissolvendum est, ut gloria beatorum appareat de serm: Dom: tract. 32.*

Touching his order and causes how this innovation shall bee performed, I might easily passe it over for that it is stuffed with meere devises of his owne braine, without any warrant or shew of warrant: and besides it presupposeth an innovation of the world as granted, which as yet is not proved; and thirdly in the greatest part of his assertions touching this order, he dissenteth from his M. Thomas.

As whereas hee first tels us that after the last judgement ended, and the returne of Christ together with the Saints into heaven, *Cæli magno impetu transibunt. i. Cælestes orbes velocius agitabuntur, secumque rapiunt calos aërios &c.* which extraordinary swift agitation of the heavenly Sphears I find not any to speake of but himselfe: but the place it should seeme which hee alludes unto is. 2. Pet. 3. 10. Where the originall word doth not signifie *impetu* but *stridore*, and so Beza rightly translates it, and our last traslators, with a great noise. *In morem procellæ, Erasmus* turns it and *Calvin ad modum procellæ*, it comes all to one like the rattling of an haile-storme. But I have not met with any who hath made his comment upon those words, neither can himselfe well doe it, considering that by *heaven* in that chap: of St Peter are not to bee understood (as before he tels us) the *cælestiall sphears* but the region of the aire.

Now after this great hurry or cōmotion (saith he) the fire which shall purge & burne the world shall follow, so as he makes the judgement to bee first, then this Commotion, and after that the last fire; directly opposing himselfe herein to *Aquinas suppl. 3. part. quest. 74. art. 7.*

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where



where hee thus determines that question in the body of the article. *Sed Contra est quod dicitur in Psal. 96. ignis ante ipsum precedet.*

*Præterea resurrectio precedet iudicium, alias non videret omnis oculus Christum iudicantem: Sed mundi conflagratio resurrectionem precedet. Sancti enim qui resurgent corpora spiritualia & impassibilia habebunt, & ita non poterunt purgari per ignem, cum tamen in littera dicatur ex verbis Augustini quod per illum ignem purgabitur, si quid in aliquibus sit purgandum: ergo ignis ille iudicium precedet,* from whence hee deduces this conclusion. *Cum mortuorum resurrectio iudicium præcessura sit, conflagratio ignis quantum ad mundi purgationem spectat; dei iudicium præcedat oportet: quantum vero at- tinet ad illius actum quo malos involuet, iudicium ignis conflagrationem anteci- bit.* And the parts of this conclusion he afterwards proves distinctly & particularly.

The same likewise seemes to have beene the opinion of Lombard lib. 4. dist. 47. d. *Purgato vero per ignem mundo & ad iudicium veniente domi- no, emittetur vox illa magna, qua resurgent omnes mortui.*

His next position is, that this fire shall not bee of a different nature from our common fire, neither need wee (saith hee) conceive it to bee any other, Sithence ours is apt to produce the foresaid effects, where no doubt hee meanes those effects which himselfe had before assigned to it, but herein likewise hee plainly varies from Thomas suppl. 3. part. q. 74. ar. 3. where though hee hold indeed that the fire wherewith the world shall bee purged, shall be *eiusdem speciei Cum igne elementari* (as hee there speakes) yet in his answer to the second objection in that ar- ticle, he as plainly maintaines that neither our fire, nor that, is in it selfe apt to produce those effects, but only as an instrument of Gods power; *Ignis ille non aget, nisi ut instrumentum divina virtutis.* But whither this last fire shall bee of the same kind with ours or no, I thinke God only knowes.

As also where it shall beginne or in what manner it is to bee bredd, for mine owne part I should thinke that some new fire is to bee created to that great purpose, (though Suarez determine to the contrary) and that it shall beginne with the heavens not in the region of the aire. But as positive as he is, he flatly crosseth himselfe in this position, for wher- as before hee had tolde us that after the judgement ended, and Christ his returne into heaven togeather with the Saints, the celestiaall sphears should with a wonderfull force bee whirled about, and then should fol- low the fire of conflagration, hee tels us heere: *probabile est primo præire iudicem ad locum iudicij, deinde ibi quiescere durante iudicio &c.* Which contradictorie assertions I know not how to reconcile.

To his last position, I should conceive it to be much more probable that this fire should worke at once upon all the parts of the world, then that it shall bee carried successively as Suarez thinkes: for so must it needs bee a long time in working, whereas the Scriptures sceme every where to speake to the Contrary.

If it be *totius terra exustio*, a burning up of the whole earth, how shall the same earth *in specie* bee renewed?

Wee are now come to the great doubt of the mixt bodies, why they should



should bee excluded from this Renovation, the heavens and elements being onely admitted thereunto. *Suarez* heere brings diverse stronge objections against this opinion, but vouchsafes not any kind or colour of answere to any one of them, & truly some of them ( for mine owne part ) I hold unanswerable, and some others there are no lesse waighly which either out of ignorance or negligence or wilfulnes hee hath omitted. As namely that no one of the fathers can bee produced either *Greeke* or *Latin* who wholly excluded the mixt bodies: and also that the mixt bodies being remooved by annihilation, there must needs ensue a *vacuum* thereupon, except we should affirme that those emptie places are to be supplied and filled up by the dilatation of the elements, which I much doubt how it can bee done, the mixt bodies being so many in number, and many of them so vast in quantity. Upon which consideration mee thinkes it had beene the safer way to have said, that the mixt bodies shall bee resolved into the elements, rather then that they shall be abolished.

But having mustered up such objectiōs as he found he could not well answere, his resolution in spite of all that could be said to the Contrary is: *Sed non est recedendum à Communi Theologorum sententia, mixta non permāsurā*, where by *Theologorum* hee can not understand the fathers, but only the schoolemen; and yet they doe not all so agree in the matter neither, but that some of them (as appears by himselfe) are of a contrary opinion. And to speake ingenuously I find no sufficient reason of admitting the elements to this renovation, & excluding the mixt bodies: and for the two reasons which hee brings they are weake and frivolous. His first is that the mixt bodies are corruptible, why so are the elements in regard of their parts: Yea but they are incorruptible in regard of the whole; and so are the mixt bodies in respect of there species.

His second is that *mixta ferè omnia referuntur ad usum hominis ratione corporis corruptibilis, qui usus cessabit*: but I beseech you Sir, may not the same as truly bee said of the elements? and againe if it bee but *ferè omnia*, then all by force of this argument can not bee excluded *si quæras* (saith *Peter Martyr* speaking of the mixt bookes) *quam ista habitura sint utilitatem, si persisterint? Respondeo, eandem quam tu attribuire poteris elementis; quemadmodum enim tum nihil elementis indigebimus, ita ne brutis quidem, aut plantis aut alijs partibus orbis.*

His next conclusion might well be passed over without any respect, being grounded upon no kind of warrant, onely by the way wee may observe, that the fire which shall purge the world having performed that whereunto it is ordained, shall (saith he) be carried downe to Hell, but to what end hee expresseth not, neither can I conceive but for the punishment of the damned: and yet I trust hee will not denie but that hell-fire it selfe is sufficient to that purpose.

The world having received its purgation, the motion of the heavens (saith hee) shall bee at an end, which I grant is the common opinion of the schoolemen, but the proofes hee produceth for the confirming of this assertion, are in truth so poore and weake, as the very reading of them to an intelligent man are confutation sufficient.

His



His first passage from the 60 of Esay I have already examined and found to bee defective.

His second from the 8 to the *Romans* that the creature is subject to vanity is doubtlesse as impertinent, for to say that a part of that vanity is the motion of the heavens, seems to mee a strange position, since all vanity (without question,) came into the world by the sinne of man, and I thinke no man will be so absurd as to say, that the heavens should not have mooved except man had sinned, or that they did not move before the sinne of man.

Which answer likewise may well bee shaped to his third and last passage quoted out of the first of Ecclesiastes.

And against him may well bee objected those wordes of *Moses*. Gen. 1. 14. God said let there bee lights in the firmament of heaven, to divide the day from the night, and let them bee for signes and for seasons and for dayes and for yeares: as also Gen. 8. 22. while the earth remaineth seede time and haruest, and cold and heate, and Summer and winter, and day and night shall not cease, which must needs cease if the heavens cease from there motion. These are cleere. Scriptures against the cessation of that motion, but those which are brought for it are so invalid, that *Pererius* ingenuously confesseth, *Equidem non memini uspiam in sacris litteris hoc aperte & proprie tradi*: and *Peter Martyr* tels us in plaine terms. *Hoc mihi certissimum videtur, quodque omnino affirmari debeat istas naturas rerum non mansuras in extremo die, nisi aliquod opus habitura sint; pugnat enim & cum natura & cum communi ratione, aliquid constituere quod omnino sit otiosum. Qua autem deus his rebus opera sit ascripturus, facile nos fateamur ignorare.*

His answer to his owne objection immediately following is, that *motus non magis naturalis est calo quam quies*, which is (I am sure) directly against *Aristotle* and against reason, if nature according to his definition be *principium motus in eo, in quo est*, & were not their motion more naturall then there rest, I see not how we can well defend there standing still at the prayer of *Ioshua* to have beene miraculous. Nor yet why the consummation of the world (which depends upon the heavenly motions) should not be termed naturall, which no divine (I thinke) hitherto durst affirme. And besides the Iesuits themselves commenting upon *Aristotle* affirme with one consent (as *Aristotle* doth); that a Circular motion is as naturall to heaven in its place, as is the motion of heavy bodies downward, or light bodies upward to there place: as improper then and unnaturall as it is that a great massie stone should rest in the aire, so unnaturall & improper is it that the heavens should stand still: to say then that rest is as naturall to the heavenly bodies as motion, is certainly but a shift to put off this present doubt without any shew of soundnesse; especially if wee defend that the heavens intrinsically and of themselves have an inclination to this motion, which inference is freely acknowledged by *Pererius*. *Ego ita sentio, posita renovatione mundi, eaque mutatione quam post diem iudicii futuram Theologia docet, valde consentaneum rationi esse calum ex se & intrinsecè, nullam habere naturalem propensionem ad motum circularem: nam si haberet non video equidem,*



equidem, quemadmodum eo motu privatum, non careat perfectione sibi naturaliter convenienti, & imperfecte ac violenter se habeat. Now they who maintaine intelligences to bee the movers of the heavenly bodies, may perchance with some colour defend, that of themselves they have no such intrinsecall propension to a *circular motion*; but they who hold not any such intelligences can not in my understanding possibly avoide it, and consequently this objection to them is altogether unanswerable.

Lastly, how the sunne can stand still in one place and yet illuminate all the parts of the world; or how standing still and the light thereof being much increased, it can chuse but exceedingly warme or rather burne up those parts it illuminates, I must professe for mine owne part I can not comprehend.

In the next place he shewes us that upon the cessation of the celestial motion, shall presently insue the innovation of the world; whereas he had told us before that *finita purgatione quiescet Calum*, and I hope hee will not denie but that his innovation doth at least in part consist in that purgation, though the perfection thereof it should seeme, he would place in the illustration of the world: but heere I should first demande who ever made up the world onely of the heavens and the elements? and secondly how those parts of the world shall bee illustrated, which are in situation opposite to the sunne as the *Antipodes* are to us? specially considering that hee holds (as before I observed) that this pretended illumination of the elements shall bee derived from the heavens: as also that the globe of the earth shall not be throughout transparent, but only toward the surface thereof.

Neither yet can I understand from him by any thing hee hath hitherto said what use or end there can bee of this illustration; onely in one place hee gives a glance at it, *videtur reliquum terra perspicuum fore & pervium Beatorum oculis*: But I desire to bee informed by him where hee mindes to place these Saints hee speaks of? if heere upon the earth hee can not avoide the heresie of the millenaries; if in the highest heavens (as I make account hee will) I much doubt how a carnall eye, though glorified can from thence discern the earth, which is as nothing in comparison of the visible and moovable heaven; or what use the Saints (being in the fulnes of glorie by reason of the blisfull vision of the sacred Trinity) can make of beholding these inferiour objects I can not understand, but am willing to learne of any who can rightly informe mee therein.

To his first reason *nulla est ratio ut ultra differatur*, I answered *nulla est ratio ut omnino fiat*.

To his second I oppose himselfe, *cum terra natura sua densa sit, non est capax luminis in profunditate sine miraculo*, and yet hee makes this illumination to reach downe as farre as hell, which I ever conceived to bee *in profunditate*; though then we should grant that this action of innovation requires no succession in regard of the agent or the action, yet in regard of the object it doth, which naturally hath in it that which he terms *resistentiam Contrarij*.

This



This question hee hath already determined, by telling us that the earth together with the other elements shall put on new apparell, which can be to no purpose if it be over whelmed with waters, though herein hee have the great champion of there society to crosse him: *omnino credibile est post ultimi judicii diem, elementum aquæ ad locum suum naturalem rediturum, totamque terram undique cooperturum. Bellar: de amiss. grat. & statu pecc. l. 6. cap. 2.*

And thus having ended mine examination, I leave you to judge with what success, but for my selfe I must professe, that in my judgment I never read so weake a discourse, from the pen of a Clarke reputed so profound, which I impute rather to the weakenesse of the cause, then of his witt or learning; and this in truth hath strengned mee in mine opinion, yet so as when I shall see better reason to convince me, I will not bee obstinate.

### S E C T. III.

*Since the first impresson of my booke, I fell upon the common places of Iohannes Gerhardus Doctor of Divinity and professor in the University of Iena, who in his ninth Tome & fifth chapter de consummatione Sæculi, not only maintaines an utter abolition of the world, by many reasons and authorities not produced by mee, but in my minde most fully answereth the passage taken from the 8<sup>th</sup> to the Romans; which because it is held the strongest objection against me, and this booke I thinke is in few mens hands, I will heere set downe at large.*

**R**Om. 8. v. 19. *Expectatio creatura revelationem filiorum Dei expectat. v. 20. Vanitati enim creatura subjecta est, non volēs, sed propter eum qui subjecit eam in spe. 21. quia & ipsa creatura liberabitur à servitute corruptionis in libertatem gloria filiorum Dei. v. 22. scimus enim quod omnis creatura ingemiscat & parturiat usque adhuc. Hic locus Apostolicus primarius est, quem pro contrariâ sententiâ vel maximè urgent. Expresse enim videtur Apostolus asserere, quod creatura æquè ac filij Dei à corruptione sit liberanda, & ad libertatem ab omni corruptione immunem traducenda. Resp. consideranda sunt in hoc dicto, 1. subjectum. 2. predicatum. Subjectum est ἡ κτίσις v. 19. & quidem πάντα ἡ κτίσις v. 22. quid vero nomine creatura h. l. intelligatur, de eo plurimùm variant Interpretum sententiæ. Quidam de Angelica, quidam de humana, quidam de corporali natura intelligunt. 1. Orig. Theodoret: in comm. Nazianz. orat. 1. in Julian. Cyrillus. lib. 3. thesauri cap. 1. &c. per creaturam intelligunt Angelos, qui vanitati & servituti corruptionis non suæ, sed hominum maximè electorum serviunt, & ab hac servitute liberabuntur in consummatione sæculi, & resurrectione piorum ad vitam æternam. Quidam tamen piorum posteriora duntaxat verba v. 22. *Omnis creatura ingemiscet*; quidam verò & priora & posteriora ad Angelos referunt. Hier. in comment. dubius est, magis tamen inclinât in eorum sententiam, qui de Angelis exponunt: *universi inquit, hunc locum diversis modis exponunt, sive omnis creatura resurrectionis tempus expectat, quia tunc in melius commutabitur,**



mutabitur, siue Angelica; siue rationalis creatura. Petrus enim dicit Angelos desiderare gloriam Sanctorum. Et postea: Vanitati subiecta est creatura, si Angeli hominibus ministrant, sicut Angeli gaudent super penitentes, ita dolent super converiti nolentes. Item: manifeste docuit Apostolus, quia ingemiscientiam creatura tribuit, quod non de irrationali vel insensibili creatura sermonem fecerit. Sed hæc interpretatio probari non potest. 1. quia Apostolus in genere loquitur, *πάντα κτίσις*. 2. Angeli sunt beati & in bono ac gloria confirmati, ergo de ipsis dici nequit, quod sint vanitati subiecti & ab ea liberandi, quod sint in dolore & gemitibus; 3. Angeli non inviti sed sponte inserviunt hominibus Psal. 103. v. 21. Heb. 1. v. ult. 4. explicatio illa occasionem dedit impiæ hæreticorum quorundam opinioni, cuius meminit August. lib. 83. qq. q. 67. quod Angeli omnes in dolore & gemitibus sint, donec nos homines penitus ab omni miseria liberemur. 2. Quidam de creatura rationali videlicet de hominibus textum Apostolicum accipiunt, sed diversimodè. Quidam enim de hominibus in carne adhuc viventibus, quidam de spiritibus defunctorum textum accipiunt. Illorum aliqui, in genere de omnibus hominibus, ac proinde de homine, ut homo est & dei creatura intelligunt. August. in exposit proposit. Epist. Rom: n. 53. & lib 83. qq. q. 67. Omnis creatura in homine est, quia intelligit spiritum, & sentit animam, & localiter corpore movetur. Probat ex eo, quia Apostolus non dicit totam sed omnem creaturam, & quia absurdum est gemitum tribuere creatura irrationali. Idem statuunt. Anselm. in comment, & ex pontificijs Andreas Mafius in cap. 6. Josuæ. Omnis creatura, inquit, id est, omnis homo qui est nodus & vinculum omnis creatura, microcosmus & mundi miraculum, quia homo ab omnibus creaturis aliquid participat, ab elementis scilicet esse, à plantis vegetari, ab animalibus sentire, ab Angelis ratiocinari, & sic omnes creatura patiuntur in homine & cum homine. Sic creatura capitur pro homine Marc. 16. v. 15. Coloss. 1. v. 23. Atqui 1. nec de pijs nec de impijs hominibus dictum Apostolicum intelligi potest, ergo etiam de hominibus in universum accipi nequit. Non de illis, quia creaturam ingemiscentem à pijs expressè distinguit. v. 23. Quidam sanè ut Aretius, Salmeron de solis Apostolis in illo versiculo sermonem esse volunt, cum illi fuerint Christiana Ecclesia primitia, conter Oecum. in comment. sed contrarium ostendit generalitas descriptionis, loquitur enim Paulus de omnibus pijs, qui primitias spiritus habent, & redemptionem corporis expectant, quiq; spe salvi facti sunt. v. 24. qui per patientiam liberationem expectant. v. 25. quorum infirmitatem spiritus adjuvat. pro quibus, spiritus interpellat gemitibus inenarrabilibus. v. 26. qui sunt sancti. v. 27. qui deum diligunt, quibus omnia cooperantur in bonum; qui secundum propositum vocati sunt. &c. v. 28. quæ omnia non possunt ad solos Apostolos accommodari. Neque verò Paulus sic loquitur, non solum autem, sed & nos Christi vel spiritus primitia: quæ phrasis ad Apostolos referri peculiariter posset, sed dicit, Nos qui primitias spiritus accepimus, quod omnibus verè pijs est commune. Socinus in resp. ad Pucc. p. 176. refert ad Christum piorum caput, ut sic sensus, omnes Christianos ab interitu & corruptione liberatum iri, non secus ac Christus ipse liberatus fuit, ut sic respectus habeatur ad v. 17. coheredes Christi,



*Christi, si tamen compatimur &c.* At quomodo de Christo dici potest, quòd liberatus fuerat à servitute <sup>quod deus cum caro eius non videret Alio modo</sup> Ps. 16. v. 10. Acts. 2. v. 13. cap. 13. v. 37. ut nihil dicam de eo, quòd per quam coactè ad remotiora verba Apostoli referantur. Missa igitur hac interpretatione addit Socinus particulam, *Et propter Angelos*, fuisse annexam, qui Dei beneficio ac liberalitate à corruptione absunt. Sed ostendimus jam ante non satis commodè de Angelis dici posse, quòd vanitati sint subjecti, & a servitute corruptionis liberandi. Non de his quia impii non tam sollicitè expectant liberationem filiorum Dei, nec ingemiscunt pro illa obtinenda. 2. Apostolo non est propositum hoc loco explicare, quid sit in homine, vel, quid in homine patiat, sed *quid extra se* <sup>in autòis intra nos ipsos ingemiscimus.</sup> Cohortaturus enim pios ad patientiam in adversis, proponit iis exemplum tum *ipsius filij Dei Christi Iesu* v. 17. cum quo si patiantur glorificationem certò expectare possint, tum *totius creaturae* quæ propter Deum creatorem vanitati subjecta, à servitute corruptionis aliquando liberabitur. 3. gemitus tribuitur h. l. creaturæ non *proprie* sed *metaphoricè* per prosopopœiam, ut postea monebitur. 4. particula *πᾶσα* in Scripturis accipitur tum *collectivè* tum *distributivè*, ac pro ratione subjectæ materiæ explicanda est per *τὸ omnis*, vel *tota*. Quidam ergo putant hoc loco vertendam esse per *τὸ omnis*, cum Apostolus loquatur non de *partibus* sed *speciebus* creaturæ, *totum* enim dicitur respectu specierum, *omne* respectu partium. Sed potest sine ulla absurditate accipi non solum de *generibus singulorum*, sed etiam de *singulis generum*; nam & *omnis creatura* h. e. omnes creaturæ corporalis species, & *tota creatura* h. e. omnia specierum individua servituti corruptionis sunt subjecta. Quidam verò in specie *de certa hominum classe* locum hunc exponunt; Cum enim omnes homines in duas distribuuntur classes, in *pios* sc. ac *impios*, iustos and iniustos, renatos ac non renatos, inde quidam de illo, quidam de hoc hominum genere locum explicant, priorem interpretationem profert Gregorius in comment. Iob 3. lib. 4. moral. cap. 4. 1. *Iustos*, inquit *quamvis nullus desiderium carnalium tumultus possideat, duris tamen vinculis eos in hac vita positos sua molestia corruptionis ligat. Aliud nempe iusti de morte, aliud de corpore tolerant, & contra semetipsos quotidie interno certamine desudant &c.* Verum hac creatura tunc à servitute corruptionis eripitur, cum ad gloriam filiorum Dei resurgendo sublevatur. Hinc itaq; *Electi* molestè vincti sunt, quia adhuc corruptionis suæ pœnā deprimuntur, sed cum corruptibili carne exuuntur, ab omnibus, quibus nunc astricti sunt, molestia vinculis relaxantur, Gregorium sequitur Lyranus in comment. *Creatura sunt boni, qui in creatione Dei manserunt, vel quia sunt causa omnium.* Item *Creatura est homo non amans ista caduca, patienter tamen ferens, sciens Deum subiecisse ad conversationem humilitatis, liberabitur autem à cura quarendi victum, & alia, quibus servitur nostræ mortalitati.* Eadem interpretatio probatur Caietano, Catharino in comm. & Salmeroni Disputat. 17. in epistola. Rom. Tom. 13. pag. 556. qui eam hisce ornant pigmentis: *Dicitur homo iustus præcisè creatura, vel quia is manet in eo bono, in quo creatus à Deo fuerat, in gratia scilicet & iustitia, vel propter excellentiam, quia omnis creatura electorum hominum causa potissimum*



tissimum à Deo condita est, atque ijs præcipuè deservit; quo sensu vox creatura usurpatur Iacob. 1. vers. 18. voluntariè nos genuit, ut simus initium aliquod creaturae eius. Dicitur omnis creatura, ut significetur universitas iustorum cuiuscunque nationis, sexus, ætatis, conditionis & professionis fuerint. Hæc creatura h. e. iustus expectat revelationem gloriæ filiorum Dei, tanquam complementum præmij & consummationem suæ felicitatis sibi promissum, interim subiectus est vanitati, h. e. rebus corporalibus & mutabilibus propter necessitates præsentis vitæ circa eas occupatus &c. Socinus in respons. ad defens. Francisci Puccii cap. 6. pag. 170. pro astruenda istac interpretatione sequentia urget fundamenta. 1. articulus additus voci κτίσις v. 19. præter numerum singularem apertè demonstrat, de insigni aliqua creatura verba fieri, de ea scilicet, cuius in præcedentibus fecerat mentionem, videlicet de hominibus per spiritum Dei regenitis. 2. Non tantum in primis illis verbis articulus est, sed in sequentibus semper repetitur, & postremò in eo loco ponitur, ubi necesse sit si rectè Latinè interpretari velis addere pronomen hæc aut illa. v. 22. πᾶσα ἡ κτίσις omnis illa sive hæc creatura; Si Paulus de omni creatura generalim loqui voluisset, non πᾶσα ἡ κτίσις, sed πᾶσα κτίσις dixisset, ac in superioribus, ubi non est nomē omnis, non in singulari, sed in plurali numero locutus fuisset. 3. Si de tota rerum natura Apostolus verba facere voluisset, non dixisset πᾶσα, sed ὅλη κτίσις. 4. res ipsa, de qua Paulus hic loquitur, de alia creatura, præterquam de homine per spiritum Dei regenito verba hæc intelligi vetat. Quanam creatura patefactionem filiorum Dei expectat, præter illos homines, qui divinitus edocti, spiritu mentis suæ renovati sunt? ἀποκατάδοξια ipsum actum & gestum expectandi ante oculos ponit, significat enim exerto capite expectare, at hic actus hominibus tantum competit. Quomodo omnibus creaturis unquam accommodabitur illud, non volens, sed sua sponte? quomodo illud in spe? quomodo illud ingemiscet & parturit usque adhuc? nam plusquam poeticè & per prosopopæiam quandam prorsus inauditam hæc omnia dicta fuisse asseverabimus? at quemadmodum non per prosopopæiam de ijs qui primitias spiritus habebant sed secundum ipsissimam veritatem dicitur, quod intra se gemerent, expectantes adoptionem filiorum Dei, sic de omni illa creatura verè & non fictè dictum fuit, quod ingemisceret ac parturiret. 5. in alijs etiam Scripturæ locis verbum creare pro regnare, & quasi iterum creare, ac nomen creaturae pro homine ponitur. Sed quid de his rationibus statuendum sit, partim ex præcedentibus intelligi potest, partim ex sequentibus manifestum erit. Ostendimus jam ante, pios ab illa creatura secum ingemiscente distingui. Iusti sunt ipsi filii Dei, quorum revelationem creatura sollicitè expectat, utiq; ergo per creaturam non possunt præcisè intelligi iusti. Adde quod vox creatura indefinitè posita (quo modo v. 20. ponitur) nunquam in Scripturis pro solis pijs, & iustis hominibus usurpatur, sed perpetuò additur quædā descriptio ac ἐπεξηγῆσις, ut creatura nova 2. Cor. 5. v. 17. Galat. 6. v. 15. quantò minùs ita accipi commodè poterit, quando additur particula universalis πᾶσα quod fit v. 22. Socinus d. l. urget dicta Apostolica Ephes. 2. v. 10. Jac. 1. v. 18. in quibus vox creaturæ absolutè posita usurpatur pro hominibus regenitis, sed descriptio addita significationem illam satis luculentè demonstrat. *Creati sumus in Christo ad opera bona, genuit nos verbo veritatis.* Posteriores interpretationem



pretationem recitat Augustinus d. I. *Creatura*, hoc est, homo infidelis liberabitur à servitute corruptionis, hoc est, à peccato, quia vocabitur ad fidem, fietque filius, ut postea libertatem gloriæ filiorum Dei consequatur. In ijs (inquit) qui credituri erant, videbat Apostolus, quod dicebat, quia creatura, hoc est, Natura hominis, quæ tantummodo creatura est, nondum per fidem aggregata numero filiorum Dei, liberatur à servitute interitus, ut interitui non serviat, cui serviunt omnes peccatores. Peccatori enim dictum est, morte morieris, liberabitur autem in libertatem gloriæ filiorum Dei, i. e. ut & ipsa perveniat ad libertatem gloriæ filiorum Dei per fidem, quæ fides cum in ea non erat, creatura tamen modo dicebatur, & ad ipsam refertur, quod sequitur. Scimus quia omnis creatura congemiscit: erant enim adhuc credituri, qui spiritu subiacebant laboriosis operibus. Sed Apostolus hoc loco non agit de liberatione à servitute peccati quæ fit per fidem in hac vita, sed de liberatione à servitute corruptionis, quæ non nisi in morte & per mortem obtingit, quod ipsum ex v. 23. August. ibid. rectè colligit: *Hæc adoptio*, inquit, quæ jam facta est in ijs qui crediderunt in spiritu, non in corpore facta est. Nondum enim corpus reformatum est in cælestem illam mutationem, sicut spiritus jam mutatus est reconciliatione fidei ab erroribus conversus ad deum. Adde quod impii & iniusti, quatenus tales, servituti peccati spontè sint subiecti, nec desiderent ab ea liberari. Qui de spiritibus defunctorum textum exponunt, illi eum accipiunt, de animabus Sanctorum ante Christum defunctorum, qui liberationem ex limbo expectaverint. Hieron. in comm. *Omnem creaturam dicunt esse, quicumque usque ad adventum Christi iusti fuerunt, quia & ipsi nondum accipientes expectant, Deo pro nobis aliquid melius providente.* Et postea; *Communem creaturam nominat post Adam & Evam iustos qui fuerunt usque ad tempus Christi &c.* Sed hæc sententia 1. nititur falsa hypothesi. 2. nec satis commodè de animabus in limbo dicetur, quod *vanitati & servituti corruptionis* fuerunt subiectæ quia poenam duntaxat damni, non autem sensus illis aliàs tribuunt. Apostolus dicit *creaturam adhuc ingemiscere & expectare.* Atqui eo tempore, quo Apostolus hæc scribebat, limbus jamdudum erat evacuatus, ut ipsismet huius limbi Architecti concedunt. Quod v. 20. indefinite dicitur *vanitati subiecta est creatura*, illud quidam specialissimè, adeoque individualiter de Adamo & Eva accipiunt. Hieron. in comm. h. I. Quidam etiam sic dicunt: *Adam & Eva esse creaturam, quos olim serpens à spe divinitatis vanitati subiectos corruptioni effecerit deservire, non ex semetipsis peccantes, sed serpentis instigatione & consilio.* Et ipsi, (inquit) liberabuntur, ut jam non corruptioni deserviant. Et postea; *Creatura autem Adam est & Eva, quæ adhuc expectat à Deo se recipere adoptionem. Vanitas est pravaricatio, cui subiecta Eva non propriâ voluntate, sed serpente decepta spe illa, quâ audierat, eritis quasi Dei; servitus autem est corruptionis, quam audiuit Adam: Terra es, & in terram ibis. In resurrectione autem recepturi sunt incorruptionem filiorum Dei.* Sed hæc interpretatio iisdem evertitur argumentis, quibus prior, ac idem utrobique manet subiectum in propositionibus Apostolicis, ut series connexionis ostendit. Quidam ergo non de Angelica, nec de humana, sed

de



de corporali & irrationali creatura, hoc est de tota universitate creaturæ corporalis & ratione carentis, quæ comprehendit cœlos, elementa, aliaque ex elementis constituta, locum Apostolicum exponunt. Ita statuunt ex Græcis Patribus, Chrysostom: Theodoretus, Theophilactus & Occumenius in comm. h. l. Ex Latinis Hilar. lib. 12. de Trin. Ambros. lib. 4. hexam. & author commentariorum in epistolas Pauli, qui sub nomine Ambrosij in operibus ejus extant, & ex nostris plerique omnes. Probatur hæc interpretatio 1. ex creaturæ appellatione, *κτίσις* propriè significat, quicquid est à Deo creatum, totam scil. mundi machinam cum omnibus partibus contentis. Syrus reddit בְּרִיתָא à rad. בָּרָא creavit. 2. ex invariata repetitione. Apostolus in quatuor distinctis versiculis nomen *creatura* quater repetit sine ulla variatione, permutaturus proculdubio hoc nomen voce alia, nisi creaturam generaliter acceptam intelligere voluisset. 3. ex aliorum locorum collatione, Sap. 13. v. 5. à magnitudine & specie creaturæ per analogiam generator illorum conspicitur, Rom. 1 v. 20. invisibilia Dei à creatura mundi per ea, quæ facta sunt, conspiciuntur, ubi manifestum est, nomen *κτίσις* pro visibili creatura accipi. 4. ex oppositione creaturæ illi, de qua Apostolus v. 19. 20. 21. & 22. egit, opponuntur v. 23. homines & quidem filij Dei spiritum adoptionis habentes. 5. ex sufficienti enumeratione. Si enim nec Angelica nec humana creatura intelligi potest, ut ostendimus, itaque creatura corporea, visibilis & irrationalis intelligitur. 6. ex interpretum testificatione. Multi enim ex veteribus & recentioribus ita interpretantur, ut ostendimus. Diximus autem intelligi creaturam corpoream visibilem & irrationabilem, ut ab hoc subjecto propositionis Apostolicæ excludimus Angelos & Homines. Et sanè Angelos malos hinc excludi, dubium nullum, quia illi non liberantur à servitute corruptionis, nec expectant revelationem filiorum Dei in die novissimo secuturam, sed dici illius mentione exhorrescunt, ut colligitur ex Math. 8. vers. 20. 2. Pet. 2. v. 4. Iud. vers. 6. Bonos Angelos & spiritus defunctorum piorum creaturæ appellatione simul intelligi, statuit Aretius in prop. loc. 156 pag. 499. Miror, inquit, si de illis qui in cœlis agunt vitam beatissimam, textus Apostolicus intelligi non potest. Sancti enim defuncti expectant corporum suorum restitutionem, sine quibus beatissimam vitam agere non possunt, quibus dum carent, meritò sub servitute interitus eo respectu dici possint. Sancti Angeli gaudent peccatoribus pœnitentibus, quibus dum serviunt, quid impedit de illis etiam accipi ratione ministerij, non naturæ? Sed de Angelis hunc locum non posse intelligi jam ante ostendimus. Regerunt, qui Angelos ab Apostolo nomine creaturæ simul intelligi arbitrantur. 1. Angelos bonos dici subjectos vanitati & corruptioni non suæ, sed hominum, quibus inserviunt. 2. ab hac vanitate eosdem liberandos, quando totus mundus suâ vanitate peribit, & gaudium beatorum perfectum erit. 3. ingemiscere eos ac dolere suo quodam modo, ut enim latantur super peccatore pœnitentiam agente Luc. 15. v. 10. sic ob corruptum hominum statum dolent, sensu miseriæ nostræ afficiuntur, & gloriam filiorum Dei, per quam ruinam suam sciunt esse reparandam, exoptant. At hæc omnia tum demum locum haberent, si Angeli, ut reliquæ creaturæ corporeæ impijs inservirent, illud enim servitium Apostolus præcipuè in hoc loco nomine



mine *vanitatis* intelligit, ut ostendimus. Iam verò Angeli piis duntaxat inserviunt. Adde quod sit dispar ratio inter *letitiam* ac *tristiam*. Lætantur Angeli peccatoribus poenitentiam agentibus, quia hic effectus non pugnat cum gloria & foelicitate in qua divinitus confirmati sunt: tritari autem ac dolere minimè possunt quia tristitia & dolor cum foelicitate illa pugnat, in cœlo enim *nec dolor nec gemitus*. Apoc. 7. Explicationi spiritibus piè defunctorum robur aliquod quæri possit ex eo, quod Apoc. 6. v. 11. *animæ martyrum* diem iudicii ac resurrectionis sollicitè expectare dicuntur, sed quia animas cœlestis gloriæ participes jamdum factas, *vanitati adhuc subjectas & a servitute corruptionis adhuc liberandas* statuere perquam durum, ideo eas à latitudine subjecti in textu Apostolico secludimus. Si quis verò omnino *Sanctos Angelos & animas piè defunctorum* nomine creaturæ simul velit intelligere, is poterit v. 19. ubi *indefinitè* ponitur creaturæ nomen, de corporali, visibili & rationali creatura accipere, sed v. 22. ubi additur particula universalis *πᾶσα κτίσις* in genere de omni ente creato, de tota entis finiti latitudine accipere, quo modo accipitur Iudith 16. v. 17. Apoc. 3. v. 14. *ac per ingemiscientiam ac parturitionem* vehemens desiderium absque ullo doloris & molestiæ sensu intelligere. Fateri interim cogetur, nihilominus ab hac creaturæ universalitate excipi *Angelos malos & animas damnatorum*; itemque articulum v. 22. additum *πᾶσα κτίσις* videri *ἀνὰ σφραγίδα*, ut sit sensus *omnis illa creatura*, scilicet de qua hætenus actum, adeoque *αὐτὴν κτίσις* illa ipsa creatura, ut v. 21. habetur, *nobiscum ingemiscit*: Qua ratione identitas subjecti in sigulis quatuor versiculis evidenter confirmatur.

Prædicatum tria membra complectitur, 1. *subjectionis servitium*. 2. *expectationis desiderium*. 3. *liberationis beneficium*. De primo dicit Apostolus v. 20. *καταϊότητι* *vanitati subjecta est creatura non volens*, sed propter eam qui subiecit eam in spē v. 21. dicit eam esse constitutam sub servitute corruptionis. Per *καταϊότητα* 1. Chrysost. Theophly. Oecumen. intelligunt corruptionem. Quemadmodum (ait Chrysost in comm.) homine corruptibili effecto creatura quoque corruptibilis est effecta, sic homine effecto incorruptibili & ipsa quoque subsequetur. Homil. 10. ad populum Antioch. Deus mirabilem hunc fecit mundum sed corruptibilem. Vanitati creatura subjecta est, h. e. corruptibilis facta est Deo iubente. Quoniam enim hominem creatura nutrire debebat corruptibilem, & ipsa corruptibilis esse debeat. Non enim decebat corruptibilia hominum corpora incorruptibili creatura uti. Diceretur ergo hoc sensu *καταϊότης* servitus corruptionis, hoc est, corruptio quæ est quædam servitus; ut enim servus invitatus servit, ita creaturæ intereunt invitæ. Vera est hæc interpretatio, sed non plena, nec præcipuum Apostoli scopum attingit. 2. Origenes lib. 1. *ἀπὸ ἀρχῶν*, c. 7. *Vanitas hæc sunt corpora, in quæ animæ ante corpus existentes, ob peccata sua sunt detrusa, & talia corpora sunt, etiam Sol, Luna, imò & terra & cæli. Hæc enim omnia habent animas, quæ ante ea extiterunt, ac consequenter possunt ipsa peccare, iudiciumque Christi aequè ac homines subibunt. Hæc ergo corpora propriè expectant resurrectionem, & ut à corruptione liberentur, propriè sperant & ingemiscunt. Hæc interpretatio hæretica est & absurda ut ostendit Epi-*  
phan.



phan. hæres. 64. & Hieronymus in Epistola ad Avitum. 3. Erasmus *ματαιότης* vertit *frustrationem*, quod creatura non assequatur illud quod utcumque contendit efficere, *το ματαιον* enim quandoque significat *frustraneum*, quod fit *ματην* frustra, quo agens non assequitur finem, quem sibi proposuit. Creaturæ propositam habent incolumitatem sui, eam verò impedit *φθορά* sive corruptio, sed Apostolus ipse *ματαιότης* exponit per *δολείαν φθορᾶς*. Natura mediatur *immortalitatem specierum* per quotidianam ac perennem Individuorum successionem, sed hoc frustra fit, quia non solum *Individa* quotidie intereunt, verum etiam & ipsæ species in consummatione sæculi abolebuntur. 4. Socinus d. l. p. 180. per *vanitatem* cui creatura, h. e. ut ipse interpretatur, *homines regenti in hac vita* sunt subiecti, intelligendum esse dicit, *non corruptionem simpliciter, quæ omnibus animantibus non tantum hominibus communis est, sed abjectionem, ignominiam & per passionem illas, quarum antea Apostolus mentionem fecerat & quæ Christianorum sunt propriae, quas necessario non corruptio tantum, sed plerumque etiam immatura corruptio consequitur.* Sed in nullo Scripturæ loco *φθορά* pro illis calamitatibus & passionibus piorum usurpatur. Vera igitur & genuina interpretatio est ea, qua per *vanitatem* cui creatura subiecta est intelligitur, non solum defectus mutabilitatis, corruptio & mortalitas, cui omnes creaturæ corporeæ ac visibiles subiectæ, sed etiam ac cum primis servitium illud, quo creaturæ in hac vita abusibus impiorum coguntur esse subiectæ. *Omnis homo vivens vanitas est*, inquit Psalter. Psal. 39. ver. 6. quia ergo creaturæ inserviunt homini, idè per hoc servitium subiciuntur vanitati. Omnes homines sunt mortales & corruptibiles, quia ergo creaturæ inserviunt hominibus impijs nequiter eas abutentibus, idè per hoc servitium subierunt *δολείαν φθορᾶς*. Sol oritur super bonos & malos, pluvia descendit super iustos & iniustos, Math. 5. v. 45. aërem communiter hauriunt pii ac impij, terra omnes ex æquo alit, & mortuos tam bonos quam malos in gremium suum recipit, terrâ nascentibus omnes fruuntur, cum tamen soli pii beneficijs illis digni sint, hoc ergo servitium impijs præstitum est illa *ματαιότης* ac *δολεία φθορᾶς* cui creaturæ in hac vita coguntur esse subiectæ. Sic vinum est bona & præclara Dei creatura, sed cogitur in hac vita servire cupiditatibus ebriosorum. Hæc est illa servitus corruptionis, cui creatura illa subiecta est non volens; unde ingemiscet & juxta prolepseam Apostolicam expetit ab hac servitute liberari, elegit enim potius non esse & in nihil abire, quam abusui ebriosorum inservire, & hac ratione contra creatorem suum quasi militare, Idem iudicium esto de reliquis Dei Creaturis. Potest cum hac explicatione conjungi prima & tertia, nam propter peccatum non solum homo morti, sed etiam tota creatura corruptioni est subiecta, ac sæpius cogitur luere pœnam scelerum ab hominibus commissorum: propter peccatum, protoplaston terræ maledictio denuntiatur, ut germinet spinas ac tribulos. Genes. 3. v. 17. 18. in diluvio propter peccata hominum totus terrarum orbis misere vastatur; propter peccata Sodomitarum totus illius regionis tractus, qui ob pulchritudinem, amœnitatem & fertilitatē *Paradiso* comparatur, igne cœlitus depluto exuritur, in plagis Ægypti terra, aqua, aër propter



Pharaonis obstinatum malitiam inficitur ac corrumpitur, impijs minatur Deus *calum ferreum ac terram aneam*, quæ est misera vanitas & corruptio, cui propter hominum creaturis pessimè abutentium peccata, natura rerum est subiecta. Præcipuus insuper creaturarum finis est, ut ex illarum inspectione Deum creatorem agnoscamus. Rom. i. ver. 20. atque hunc finem apud impios creatura non assequitur, ideoque in illis ad *θεογνωσίαν* informandis instar magistri negligentes & refractarios discipulos informantis frustra laborat, quæ etiam est *vanitas & servitus corruptionis*, quo sensu ac respectu tertia interpretatio cum quarta coniungi potest. Cæterum huic vanitati & servituti corruptionis creatura dicitur subiecta, *ἐκ ἐκῆσθα non volens, sed propter eum qui subiecit eam in spe. h. e.* non proprio vel naturali motu se illi subiecit, sed Dei creatoris voluntate eidem subordinata, sive certo modo atque ordine est subiecta. Syrus reddidit *בצב'כה לא* non pro voluntate sua non sponte aut pro voto suo ac *σπασμοεισµὸν* adiectum *ἐπ' ἐλπίδι* conjunxit cum versu sequente 21. *in spe quod & ipsa creatura liberabitur.* Quomodo vero creatura non volens vanitati subiecta? Qui per *vanitatem* intelligunt mutabilitatem & corruptionem, in varias abeunt sententias, cum esse mutabile & corruptibile videatur creaturæ corporali ac visibili esse naturale, utpote proveniens ab essentialibus ipsius principiis. Thomas illud *non volens* sic interpretatur, *quod defectus, qui consequuntur natura corporea mutabilitate, cuiusmodi sunt senium, putrefactio, corruptio, sint contra naturam particularem huius vel illius rei, cuius nimirum appetitus tendit ad sui conservationem & fugit suam corruptionem;* Theophylactus refert ad Dei Providentiam & creationem: Hoc, inquit, significat Dei providentia et cura mundum esse conditum, nec ipsum per se fuisse extractum, sed totum ad commoditatem & usum hominis à Deo esse factum. Alii referunt ad securam mundi renovationem: *Non volens dicitur, quia cum hic mundus expectet mirabilem illam renovationem & statum gloria, ad quem in resurrectionis tempore perventurus est, ideo præsentem hunc statum tanto ignobiliorem dicitur non velle, comparatione scil. maioris boni quod expectat.* Sed quia per vanitatem & servitutem corruptionis diximus præcipuè intelligi servitium, quod impijs in hac vita creaturæ impendunt, ideo sensus est, quod creatura quasi abhorreat à pessimo illo impiorum abusu, interim tamen quia primitus ad usum hominis condita, ideo Dei creatoris imperio & ordinationi obsequitur. Cum enim Apostolus per emphaticam Prosopopæiam totius creaturæ corporeæ universitatem velut unam quampiam personam nobis proponat, ut postea videbimus, ideo etiam sensum & appetitum ipsi tribuit, quod *non volens* vanitati illi h. e. impiorum abusu sit subiecta. De secundo *Prædicati* membro dicit Apostolus. v. 19. *ἡ ἀποκατάστασις τῆς κτίσεως τὴν ἀποκαλύψαν τῶν υἱῶν τοῦ θεοῦ ἀπεκδήσεται.* & vers. 22. *scimus quod omnis creatura σussenάξεν καὶ συνόδινεν ἀρχὴν τοῦ νῦν.* Dixerat vers. 18. *passiones huius temporis non esse condignas ad futuram gloriam, quæ in nobis revelabitur.* v. 19. subiungit *ἀιτιολογικῶς*, *solicita enim creatura expectatio revelationem filiorum Dei expectat.* i. ut quodammodo explicet magnitudinem ac pondus futuræ illius gloriæ, cuius causa, donec re ipsa contingat, omnes molestias & quævis huius vitæ adversa æquo animo tolerare debeamus,

cum



cum etiam irrationalis creatura anxie ac solite tempus illud, in quo gloria filiorum Dei manifestanda est, expectet, quod magnum est argumentum, gloriam illam esse augustam & inestimabilem. 2. ut certitudinem securæ illius gloriæ demonstret, quia enim omnis creatura revelationem filiorum Dei avidissime expectat, ideò ea certissime suo tempore sequetur, neque enim illud universale totius naturæ desiderium à Deo ipsi innatum atq; insitum potest esse frustraneum. 3. Ut dignitatem filiorum Dei exprimat, quod illis non solum, *omnia in bonum cooperentur, quod primitias spiritus acceperint, quod cum Christo patiantur, ac proinde etiam cum ipso glorificandi sint*, sed quod omnia etiam unà cum ipsis ingemiscant, parturiant & liberationem eorum unicè expetant. Magna autem in verbis Apostoli est emphasis. Expectationem illam creaturæ revelationem filiorum Dei desiderantis vocat *σπουδα ἐξδοκίαν*, quod Hilar. lib. 12. de Trin. vertit *longinquam*, Ambrosius *frequentem expectationem* jam inde scil. à prima mundi origine, vel saltem à lapsu protoplaston coeptam & quotidie durantem. Theophylactus rectissime vertit *solicitam, anxiam & quasi exerto capite factam expectationem*. Componitur enim hæc vox ex ἀπό à κεφα. *caput*, & δοκίαν videre, qui enim aliquid videre magnopere desiderant & cupide expectant, exorrecto, sive exerto capite subinde illud prospiciunt, in altum suspiciunt, quasi rem desideratam inde expectent. Syrus reddidit: *Omnis creatura expectat & oculos intendit* מִבְּרֵי in specula quasi expectat, Philip. 1. v. 20. utitur hac voce Apostolus ad exprimendū vehemens illud desiderium ac spem qua afflictiones quas pro Christo patiebatur, in ipsius gloriam cessuras sperabat. In versione Aquilæ habetur. Psal. 37. v. 17. pro *לְהַתְּחַו* vehementer expectavit, instar parturientis, quā similitudine etiam postea utitur Apostolus. Polybius utitur hoc vocabulo de anxia, sollicita illa expectatione, quam exercitus ad prælium parati habere solent dum expectent Imperatoris mandatum. Emphaticè igitur vox *σπουδα ἐξδοκίας* expectationem creaturæ sollicitam exprimit. Auget emphasis, quod Apostolus non simpliciter dicit, *creatura expectat*, sed *expectatio creaturæ expectat* q. d. creaturæ tam anxie atque avidè gloriā illam expectant, ut videantur esse ipsa expectatio: *per revelationem filiorum Dei* intelligit plenariam communicationē gloriæ cœlestis in vita æterna quæ filiis Dei in die novissimo continget, ut colligitur ex v. Col. 3. 4. Joh. 3. v. 2. hæc filiorum Dei revelatio est consummata consolatio, h. e. consummata gloria quæ non erit nisi resumptis corporibus, ait Hilarius in Psal. 125. v. 22. addit creaturam *συσπνάζειν καὶ συνωδινεῖν*, ubi rectè notat Chrysostomus quod *Apostolus* θεογονοποιεῖν τὸν κόσμον ὥς ἐμπατηώτερον εἶναι τὸν λόγον, *introducitur totam rerum creaturarum visibilium ac corporearum universitatem velut fœminam quandam parturientem & ingemiscentem ob dolores, quos ante partum & in partu sustinet*. Quia enim dies novissimus est tempus παλιγγενεσίας. Math. 19. v. 28. quo terra magno & mirando partu corpora resuscitatorum in lucem edet, ac filij resurrectionis in vitam prodibunt; Luc. 20. v. 36. ideò creaturam adventum diei novissimi cupide expectantem parturienti, & præ dolore ingemiscenti fœminæ confert. Talis prosopopœia etiam in alijs Scripturæ locis occurrit, sic mare, flumina, montes, arbores, introducuntur à spiritu Sancto, ut *plaudentes, jubilantes, & exultantes*: Non tamen simpliciter & absolute pronunciat A-

postolus



postolus, quod creatura ingemiscat ac parturiant, sed quod *συσευαλίζεαι* ac *συκοδοιεύει*  
*simul ingemiscat ac simul parturiant*, vel quod creaturae inter sese, vel (quod  
 convenientius est ut apparet ex v. 23.) quod *unà cum homine* ingemis-  
 cant & parturiant, h.e. in similitudinem parturientis doleant, anxie ex-  
 pectantes tempus, quo filii Dei, sive gloria filiorum Dei est revelanda,  
 quamvis diversitas quædam lectionis hic occurrat, quidam enim codi-  
 ces olim habuerunt, *congemiscit, & parturit*, quo modo legit Hieronymus  
 in comm. cap. 24. Esa. Quidam: *congemiscit & condolet*. Quidam con-  
 gemiscit & dolet. August. d. l. Quidam ingemiscit & parturit, Cyrill.  
 lib. 5. Thes. cap. 7. Hesych. lib. 5. in Levit. Ambros. in comment.  
 sed dubium nullum, genuinam esse lectionem eam, quæ habet *congemis-*  
*cit & comparturit*. Additus *μεσσοδοιεύουσιν ἄχρι νῦν* diversimode exponitur.  
 Qui ad *homines pios* referunt, sic exponunt, quod ille dolor ac gemitus  
 per gratiam justificationis non sit ablati, sed maneat in piis uique ad  
 mortem. Qui ad *spiritus defunctorum* referunt, eo sensu accipiunt, quod  
 animæ usque ad diem resurrectionis corporum suorum restitutionem, &  
 gloriæ filiorum Dei revelationē expectent. Sed quid de hisce hypothesi-  
 bus statuendū sit, jam antè vidimus, de corporea, visibili & irrationabili  
 creatura Apostolo sermo est, quam dicit *usq; nunc* expectare, ut ostendat  
 desiderium illud esse non solum anxium, sed etiam continuum, quod  
 jam inde à lapsu protoplastōn coeperit, ac ab eo tempore perpetuò du-  
 raverit, quin & ad finem usque mundi duraturum sit, De *tertio prædicati*  
*membro* tractat Apostolus. v. 21. *quia & ipsa creatura liberabitur à servi-*  
*tute corruptionis in libertatem gloriæ filiorum Dei*, hoc est anxia illa  
 creaturæ expectatio non frustrabitur suo eventu, quia creatura à servi-  
 tio illo, quo impiorum abusibus servire cogitur, aliquando libera-  
 bitur. Quod additur *ἐν ἐλευθερίᾳ τῆς δόξης* diversimodè exponitur. 1.  
 Chrys. accipit *causaliter*, particulam enim *ἐν* exponit per *διὰ propter*, vel  
*in commendationem* libertatis & gloriæ filiorum Dei, id quod declarat  
 quadam similitudine. *Quemadmodum Nutrix quæ infantem alit regium,*  
*illo ad regium principatum evecto, & ipsa quoque bonorum fructuum percipit:*  
*pari ratione cum homo gloriā donabitur, hanc ejus gloriam ceteræ creatura quæ*  
*homini servierunt participabunt;* Thomas in supplem. q. 91. art. 3. *Quem-*  
*admodum pater familias cum dignitas filio nova confertur, illius famulos no-*  
*vo atque illustri amictu induit: sic Deus cum nova sempiternaque dignitas ho-*  
*mini in cælo tribuetur, creaturam quæ illi servit, illustriore veste decorabit.*  
*Sed hæc explicatio renovationem mundi fore præsupponit, quod adhuc in*  
*quæsito est.* 2. Quidam exponunt *exemplariter*, *in libertatem* h.e. in imi-  
 tationem vel ad exemplum *libertatis gloriæ* sive *gloriosa filiorum Dei*, ut  
 sic similem quandam libertatem, stabilitatem & immortalitatem cum  
 filiis Dei reliquæ creaturæ intelligantur accepturæ. 3. Ambrosius acci-  
 pit *temporaliter* quia *ἐν ἐλευθερίᾳ* accipit pro *ἐν ἐλευθερίᾳ in libertate*, ut sic  
 denotetur tempus, quo liberanda erit creatura à servitute corruptionis,  
 nimirum quando filiis Dei *libertas gloriæ*, h.e. gloriosa liberatio ab om-  
 ni miseria, infirmitate, mutabilitate, afflictione adeoque ab omnibus  
 corporis & animi malis obtinget. 4. Posset etiam particula *ἐν* exponi  
*eventualiter*, *ἐκ βαπτισμῶς* *Creatura liberabitur à servitute corruptionis in liber-*  
*tatem gloriæ filiorum Dei*, h.e. quando creatura in consummatione sæ-  
 culi



culi ab illa vanitate & servitute corruptionis liberabitur, tunc *libertas gloria* sive gloriosa libertas filiorum Dei in publico Angelorum & hominum conspectu manifestabitur. Hisce probè observatis facile apparet ex hoc loco Apostolico mutationem præsentis mundi in statum meliorem non posse Apodicticè demonstrari. 1. Quod si enim de *creatura Angelica* vel humana subjectum Apostolicæ prædicationis accipitur, nihil præsidij in hoc textu invenient, qui accidentium tantum abolitionem defendunt. Sed quia interpretationes illæ licet magnis in ecclesia Doctoribus probatæ, textui minus conveniunt, ac simplicius est per *creaturam* intelligere universam creaturam corpoream visibilem & irrationalem, ideò addimus. 2. Apostolum nequaquam dicere, quòd *liberanda sit creatura à corruptione*, quæ phrasis substantiali interitui opposita videri poterat, sed à *servitute corruptionis*, quæ eidem minimè adversatur: Renati in hac etiam vitâ liberantur à *servitute peccati*, Rom 6. v. 7. interim non liberantur plenariè ab ipso *peccato*, quippè quod in carne ipsorum adhuc habitat. Rom. 7. v. 17. Si Christianus in Turcia captivus detineatur, ac misera servitute prematur, inque ea tandem moriatur, is liberatur à servitute corruptionis, sed non ab ipsa corruptione, quia corpus ejus in pulverem convertitur. Si creaturæ liberantur à *servitute corruptionis*, h. e. à servitio, quod impijs hominibus in hac vita mortali impendere coguntur, interim tamē ipsæ non sunt nec fiunt liberæ à corruptione. 3. Liberatio illa creaturæ non fit per renovationem, restorationem, incorruptibilitatis communicationem, inq, meliorem statum mutationem, sed per ipsam corruptionem atq, annihilationem, quando scil. hominibus impijs non amplius cogentur servire. Quo n. sensu *vanitas & servitus corruptionis* ipsis tribuitur, eodem sensu opposita *liberatio à servitute corruptionis* ipsis assignanda, ut ostendit oppositio. Jam verò *vanitas & servitus corruptionis* creaturæ tribuitur sensu eo, quòd impijs turpiter ac nefariè contra voluntatem creatoris illis abutentibus coguntur in hac vita servire; Ergò etiam liberatio à servitute corruptionis eo sensu illis tribuenda, quòd servitium illud unà cum hac vita mortali desinat, quæ servitij abolitio non solum per *renovationem* ac *restorationem*, sed etiam per *annihilationem* fieri potest, ac proinde ab *indeterminato ad determinatum*, à *genere ad certam speciem*, à *liberatione ad modum liberationis* per renovationem non debet fieri progressus. 4. Tertull. lib. de anim. cap. 42. de Epicuro memorat, quòd, mortem ad nos nihil pertinere, hoc evincere voluerit argumento: quòd dissolvitur, sensu caret, quòd autem sensu caret, nihil ad nos. Senec. in consolatione ad Martiam, per mortem homini liberationem ab omnibus malis contingere dicit, atque interim morte totaliter hominem interire opinatur: Mors inquit, omnium & solutio est & finis, ultra quam mala nostra non exeunt. Ibid. non potest esse miser qui nullus est. Quod ille sensu Epicuræo de homine ad immortalitatem condito falsò affirmavit, illud ad creaturas corporeas propter hujus vitæ usum conditas sano sensu applicare possumus. Interitus creaturæ servitij illius cui in hac vita subjecta est, & solutio est & finis, ultra quem servitium illud non erit. 5. Meritò verò urgemus illud quòd Apostolus nomine creaturæ non tantum intelligat coelum, Elementa ac terram, sed omnes omninò corporeas, visibiles & irrationales creaturas, quæ



quæ abufui impiorum in hac vita non minùs, quàm cœlum, terra, & elementa fint fubjectæ. Quod fi ergò *liberatio illa à fervitute corruptionis* aliquando futura effet per renovationem & incorruptibilitatis participationem, confequens foret, non folùm cœlum & elementa, fed etiam corpora mixta, ac omnium fpecierum in brutis & arboribus individua effe aliquando renovanda, & ad incorruptibilitatem refufcitanda quod tamen nec ipfi renovationis patroni concedunt. Vim hujus instantiæ Francifcus Puccius in defenf. adv. Socinum ferre non potuit, inde pag. 18. difputat, *etiam bruta animantia effe ad incorruptibilitatem refufcitanda.* 6. Ideo verò Apoftolus maluit dicere, *creaturam liberandam à fervitute corruptionis*, quàm totaliter interituram, tum quia voluit ufurpare talem phrafim, quæ etiam de homine prædicari poffet, nec tamen hominis refpectu interitui effet oppofita. Jam verò totalis interitus ac corruptio in die noviffimo hominibus non competit, liberatio autem à fervitute corruptionis hominibus eft etiam communis: tum quia voluit in profopœia allegorica, & hyperbole illa metaphorica, qua creaturis irrationalibus actus quofdam rationis dedit perfiftere; q. d. Si creaturæ abufui impiorum in hac vita fubjectæ fensus ac rationis effent participes, præoptarent potius omnimodam annihilationem, quàm talem fervitutem. 7. ex phrafi *εις ελευθερίαν* colligi nequit, *terminum ad quem* liberationis, fore unum ac eundem creaturæ cum filiis Dei, aliàs enim fequeretur, creaturam etiam vitæ æternæ & cœleftis gloriæ filij Dei promiffæ, fore participem, fed denotatur duntaxat *liberationis tempus* ut ex Ambrofio monuimus. Quidam addunt, *non institui identitatem, fed generalem comparationem*, cujus fensus hic fit. Sicut certa eft liberatio filiorum Dei à fuâ vanitate & fervitute corruptionis, cui in hoc mundo fubjacent, fic etiam certa erit reliquarum creaturarum à vanitate liberatio, quamvis liberationis modus, utrobique plurimum variet, Confer. D. Feurborn. in difput. contra Phif. Cæfarem th. 132. & feqq.

#### SECT. IV.

*The testimonies of fuch Divines as hold the future Abolition of the world, befides thofe already named in mine Apologie, as alfo of fome of thofe already named, whofe words are not there expreffed.*

Johannes Gerhardus S.S. Theol. Doctor, in Academia Ieneni  
 Profeflor Publicus, locis communibus. Tom. 9. cap. 5.  
 de confummatione sæculi.

**S**ententiam de fubstantiali mundi interitu, non defendimus ut fidei articulum, fcitu aut creditu fimpliciter neceffarium, fed eam emphaticis fcriptura dictis qua de fine mundi loquuntur, magis conformem effe dicimus.

Johannes Wollebius S.S. T.D. in Academia Bafilienfi Profeflor. Publicus, Compendia Theologiae Christiana. lib. 1. cap. 36.

Having fet downe both the opinions, the one for the Renovation, the other for the Abolition of the world, at laft he concludes: *Eft in*  
*iftiusmodi*



*istiusmodi controversia, qua nullus fidei articulus labefactatur, liceat in rem, salvo tamen aliorum iudicio Cordatus Lector posteriori sententia subscribet, aliud quippe est instaurari, & in melius mutari: aliud instar vestimenti veterascere, instar fumi evanescere, dissolvi, liquefcere, conflagrare, praterire, non amplius existere, ut superiora testimonia volunt.*

*Conradus Vorstius S.S. T. D. Professor publicus in Gymnasio Steinfurtensi loc. com. in epist. 2. D. Petri ex cap. 3.*

‘Concludendum igitur est mundum hunc vere olim interitum sive  
‘substantialiter olim peritum esse.

*Andreas Rivetus S.S. T. D. Lugduni Batarorum Professor publicus, in cap. 8. Gen. Exercitatione 58.*

‘Sententia quæ substantialem mundi interitum tuetur à paucioribus  
‘defenditur, sed qui argumentis pugnant non levibus, tam è Sacra Scrip-  
‘tura quam ratione desumptis.

Having at large examined that passage commonly brought, from the 8. to the Romans, his censure thereupon is, *non existimarem hunc locum ad cæli & terræ renovationem referri posse.* His close of all is, *Non existimo affirmativam sententiam de cæli & terræ secundum substantiam, id est, materiam & formam permanentia, certis argumentis & talibus quibus contradici non possit, hætenus fuisse demonstratam; id sufficere videtur si rerum istarum omnium conflagrationem & dissolutionem asserentes, hoc certum ponamus futuram habitationem sanctorum amenissimam, & locum etiam horrendum supplicij impiorum destinatum; primam illam cæli novi & novæ terræ nominibus venire, in ea nihil carnale esse cogitandum. Cavendum etiam ne gloriam filiorum Dei communicemus corruptibilibus creaturis quæ beatitudinis sunt incapaces.*

*Iohannes Chassanio locorum com. lib. 3. cap. 22. ubi docet*

‘Promissionem de cœlis novis & terra nova summam & perfectam  
‘Ecclesiæ instaurationem in regno Dei patris allegorice significare; pro-  
‘ut spiritualia & æterna rebus corporeis & aspectabilibus sæpius in  
‘Scriptura figurantur. Ita mundum isto visibili præstantiorem nobis  
‘proponi, ne hujus mundi casum & finem *doleamus*, hujus rei rationem  
‘subjici cum in illis cœlis novis, & terra nova *justitia inhabitare dicitur.*  
*Whereunto he addes,* Hinc liquido apparet de novo aliquo cœlo, aut terra  
‘non proprie hic agi, ne quis existimet [ut nonnulli censent] hunc mun-  
‘dum renovatum iri, ipsamque mundi substantiam non perituram esse,  
‘sed ejus qualitatem, quatenus vitiosa & corruptioni obnoxia est, non  
‘igitur renovabitur mundus, sed plane desinet.

*Clarissimus Iunius in Paral. append. in 2. Pet. 3. v. 7. Paral. 14. docet*

‘Effecta in eo poni duo, prius, quod hi cœli cum stridore peribunt,  
‘elementa æstuantia solventur, terraque & res quæ in eo sunt exurentur,  
‘omnia denique colliquescent, tribus versibus antecedentibus: id est,  
‘hæc omnia, vanitati subiecta *peribunt*, glorioso adventu Christi. Alter  
‘effectus est, quod novi cœli & terra nova, nova urbs, nimirum venturi  
‘illius sæculi, omnia denique nova piis in Christo futura sunt, ut *Esai.*  
‘65. vers. 66. gravissimè promissum est, & *Iohannes prædicat gloriosif-*  
‘simè, *Apocal. 21. Proculdubio innuens, non cælum hoc, aut terram hanc,*  
Kkkkk quasi



*quasi refusam, sed illud ipsum habitaculum in quo justitia habitat, &c.* Quibus verbis satis indicat se fuisse in ea sententia, desitura esse quæ jam videntur, & quæ nova promittuntur ad statum beatæ vitæ rerum præsentium similitudine expositum, referri debere. Ideo etiam in privatis responsionibus ad quæstiones sibi propositas, eandem sententiam, *terram hanc, imò hanc naturam non fore*, ratione & autoritate stabilire conatur.

*Remonstrantes in Examine Censura, cap. 19. pag. 220.*

Argumenta certè quæ pro substantiali mundi interitu militant, & Scripturæ loca quæ ei fini serviunt, tam sunt multa & evidentia: quæ verò pro accidentali interitu adhibentur tam levia & pauca, ut mirum videatur Remonstr: cur non pro ista potius parte universalis consensus, quam pro hac steterit.

*Socinus in resp. ad defens. Franc. Puccij, cap. 6. pag. 135.*

Ego protectò peripicere nondum possum, quibus verbis ex sanctis literis depromptis rerum cælestium immortalitatem, seu potius perpetuam permanſionem, vel etiam renovationem aliquis confirmare possit, atque ijs etiam globum hunc terrestrem annumerare. Quinimo multa ex divinis literis testimonia proferri possunt, quibus contrarium perspicuè demonstratur. Vita hæc animalis ac terrestris in die judicij cessare debet, & ejus loco spiritalis & cœlestis substitui. Quid ergo vero cœlo & vera terra in illa nobis opus erit? nonne & cœlum & terram, ut huic animali ac terrestri vitæ inservirent, Deus creavit? quæ cessante propter quam utrumque conditum fuit, annon & ipsa cessare debent? Cum Dominus Iesus apertè dicat nos Angelis Dei similes futuros, quid nobis cum cœlo hoc quod aspiciamus, & cum terra hac in qua habitamus, vel cum alijs ejusdem generis? Nunquid Angeli Dei hoc cœlo & hac terrâ, sive alijs ejusdem generis utuntur atque fruuntur? cui usui amplius futura sunt nobis omnia, quæ in cœlo vel in terra sunt vel alia ejus similia? nunquid ad cibos quibus sustentemur, eorum ope & inde percipiendos cum immortales futuri simus, ut nulla refectione opus habituri? sed opinor non quibus sustentemur, sed quibus delitemur; ergo & Angeli ipsi, quorum pares futuri sumus, non solum cibis utuntur, sed etiam eos hujus cœli ope, & ex hac terra, sive ex alijs his similibus percipiunt, alioqui si aliunde suos cibos haberent, etiam si in futuro sæculo comedendum nobis esset, non tamen ob eam causam, cœlo aut terra aliqua vera nobis opus esset. Num fortassis aliquo sole & luna, aliquibusve stellis ad diei & noctis distinctionem, ad tempestatum vicissitudines, ad annos notandos, propter quæ sydera omnia creata fuerunt, opus erit nobis qui in perpetua luce futuri sumus experturi, qui sempiternam vitam vivemus? Num luce hac creata & ipso sole ac luna ad locum illustrandum ubi erimus opus erit nobis, qui ipsam increatam lucem perpetuò præsentem habituri simus; quibusque Deus ipse & claritas ejus & Dominus Iesus agnus ille purissimus in æternum lucebunt ac vice solis & lunæ erunt? Num ad oculorum oblectationem, syderum egebinus nos, qui Deum ipsum præsentem intuebitur, & æternæ majestatis ejus jucundissimo aspectu in omne ævum perfruemur? At credo animantibus cæteris illum novum cœlum & terra

nova,



'nova, non nobis usui erunt? sed Petrus manifestè ait, nobis non bestijs  
'promissum fuisse à Deo novum cœlum & novam terram; quan-  
'quam non video, quomodo si bestia non minus quàm nos immortales  
'sunt futuræ, vel aliquo cœlo ac terra egere possint, vel varietates & vi-  
'cissitudines quas cœlum terræ impendens secum necessariò affert, ex-  
'periri queant.

*Wolfgangus Franzius in disput: suis contra Pontificios, Calvinianos,  
Socinianos disput. 7. de judicio extremo sect. 6.*

*An & quomodo mundus sit interiturus?*

'Post recitatas utriusque partis sententias & rationes concludit tan-  
'dem Thesi 37. Verisimilior igitur est eorum sententia, qui statuunt fi-  
'nem mundi futurum in adventu filij Dei talem, quod nimirum filius  
'Dei totum mundum quoad substantiam, ignea flamma resolvet & per-  
'det, ita ut non amplius sint stellæ, sol & luna in cœlo, elementa non am-  
'plius appareant, & quod in illo transitu mortui omnes revocabuntur in  
'vitam; Eo enim etiam respexit *Iobus cap. 14. 12.* Quod homo non re-  
'surgat donec non fuerint cœli.

*Iuvenius Præfat. in hist Evangel.*

*Immortale nihil mundi compage tenetur.*

*Non orbis, non regna hominum, non aurea Roma;*

*Non mare, non tellus, non ignea sidera cœli.*

*Nam statuit genitor rerum, irrevocabile tempus,*

*Quo cunctum torrens rapiet flamma ultima mundum.*

Lutherus in D. Petri epist. post. Enarra. cap. 3.

'Hic qui volet inquirat an beati in cœlis tum vel in terra habitaturi  
'sint. Hic locus certè sonat, in terra ipsos habitaturos, ita ut totum hoc,  
'cœli & terra in unam quandam paradisum celsura sint, in qua Deus ha-  
'bitabit. Non enim solum ille in cœlis habitare solet, sed ubique, igitur  
'erunt & electi ubi ipse fuerit.

*Tilenus in Syntag. de judicio extremo.*

'Novum cœlum & terram novam de quibus Isaias vaticinatur c. 65.  
'17. non de aspectabilis hujus cœli, ac terræ instauratione, sed proprie  
'de ecclesiæ instauratione per Christum; vel typicè de sede beatorum,  
'intelligimus; ut patet ex collatione hujus loci cum *Apoc. 21. 1.* Quo-  
'circa *Petrus 2. ep. 3. 13.* dictum illud repetens, adjicit, *in quibus iustitia*  
'*habitat.* Significans se non agere de hac terra, in qua degunt homines  
'injusti; brutæ animantes & res caducæ, sed de justorum habitaculo,  
'& corporis, quod non amplius animale, sed spirituale factum est, loco.  
'De aspectabili autem hoc cœlo & terra Prophetæ hujus minimè ambi-  
'gua est sententia, ubi illud, velut fumum, evaniturum; istam, ut pan-  
'num, veteraturam esse docet. cap. 51. v. 6.

'Cum futuri sæculi status in hoc sæculo aliter exponi non possit,  
'quam rerum præsentium similitudine; ideò duo extrema hujus uni-  
'versitatis, uterque; Isaias scilicet, & Petrus nominant, ut typo hujus u-  
'niversitatis, in qua nunc versamur, universitatem illam futuri sæculi in  
'qua æternum victuri sumus, quodammodo adumbrent.

Kkkkk 2

Ægidius



## Ægidius Hunnius de Providentia.

*Atque illud interire, perire, transire, præterire, intelligunt illi non de redactione cælorum in nihilum, sed de eorum instauratione & in statum perfectiorem & meliorem transformatione.*

‘Respondeant ergo ubi & in qua grammatica interire idem significat  
‘quod instaurari, vel in nobiliorem statum transformari? cum hujusmo-  
‘di instauratione vel in formam perfectiorem transmutatio, rem potius ab  
‘interitu vindicet, & non solum in Grammatica, sed etiam in Physicis,  
‘imo non in Philosophia tantum, sed etiam Theologia interitui velut è  
‘diametro opponatur? Adhæc certum est, talem transformationem,  
‘qualem illi secundum accidentia tribuunt cælo & terræ, adscribi corpo-  
‘ribus electorum, quos dies Domini vivos apprehendet, dicente Paulo;  
‘Non omnes quidem moriemur, omnes autem transmutabimur. Hoc  
‘cum ita sit, quæro ex illius opinionis assertoribus, an rectè dici ex-  
‘istiment, si quis affirmet, eorum fidelium, qui in adventu Domini su-  
‘perstites erunt, corpora esse in illa transmutatione interitura? peritura?  
‘transitura? fugitura, ut locus eis non inveniatur amplius? nec fore ea  
‘amplius: sicut de cælis, terra & mari scriptura hæc omnia pronunciat?  
‘si hoc ipsimet absurdum esse censent, reputent secum, pari absurditate  
‘laborare hanc ex eodem fonte petitam interpretationem, qua per  
‘transire, perire & interire putant intelligendam transformationem è  
‘statu viliore in longè præstabiliorem.

*Eadem ferè habet in Comment: ad Roman: cap. 8.*

‘Quod autem obtendunt aliqui: illud perire, interire, transire non de  
‘redactione cælorum & terræ in nihilum, sed restauratione & commu-  
‘tatione in nobiliorem statum esse intelligendum; hi nihil dicunt. Ubi  
‘enim unquam *interire* idem significat quod *instaurari*? ubi idem quod  
‘in *melius mutari*? cum ejusmodi mutatio rei in statum meliorem, potius  
‘rem ab interitu vindicet, & interitui quiddam sit oppositum.

‘Præterea an non eorum fidelium qui in adventu Domini reliqui e-  
‘runt corpora, pari ratione interire dicenda forent, quando per transfor-  
‘mationem subitam illam mutabuntur in melius? si talis in nobiliorem  
‘formam & statum mutatio dicenda foret interitus. Cum verò hoc ab-  
‘surdum sit affirmatu, quidni & prius absurdum sit oportet? proinde in-  
‘ter creaturas prima creatione factas, non existimo ullam aliam duratu-  
‘ram in æternum; præter solos Angelos & homines: cælum autem &  
‘terram, quæ nunc sunt, sic transitura, ut juxta testimonium Apocalyp-  
‘seos, nullus amplius eis locus sit futurus.

*Math. Beccaldus. Chron. lib. 1. cap. 2.*

‘Sine homine mundi nullum usum fore, quia hominis causa sit condi-  
‘tus, nemo est ut existimo, qui non assentiatur. At hominum generi, cui  
‘loco alio fruenda & fælicitas, mundus non semper incoletur, sed suo  
‘tempore relinquetur. Quod autem divino imperio acciderit, mundum  
‘& quæ in mundo sunt, in nihilum reditura, quemadmodum ex nihilo  
‘fuerant effecta, fatendum est, uti etiam vera nobis ex Dei verbo sugge-  
‘rit ratio.

*Balthazar*



*Balthazar Meisnerus in Philosophia sobria. part. 1. sect. 3. q. 5.*

*Num mundus nat' totus sit interiturus?*

Quantumvis autem τὸ ἐπιχειρῆν hic fortè sit tutissimum, & locum habere  
'debeat regula à Bernardo præscripta, ferm. 4. omn: sanct: Quod nulli  
'datum est experiri, nullus conetur effari: attamen si sacrarum littera-  
'rum dicta, de interitu mundi loquentia, accuratius considerentur, to-  
'talis potius mundi corruptio, quam nuda qualitatum immutatio statu-  
'enda esse videtur.

*Polanus in symphonia Catholica. cap. 28. thesi. 3.*

'Destructio mundi hoc est, cœlorum mobilium, elementorum & cor-  
'porum elementarium, erit substantialis non accidentalis, erit abolitio  
'& annihilationis species, sic ut cœli igni conflagrantes cum stridore  
'sint præterituri, elementa æstuantia dissolvenda, terraque & quæ in eâ  
'opera sunt exurenda.

*Arnobius Iunior, de Deo trino & uno.*

'Sicut ex nihilo factus est mundus, ita ad nihilum redigendus erit in  
'fine sæculi, quia scriptum est, *Ipsi peribunt &c.*

*Math. Martinus in Theologia.*

'Resp: cœlum & terra non tantum dicuntur interitura, ac peritura,  
'sed etiam non amplius futura, ac ita transitura, ut locus eis non inveni-  
'atur.

To these might be added the testimonies of *Melancthon*, *Brentius* and  
*Bucer*, as witnesseth *Vorstius* in the place before alleadged; and besides  
it is certaine that many of the ancient Fathers, and some of the latter  
*Romanists* (even by the confession of *Suarez*) being no doubt convicted  
by the evidence of Scripture, held an utter Abolition of this world,  
but the substitution indeed of a new instead thereof, though the passa-  
ges they vouch to that purpose prove it not; neither doe any of them  
assigne any end of their new world that I can finde: I will instance only  
in *Vallesius de sacra Philosophia. cap. 89.*

'Videtur probabilissimum esse, mundum hunc corporalem quem con-  
'spicimus periturum aliquando esse, ac pro illo alium longè præstantio-  
'rem esse denuo creandum; alienum enim omnino à ratione est, corpora  
'naturâ mobilia, quæque naturali impetu feruntur, ut cœlestes orbes in  
'æterna violentia contineri. Nihil enim Philosophis certius, quàm  
'nullum violentum esse æternum. Cœlum autem cum naturaliter fera-  
'tur circulo, præter naturam & violenter detineretur: neque minor in-  
'feretur violentia elementorum naturæ, si ea quoque quali nunc sunt  
'naturâ durarent. Etsi enim corporibus suis, ordine dispositis naturalis  
'succederet quies, esset tamen necesse, statum & illum ordinem & quie-  
'tem interturbari actione mutua elementarium virtutum, nisi essent acti-  
'va passivis proxima sine ulla actione, quod nihilominus rationi repug-  
'nat. Quid enim posset illas inducias firmare, nisi à maiore virtute illata  
'violentia? verisimilius ergo multo est, corpora hæc cœlestia & elemen-  
'taria, que ad hanc velut rerum genesis optimè comparata nunc sunt,  
'exacto toto tempore, & elevatis successivis mutationibus, quasi toto  
'jam negotio peracto, velut defuncta munere suo finiri, atque alia pro  
'illis longè pulchriora, & æternam illam requiem naturaliter expetentia



'& secundum se tota inalterabilia creari denuò, quæ immutabilibus & æternis subserviant, ut priora hæc nascentibus & intereuntibus deserviant modò.

My worthy friend Mr *John Downe*, now with God, after he had sent me his doubts raised from the 8<sup>th</sup> to the *Romans*, about the worlds Renovation; partly from mine answer thereunto, and partly from the exposition of *Iohannes Gerardus* in the precedent Section, received so good satisfaction, that in his attestation annexed to my booke in the second impressiõ, he inserted these verses which are there to be seene:

*Reddetur ingens quam videmus machina  
Levis favilla, tenuis & cinisculus;  
Cinis, favilla? non sat est, imo Nihil.*

By all which it appeares, that besides authority of Scripture & force of reason, I stand not single in the opinion of the worlds abolition, but have many great and grave Divines therein joyning with mee, with whom I must either stand, or they fall with me.

*Epist. 2. cap. 3.* I conclude all with *S. Peter*, Seeing therefore that all these things must be dissolved, what manner persons ought yee to bee in holy conversation and godlinesse, looking for and hasting unto the comming of that day of God, by the which the heavens being on fire, shall be dissolved, and the elements shall melt with heate? But wee looke for new heavens and a new earth, according to his promise, wherein dwelleth righteousness. Wherefore behold seeing that yee looke for such things, bee diligent that yee may bee found of him in peace, without spot and blamelesse.

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*Non est mortale quod opto.*

Whatsoever I have written in this or any other booke, I humbly submit to the censure of the Church of *England*.

FINIS.





A N  
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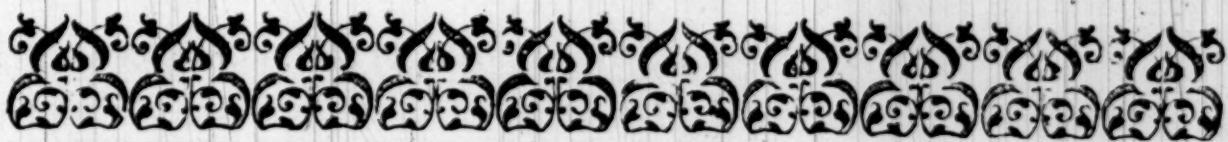
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